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Turmoil, Disorder and Reconstruction: Features of the World Situation
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FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL
A QUARTERLY ENGLISH PUBLICATION OF THE CPIFA
SINCE 1988

Sponsored by Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs
Edited & Published by Research Department of the CPIFA
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Editors’ Note
FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL is published quarterly by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs.
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《外交》
英文季刊
1988年创刊
2016年第4期（总第122期）

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Brexit and Its Impacts on the European Union
By Mei Zhaorong*

The referendum on Brexit on 23 June 2016 represents a major turning point in the history of the European Union (EU), because it has not only dealt a heavy blow to European integration, but will also exert far-reaching impacts on EU’s development.

In order to correctly understand and assess this “political earthquake”, it is necessary to review the context and intention behind the initiation of the referendum by former British Prime Minister Cameron. People who have some knowledge of Europe’s post-war history know that the UK’s accession to the European Community (EC) in 1973 was not due to its interest in furthering European integration, but rather in the benefits promised by the large single market of the EC. Since its accession to the EC, which later evolved into the EU, it has always acted in its own ways and has been dubbed

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as an unfaithful and fastidious member state, i.e., the UK only wishes to profit from the EU’s single market for the benefit of its own economy and London as a financial center without whole-heartedly supporting EU integration. It emphasizes British sovereignty and opposes a “federal Europe” or the “EU Constitution”. That is why it refuses to join the euro zone or the Schengen Agreement, both of which are fruits of European integration. With the development of European integration and, in particular, the continued exacerbation of the European sovereign debt crisis, the innate deficiencies of the euro manifest themselves along with those of the EU bureaucracy. The supranational institutions established by the EU to tighten financial and economic disciplines such as the banking union, coupled with the heavy blow struck by the refugee crisis, fermented doubt about the EU among the British public and the ruling Conservative Party and gave rise to the growth of anti-EU forces. Two camps thus emerged: one for staying in the EU and the other for leaving. In light of this, the then British Prime Minister Cameron declared that if he was to win the 2015 general election, he would put Brexit to a referendum in 2016. Cameron’s aim was three-fold: first, he wanted to pacify the Eurosceptics in the Party and alleviate intra-party contention, so that the Party would not fall apart; second, he wanted to win people over for the general election, so that he could consolidate his position as the Party leader and the prime minister; third, he wanted to press the EU to make concessions to issues that concerned the UK. His scheme had worked out. On the one hand, he won the 2015 general election by a large margin; on the other hand, the EU made two concessions in the negotiation to keep the UK: first, the EU agreed to the UK’s selective participation in the European
integration process which meant recognizing the principle of a “two-speed Europe” or a “multi-speed Europe”; second, it agreed that EU citizens working in the UK would not enjoy, within a certain amount of time, the great welfare benefits offered to British citizens. Cameron found these so-called outcomes very satisfactory, but in return, he had to honor his words by calling a referendum.

In the preparation for the referendum, there had been heated debate from top to bottom over to stay or to leave, which not only lacerated the British society but also churned up the entire West. A few leaders and political dignitaries of major European countries urged the UK to stay. US President Obama personally exerted influence and pressure, and a large number of senior US officials visited the UK to warn of the consequences and harm of Brexit. However, their efforts only intensified the aversion of the British public, and at last the “Leave” camp won by a narrow margin with a percentage of close to 52%. After the result was unveiled, something surprising happened. When Cameron took the blame and resigned, Johnson, the triumphant leader of the “Leave” camp in the Conservative Party, quit as well. Theresa May, former Home Secretary who advocated “Remain”, took over the leadership of the Party and the country, and the new cabinet she installed consisted of supporters from both camps. However, when the feverish debate cooled down, some Members of Parliament (MPs) and ordinary voters on the “Remain” side disapproved the result, while others even regretted voting for Brexit and demanded a second referendum. After this public unrest receded and the new cabinet declared that it would officially submit the application for leaving the EU by the end of March 2017, MPs on the “Remain” side claimed that procedures
for leaving the EU should be launched with the approval of the Parliament and that their appeal had already been adjudicated by the Supreme Court. The May government refuted such a claim and declared that it would appeal to the Supreme Court for a rejection. It also reiterated to leaders of Germany, France and the EU that London would launch the process on schedule.

These happenings lay bare the fact that the decision to hold the referendum was made out of the Party’s selfish interests, which, however, led to the split-up of the British society. As pointed out by the European media, the use of such emotional means as the referendum to decide on such a significant and complex issue as Brexit which bears on the trajectory of the nation would not lead to any rational result. This is a kind of “inferior democracy” which exposes the grave crisis western democracy has been sinking into.

According to Article 50 of the European Union Association Agreement, negotiation on leaving the EU should be concluded within two years. The EU urged the UK to file the application quickly for an early launch of the negotiation. Yet, the UK deliberately delayed the application for want of a plan. The main reason is that both the “Leave” and the “Remain” camp miscalculated the outcome and found themselves poorly prepared after the referendum. However, it was time-consuming to cope with the chaos afterwards, converge different opinions and draft a negotiation plan. It can be predicted that the negotiation will be complicated, arduous and tortuous, and that tension and contingencies cannot be excluded. For the UK, it is believed that the best outcome should benefit itself without hurting the EU. As to the EU, it should, for the sake of its interests, make the UK
pay a heavy price for its exit; otherwise, other member states will follow suit and set off a chain reaction. However, heavy punishment will only stall the negotiation, the uncertainties of which mean huge loss for the European economy. Furthermore, despite its exit from the EU, the UK remains a NATO member which is still closely connected to the EU politically and economically. A stalemate in bilateral ties contravenes the long-term interests of either side. In addition, many issues wait to be sorted out in this negotiation, at the core of which is how to shape the future business, investment and financial ties and whether, to what extent and under what conditions the UK will stay in the EU’s single market and ensure that London’s status and interests as a financial center stay intact. A similar issue in this connection is to what extent citizens from EU member states can freely enter the UK and enjoy its great welfare benefits. These are key issues that the UK, the EU and, in particular, countries like Poland, Hungary and the Balkans tend to focus on and bargain about.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiation, the impacts of Brexit on the EU are multi-faceted and far-reaching. Actually, some of the impacts have already surfaced, which can be roughly summarized in the following.

Firstly, the strength and influence of the EU will be undermined and its international standing will fall. British economy takes up 15% of the EU’s total and its population 12.5%. It has the largest stock investment in the EU and is the second largest contributor to the EU’s budget and a major driving force of the single market. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, a nuclear country and a NATO member which boasts special relations with the US, the UK’s contribution
to the EU’s diplomacy, security and global clout is not to be underestimated. Brexit will impair the EU in size, weight and strength.

Secondly, Brexit will encourage and strengthen the extreme forces of Eurosceptics in EU member states, which will cripple the foundation of European integration. The referendum reflects four tendencies: growing social tension as a result of widening wealth gap, deep dissatisfaction of the grassroots sector with elite rule, increasing antipathy towards EU bureaucracy and rising anti-globalization mood. It should be pointed out that these tendencies exist more or less in EU member states as well. The precedent set by Brexit will undoubtedly encourage such right-wing populist forces as the National Front of France, the Five Star Party of Italy, the Liberal Party of the Netherlands and the Alternative für Deutschland of Germany, although Brexit also sounds the alarm to the EU and sets people thinking about how to repair defects through reform. For instance, foreign ministers of France and Germany have changed their rhetoric from “a bigger Europe” to “a more flexible Europe”, to “listen to their people” and to “the question lies not in how to make member states cede more sovereignty to Brussels”, so on and so forth. But such rhetoric is only lip service. No consensus-based specific measures have yet been taken.

Thirdly, Brexit will change the internal structure and affect the policy trajectory of the EU. The EU is a conglomeration of sovereign states, and each member state enjoys diplomatic independence according to EU Constitution. Yet, all member states try to leverage the EU to elevate their respective international standing and pursue their respective interests, while
in the meantime, sticking together as best as they can on major
diplomatic and security policies. As the UK, France and Germany
are stronger than other member states, they have greater say and
influence in EU policy-making and have established a trilateral
relationship featuring mutual leverage and mutual counterbalance.
For example, Germany makes use of both the UK and France to
its own benefit. On the one hand, it uses the UK to press France
on business policies; on the other hand, it allies with France to
prompt the UK to further political integration. France and the
UK assist each other to check Germany from becoming the ruler
of Europe. After Brexit, the mechanics of leverage will change.
As the closest ally of the US, the UK’s influence on EU’s foreign
policy will weaken considerably or even be reduced to none. And
with the decline of French strength, Germany’s appetite for EU
dominance will grow, which might arouse suspicion, fear and
resistance on the part of less strong member states and intensify
conflict and tension within the EU. Germany has to choose
between “Germany’s Europe” and “Europe’s Germany”.

Fourthly, the US needs to find a new “helping hand” in the
EU to replace the role previously played by the UK. Various
evidences have shown that the US have been luring Germany to
play this role, given Germany’s political and economic weight
in Europe and the stronger Atlantic complex of Merkel than
any of her counterparts in France, Italy or other EU countries.
Yet, it remains to be seen as to whether and to what extent
Germany will play the role of the UK in the EU as wished by
the US. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to follow the trajectories
of Germany’s domestic and external policies and of Germany-
US relations. In this sense, the impacts of Brexit will transcend
Europe.
The current world situation is complicated and fluid, with turmoil taking place in different parts of the globe. The international landscape has been experiencing the most profound transformation since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the changes in Eastern Europe in early 1990s. This is attributable to a combination of political, economic and social factors. The international order dominated by a handful of Western powers can no longer be sustained. The United States has also encountered major setbacks in its attempts to build a unipolar world. The continuous tension and turmoil has become the new normal of the world.

The following are several major factors explaining why the world has become what it is like today.

* Ding Yuanhong is Former Chinese Ambassador to Belgium and Former Head of the Chinese Mission to the European Union.
1. The world economy is persistently weak, with a risk of getting stuck into a long-term standstill

Eight years into the global financial and economic crisis which broke out in 2008, the world economy is yet to walk out of the shadow of the crisis. The recovery, if any, is fragile. To revive the world economy is a tall order that rivets global attention. The reason for the economic challenges is the deficiency of the monopolistic capitalism itself, which is dominant in this world.

According to official statistics, the US economy will grow by 2.1% annually in the coming decade starting from 2014, much lower than the average of 3.4% between 1948 and 2007. In April 2016, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) forecast an annual growth rate of 1.6% for developed countries from 2015 to 2020, an indicator of extended economic standstill. This will have considerable negative impact on the world economy.

The United States plays a significant role in the world economy, given its supreme economic strengths and the dominance of the US dollar in the world financial system, as evidenced by the close attention countries have paid over the past year to the US Federal Reserve for possible interest hike. Under the US influence, the world economy is confronted with two major challenges. First, the debt burden is extremely heavy. Second, the financialization of the economy has deprived the real economy of due financial support.

According to data released by the IMF in October 2016, global debts, including those incurred by governments, households and non-financial companies, totaled US$152 trillion in 2015, much higher than the pre-crisis figure of US$112 trillion and the 2002 figure
of US$67 trillion. Now, the world economy is valued at US$75 trillion. 1 percentage point increase in the economic output means an additional annual spending of US$750 billion. This is almost impossible given the already heavy debt burden, which undermines the ability of the world economy to fend off new financial risks and hinders economic sustainability.

On top of that, the economies of the US and Europe are increasingly financialized. In other words, most of the money in their financial systems is used for pure lending and borrowing on existing assets, instead of financing projects that can create jobs and increase people’s income. Take the US for example. The share of the financial sector in its economy has increased from 4% in 1980 to the current 7%. It accounts for 25% of total corporate profits, but only 4% of job creation. This points to the dislocation of the virtual and real economy. The real economy does not get the financial support it needs. This explains why the economy has slowed down and unemployment rate is persistently high.

These two challenges all derive from the monopolistic capitalism, dominant in the current world. They will continue to plague the world economy for a long time to come and will not be resolved through so-called global governance.

2. Deep social divides have occurred in major Western capitalist countries, with significant global implications

The Brexit and the US presidential election all have revealed the sharp divide between the general public and the elites. The rise of nationalistic parties in some European countries also lays bare the crisis in the capitalist system.
Since the end of the Cold War, Western powers led by the US have pressed ahead with globalization, which, unfortunately, has only worked in favor of the rich. As a result, the wealth gap, inherent in the capitalist system, is becoming more prominent. Statistics show that the richest 1% in the US population hold 43% of the country’s wealth, and the figure is 23% in the UK. In 2015, the executives of the six banks on the Wall Street received US$130 million for dividends, while half of the US families couldn’t even find US$400 in cash and have to borrow or cash in what they have in hand. Alan Greenspan, former Chairman of the US Federal Reserve, said that the 2008 financial crisis ripped the US society into two parts: the super rich who benefited enormously from the economic recovery and the middle class and owners of small and medium-sized enterprises, who were still struggling. Under such a system of glaring inequality, it is no surprise to see Donald Trump, who represents those from outside the establishment, and Bernard Sanders, a self-proclaimed socialist, emerging on the political landscape. The grassroots voters supported Trump and Sanders in an expression of their frustration and anger at the existing political system the elites have made every effort to help maintain.

Brexit and the rise of nationalism in Europe is, to some extent, the result of the general public being misled by the elites, who have, since the 1990s, pushed for a “closer alliance” or European integration, the European version of globalization. It was the interests of the business class that drove the establishment of the European Union. People at the grassroots level, however, derive few benefits from it, and are therefore full of anger. The anger compelled the British to vote for leaving the EU their country had acceded to 45 years ago. It also explains why populist parties have risen everywhere in Europe with anti-globalization and anti-immigrant as
their major policy appeal.

The UK’s decision to leave the EU will not bridge the divide between the public and the elites. On the contrary, it will only give more prominence to the gap. The US government cracked down on the Occupy Wall Street movement staged by people at the grassroots level who were dissatisfied about the existing system, accusing them of disrupting social order. The democrats, through backroom deals, forced Sanders to exit the campaign race. There were also signs to show that some Democratic and Republican elites joined hands to vilify and demonize Trump to prevent him from winning the election. To the disbelief of most people, Trump defeated Hillary with a landslide victory and emerged as the next US president. Once again, this underscores the grievances of the US public towards the existing system and their aspiration for change.

The deep social divide caused by the inherent problems of major Western capitalist countries will have significant impact on their political stability and domestic and foreign policies as well as the world situation.

3. The global strategic security environment is beset with severe threats

In June 2016, Chinese and Russian leaders issued a joint statement on strengthening global strategic stability. In the statement, they expressed the concern about the increasing negative factors that undermine global strategic stability, and expressed the determination of China and Russia to work together to prevent the repeat of the tragedy of a world war. A closer look at the security situation in Asia, Europe and the Middle East shows that this China-Russia statement
is highly relevant and hits the nail on the head.

The major factor that threatens the current global strategic stability is the US hegemony, or to be exact, the US strategy to consolidate the US status as the world hegemony. In its new military strategy to be released soon, the US views Russia, China, DPRK, Iran and extremist terrorist organizations as its security threats. US Defense Secretary Ash Carter even proclaimed that the US military well prepared for a war that would break out tomorrow.

China has made clear its willingness on many occasions to build a new model of major-country relationship with the US featuring no conflict, no confrontation, equality and win-win cooperation. Russia has also made clear its intention to develop relations with the US based on cooperation and accommodation of each other’s interests. The US, however, still chooses to view the two countries as its main adversaries. As a matter of fact, China and Russia are the real targets behind the US sanctions and military threats against DPRK and Iran, as proved by the missile defense systems that the US wants to establish in the periphery of China and Russia under the pretext of countering the nuclear capabilities of DPRK and Iran.

To contain the rise of Russia, the US created the Ukrainian crisis, and worked with the EU to impose economic sanctions on Russia on the issue of Crimea in an attempt to destroy the Russian economy. Under the pretext of protecting the security of Central and Eastern European countries, it expanded NATO’s military presence in Russia’s neighborhood in disregard of a common understanding reached with Russia. The US is also moving faster to deploy anti-missile systems against Russia. It uses the war in Syria, the US
presidential election and all other opportunities to smear Putin and Russia. In his talk on the new US military strategy, Joseph Dunford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said in a blunt way that Russia is the most severe and significant threat to US national interests. There have also been sensational rhetorics in the US media that a second Cold War between the US and Russia may lead to a world war.

The Obama administration has developed and implemented the so-called strategy of rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific. Under this strategy, the US has played up the South China Sea dispute and sowed discord between China and its neighbors. Economically, it has pushed for TPP to exclude China to maintain the US economic dominance in the Asia-Pacific. On the military front, the US has created tensions and tried to put together a NATO in the Asia-Pacific region as a way to practice power politics in the region. Using the Korean nuclear issue, the US has worked to build a US-Japan-ROK military alliance, in which with the US sitting behind the wheel while Japan acting as its pawn, to contain China. The US is now moving 60% of its navy and air forces into the Asia-Pacific region where it has conducted frequent military exercises involving nuclear-powered aircraft carriers, submarines, bombers and other sophisticated weaponry. It has also pushed for establishing anti-missile systems in the ROK and Japan, which endangers China’s strategic security. With no regard to China’s opposition, the US has sent aircraft and vessels on close-range reconnaissance missions. Under the pretext of freedom of navigation, US military vessels have entered waters close to China’s territory in an attempt to challenge China’s territorial sovereignty.

To control the Eurasian continent and contain China and
Russia, the US has, for many years, worked hard to exercise control on the entire Middle East. It has made invasions into Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria to cash in from the chaos in the region. Its selfish Middle East policy has given rise to the emerging terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaeda and ISIS, which threatens world peace, leads to perpetual chaos in the region and creates numerous humanitarian disasters.

Globally, the strategic security situation is severe and risks getting out of control.

4. With the specter of a break-up haunting Europe, the EU is facing a survival crisis

Early this year, experts on Europe predicted that the troubles in Europe may undermine the foundation for Europe’s economic and political integration. They prove to be right. On June 23, the British voted to leave the EU, of which the UK has been a member for 45 years. It became the last straw that breaks the back of the EU which has been plagued by, among others, a persistently weak economy, outstanding debt crisis and refugee issues. The Brexit referendum bears on the political direction of the UK. More importantly, it is a vote of no confidence on the EU. In his annual address to the European Parliament on September 14, Jean-Claud Junker, President of the European Commission, said that the EU was gridlocked in a “survival crisis” following the Brexit referendum.

How does the EU, which has been vibrant and referred to as a model of regional integration, slide into where it is now? Believe it or not, the fundamental reasons for both its success and its failure are all rooted in its integration.
European integration started after the end of the Second World War and has since gained momentum. It has contributed to economic recovery and peace in Europe. However, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the changes in Eastern Europe, the political elites in Western Europe, overwhelmed by their victory and with no regard to the feelings of the public, rushed for fundamental integration of Europe. As such, the Treaty of Maastricht was signed and the European Union was established on the basis of the European Community. The single currency, the euro, was adopted when conditions were not quite ready yet, followed by the Schengen Agreement, which eliminated border management among member countries. The EU has been hastily expanded to include large numbers of Central and Eastern European countries with very different national conditions. The membership has thus been quickly increased from 12 to 28. This, unfortunately, has fueled the internal imbalances among countries and is one of the reasons for the split.

Due to conflicting interests, the EU has been forced to split into the euro zone and non-euro zone, with the introduction of the Euro. After the European debt crisis, the euro zone is split into creditor countries in the north and indebted countries in the south. To overcome the economic crisis, the political elites tried hard to find a way out by building a “closer alliance”. This has prompted the Brexit and threatens to further divide the EU into core states and periphery states. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council, warned before the UK referendum that “The specter of a break-up is haunting Europe.” In the aftermath of the Brexit, he openly criticized that the Utopian attempt to build a federated Europe is accelerating the disintegration of the EU.

At the very beginning of the European integration, the principle
of “shared sovereignty” and “consensus” was established. Yet
the evolving international situation and expanding membership
has made it hard to implement this principle in an increasingly
competitive world, which also weighs on the European economy.
The abuse of shared sovereignty has caused bureaucracy in the
European Commission and other institutions, with EU laws placed
above the laws of sovereign states. This has put the EU institutions at
loggerheads with sovereign states and even caused conflicts. A case
in point is the allocation of refugees, which has been a contentious
issue within the EU.

It’s its own mistakes that have put the euro zone at great perils
due to the economic and debt crises. Then, the influx of refugees
has made the Schengen Agreement more unsustainable. What has
happened shows that the institutions and operation model of the EU
must be overhauled to ensure its sustainability. Yet reform is never
an easy task especially in Europe at a time when whoever undertakes
reform risks being rejected by the voters. It is all the more difficult to
adopt a reform plan acceptable to 27 member states. While the EU
won’t disintegrate right after the exit of the UK, it is, inevitably, on
the decline. And this will have no small implications for the world.

5. With growing turmoil in the Middle East,
terrorist disasters and refugee problems become
even more difficult to solve

The Middle East has been coveted by big powers due to
its strategic location and abundant oil and gas resources. The
religious, sectarian and ethnic conflicts in the region have provided
opportunities for intervention by outside forces and perpetuated wars
and chaos. It has been the most volatile region in the world since the
end of the Second World War.

Since the beginning of this century, the United States, which has been dominant in the Middle East, has launched wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria under the pretext of anti-terrorism and democracy without UN authorization. With their countries deep in the quagmire of wars, millions of people were displaced and lived in sufferings. The erroneous Middle East policy of western countries led by the US has created the gravest humanitarian disaster and dire consequences since the Second World War.

What is worse, the chaos in the Middle East has given rise to extremist terrorist organizations, causing widespread damage. The US claims to be fighting terrorism, but has adopted double standards. It only combats terrorist organizations that threaten its security, while taking advantage of those that pose a threat to other countries. For example, the US has been reluctant to put the Eastern Turkistan forces on its anti-terrorist list, and refuses to hand to China those Eastern Turkistan terrorists released from the prison at Guantanamo.

It is no secret that Al-Qaeda led by Bin Laden was supported by CIA. The US is not clean on its connections with the raging ISIS either. According to the article entitled “Pentagon Secret Papers: It’s the US government that has created the ISIS” published by Germany’s Focus magazine in May 2016, a document of the intelligence unit of the US Department of Defense predicted in August 2012 that there would emerge in the Middle East an “Islamic State”, an network of Iraqi and Syrian terrorist organizations, which the US believed serves the will of Western countries as it would isolate and weaken Bashar. This prediction materialized three years later in June 2014 with the establishment of the Islamic State. Up to
now, the US is still reluctant to go all out to fight IS and even turns a blind eye as financing activities for IS continue unimpeded. As such, although IS has been weakened thanks to joint efforts of various parties, it is still a far cry from the goal of annihilating IS within two years, as pledged by President Obama. In fact, IS has even spread beyond the region, as evidenced by the terrorist attacks that frequently took place in Europe this year.

With these kind of selfish policy by the U.S., it is impossible to solve the terrorist threats to world peace and tranquility within a short time, and they will continue to be a major factor of the persistent turmoil in this world.
On November 8, 2016 the one-and-half-year-long U.S. presidential campaign finally came to an end with the Republican candidate Donald Trump being elected as the 45th President of the United States. Besides, the Republicans also won majority both at the Senate and the House. Given the fact that Mr. Trump talked a lot of unconventional ideas and especially the accusations against China, there is much attention to what impacts this election outcome will bring to China-U.S. relations.

I. Revisiting the Election

This just ended election mainly focused on US domestic affairs. On the one hand, the United States is in urgent need of tackling such domestic problems as re-energizing economy, re-formulating social policies and re-considering immigration policies. On the other hand, the election process did not focus on the issues but was full of endless, sometimes even shameless
personal in-fights. However, the Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton was seen as a part of the problems because of her political and personal backgrounds. On the contrary, Mr. Trump had never been in the public service, which enabled him to attack Hillary Clinton as a problem-maker and depicted himself as a critical part of the solutions.

While stressing the election’s main focus was domestic agenda, this does not say that the international factor played no role. This election also gave outlets to the various kinds of Americans for expressing their concerns over the U.S. declining status and impotence in managing the important international issues. The United States finds it increasingly difficult to preserve its political leadership and attraction in the world and maintain its security and military dominance as well. At least three international factors helped the election of Mr. Trump. The first is that the United States is caught in the world trends but does not know how to deal with them, especially the multipolarization, globalization as well as mounting terrorism and extremism. The eight-year rule by the Democrat administration thus became an easy target to be blamed for everything from the messy situation in the Middle East to weak position in global competition. The second is that the American ruling establishment can provide neither forward-looking thoughts nor effective strategies and policies for the future world. Hillary Clinton was vehemently attacked for not being able to gain American leadership in the world. The third is that Mr. Trump used unsystematic but effective expressions to outline American future foreign policies such as caring more about the US affairs, sharing costs with allies, firming up policies towards foreign competition and winning back respects.
Domestic and external factors combined, many of the common Americans cried for changing the adverse effects from the globalization and providing more job and psychological security in today’s world. As regards the establishment, they were still indecisive on what and how to do in order to preserve a strong US presence and status. Consequentially, the inability to meet these challenges led to political divisions that are transcending political parties, regions and spectrums of social status. These political divisions also reflect the difficulties of readjusting the allocation of political powers and achieving political consensus on the roadmaps to the future. Under this context, emerging are various kinds of thoughts competing for attention, domination and implementation. Therefore, the populist mood and thoughts have come to prominence and Mr. Trump shrewdly made them into the slogans of America First and Making America Great Again.

Elections are full of accidental and incidental causes. The Hillary team believed that the FBI last minute meddling with Hillary’s email issue eventually turned the latter’s would-be victory into a defeat. But many disagreed and gave other reasons. For instance, President Obama attributed Hillary Clinton’s defeat to her slackness as a result of over-self-confidence. Anyway, Mr. Trump won the election by a landslide victory of Electoral College voters although Hillary Clinton claimed two million more popular votes. This means that the political divisions will remain unchanged and political in-fights will continue in the upcoming years.

During this election, China was both realistic and prudent as it fully respected the choice of the American voters. Given this election’s complicity and uncertainty, China made it its main policy to forward its relations with the United States by stability.
As regards attitudes, China adopted its usual way of wait-and-see. But this is not a passive one. On the one hand, China continued to add more positive energy to China-US relations such as high level contacts and closer military exchanges. On the other hand, China believed that the further enhancement of its own strength would be a constructive factor in its relations with the United States. With decades of multiplying national strength and enhanced understanding of the U.S. elections, China was more mature and cool-headed this time than ever before. To certain extent, this attitude facilitates the stability and predictability of China-US relations.

As regards institutions, China worked in three ways. One is to make the established institutions and mechanisms survive the election as much as possible. The Chinese government had been working throughout the US election period. This had been responded by President Obama. He told President Xi during their last official meeting on November 19, 2016 that he had already introduced the importance of US-China relations to Mr. Trump and emphasized that a smooth transition of bilateral relations should be realized. Two is to strengthen the domestic supports both in China and the United States. China gigantically promoted state-province and local exchanges, people-to-people interaction and economic transaction. Three, China took no position on who would be the winner. This made a sharp contrast to some other countries such as Japan. This position derives from both traditional Chinese culture of Golden Median Way advocated by Confucius and present China’s increasing self-confidence in managing the China-U.S. relations.

As regards specific issues, China worked with the United
States when they had the similar position and against the United States when the latter’s role was negative. China and the United States were the two most important countries to help the completion of the Paris Climate Change Agreement. The two countries also played key roles in the Iranian nuclear agreement and the joint approaches at the United Nations’ Security Council on North Korean nuclear issue. However, China was firm on its opposing position vis-à-vis the US policy towards the South China Sea issue and the deployment of the Terminal High Altitude Area Defense (THAAD) in South Korea. This dual ways helped consolidate their common standings and avoid hijacking the overall China-US relations by some specific issues, especially in the sensitive election period.

II. Impacts on China-US Relations

During the US presidential campaigning China as a negative reference appeared from time to time. Most of Mr. Trump’s attacks were in the economic and business fields. He accused China of cheating in business, stealing American jobs and manipulating RMB exchange rates. If Mr. Trump goes to translate his campaigning rhetoric into concrete policies, the consequences on China-US relations will be damaging or even devastating. However, Mr. Trump did not pay as much attention to the global geopolitics in general and regional one in particular as President Obama. Indeed, with the change of the president, the United States looks likely that it will decide and define new focuses in China-US relations. Therefore, the Trump administration will present both opportunities and challenges. Now that the election is over, the change of leadership in the United States is historically significant and will definitely impact on China-US relations.
As the biggest developing country and the biggest developed country respectively, as well as the top two economies in the world, China and the United States have to look at and handle their relations through the domestic, bilateral, regional and global perspectives.

Domestically, both China and the United States need the other side for their own country’s agendas. What China seeks are the fulfilment of the two centenary goals and the realization of the Chinese dream of great national rejuvenation. Now, China is at the critical stage to realize its first centennial goal and prepare for the second goal. It goes without saying that a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship between China and the United States will certainly be one of the most important external conditions. Likewise, the United States also needs to maintain sustainable relations with China to make itself great again. During the campaign, the Americans had showed their general anxieties over its economy’s downward spiral and the strong eagerness for the revival of its past status. Consequentially, the leaders of the two countries fully understand the importance of mutual interdependence between China and the United States and both look forward to the other side for facilitating their own domestic agendas. Besides, the closely interwoven relations in various fields

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1 i.e., to complete the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects and double China’s 2010 GDP and per capita income by the time the Chinese Communist Party celebrates its centenary in 2021; and to build China into a modern socialist country that is prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious by the time the People’s Republic of China celebrates its centenary in 2049.
including political, diplomatic, economic, military, societal and people-to-people ones serve the ever-enhancing foundations for positive and pragmatic relations each other. All these combined, the positive energy of the domestic support will eventually overcome the myopia and narrow-mindedness.

Bilaterally, China and the United States can achieve even greater achievements if they stay on the right track of cooperation. As President Xi Jinping said to Mr. Trump in their telephone conversation on November 14, 2016: “Since the establishment of China-US diplomatic relationship 37 years ago, bilateral relations have been continuously moving forward, which has brought tangible benefits to the two peoples and also promoted world and regional peace, stability and prosperity. Facts have proven that cooperation is the only correct choice for China and the U.S.” In the past eight years when President Obama was in the White House, economic relations have remained as the promoter and ballast for China-U.S. relations while province-to-state, people-to-people and military-to-military exchanges have seen a new round of developments. As Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang said at a luncheon in Washington, DC, on Nov 22, 2016: “Bilateral trade between China and the United States has grown at an average annual rate of over 7 percent over the past eight years amid a slowdown in global trade, bringing huge benefits to the two countries.” He further pointed out: “China has become the largest trade partner of the United States. US exports to China have supported almost one million jobs at home while the rapid increase in Chinese investments in the United States helped create nearly extra 10,000 jobs.” The similar list could be added on and on.

Regionally, China and the United States have their most
interactions in the Asia-Pacific region. In recent years, the two countries have gone through many tests such as the South China Sea issue, the North Korea Nuclear issue and China-US-Japan relations. Some issues will come away with the outgoing old administration such as the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). However, many more issues will stay such as the US-led alliance system and the Taiwan Question. Moreover, even new issues would irrupt under new circumstances. Therefore, the two countries should not be issue-driven but look for top-level planning so as to have a comprehensive and constructive framework to guide their interaction in the region at the new stage of re-matching up each other. In addition to the Asia-Pacific region, China and the United States will also readjust their interaction in or related to other regions. In Latin America and the Caribbean region, China and the United States could work together to help the region for economic restructuring and upgrading. In Africa, China and the United States could create a new model of trilateral or multilateral cooperation for implementing the UN 2030 Agenda. In Europe, China and the United States could find new ways of trilateral cooperation in filling in more momentum to the global economy and the revolution of science and technology.

Globally, China and the United States bear important and special responsibilities in maintaining world peace and stability, and promoting global development and prosperity, as well as share broad common interests. In the past eight years, China and the United States have garnered noticeable achievements in global governance, especially on combating the global financial crisis, climate change and massive epidemics on the one hand and the upgrading the G20 to the summit level, reforming the IMF and the World Bank on the other hand. These achievements, in turn, have
not only promoted their bilateral and regional cooperation but also benefited the whole world. Still there is more room for enhancing their cooperation in maintaining and improving the existing international system and order.

III. Multi-faceted Challenges

Desirable as the above-mentioned achievements and prospects, yet the immediate and real changes are serious in essence and immense in magnitude at a time when the United States will soon have a new president with very unconventional ideas and policies.

The first challenge is to prevent the anti-China campaigning rhetoric from becoming real policies. Although this election mainly focused on domestic issues and personal attacks between the two candidates, yet China as a negative reference appeared from time to time. Therefore, the two countries should do their best to consolidate the economic relation as the promoter when it is in the good time and the ballast when it is in difficulties. Besides, both sides need to add more momentums to their bilateral economic relations by more financial cooperation and economic restructuring.

The second challenge is related to the geo-politics and geo-strategies. Since 2010, China and the United States have had increasing difficulties in their opposing senses of geo-politics and geo-strategies. China felt that the United State is tightening its screws on China by encircling military deployments, consolidating its alliance system aiming at China and standing on the opposing side in almost every China’s disputes with its neighbors. The United States feared that China attempted to squeeze it out of the
Asia-Pacific region. Besides, there are also the factors of some trilateral relations. China, the United States and Russia will see a new round of readjustments among themselves. Mr. Trump’s standing on US-Russia relations is unclear, and sometimes even confusing. China, the United States and Japan as well as China, the United States and South Korea present another set of relations for the Northeast Asian geo-strategies and geo-politics. Furthermore, there are also trilateral relations among China, the United States and India as well as China, the United States and ASEAN. Given all these countries’ weight in the world or Asia-Pacific region, these trilateral relations will certainly exert impacts onto the regional developments.

The third challenge is to build up a cooperative working relationship under the new circumstances. In the past four years, the Chinese President Xi Jinping had nine summit meetings with President Obama and the two governments had kept or created 90-plus mechanisms of regular dialogues. But with the Trump administration coming into power, the two governments will enter into a new round of matching-up. Therefore, it is extremely important for the two sides to review the previous policies towards each other and maintain close consultation for the future interaction. Only by so doing, can the two countries reduce uncertainties and increase predictability. During their telephone conversation on November 14, President Xi and President-elect Trump agreed to keep close contact, build a sound working relationship and meet at an early date in order to exchange views on the development of bilateral relations and topics of common concern in time. Through various kinds of contacts and communications in this transitional period, the two sides need to re-confirm the previously existing mechanisms or find new ways of
dialogues, define and prioritize the working agendas, and discuss over and find solutions to the major issues of mutual concerns.

The fourth challenge is about proper management of differences and possible crises. Like other bilateral relations, the China-US relations need to have a good new-start. Therefore, the two countries need to handle their differences in a prudent way. Neither side should make provocations or test the limits. Both sides should keep the communication lines operative and effective in case of emergent needs. Furthermore, the actual handling of China-US relations should take into consideration the context of information society. Proper and effective shaping and leading public opinions will also contribute to creating conducive atmosphere, which, in turn, will benefit the management of differences and possible crises.

Last but not least, the challenge also lies in the reduction of trust deficits and enhancement of strategic trust between the two countries. China is a rising power whereas the United States is an established one. As President Xi Jinping pointed out in his speech in Seattle on September 22, 2015: “There is no such thing as the so-called Thucydides trap in the world. But should major countries time and again make the mistakes of strategic miscalculation, they might create such traps for themselves.” There are some basic ways to enhance strategic trust between the two countries. First, China and the United States should adhere to the principles of non-conflict, non-confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. Second, the two countries should maintain strategic dialogues and show their strategic sincerities by respecting each other’s core and vital national interests. Third, they should also formulate and execute their concrete policies and measures under
IV. Turning Challenges into Opportunities

China believes in historical materialism and dialectical materialism, thus always holding that challenges could be turned into opportunities under the right conditions. Apart from those factors beyond its control, China is making great efforts to move China-US relations with the Trump administration.

Right after the election China gave out clear signals. According to President Xi Jinping’s congratulatory message on November 8 and the telephone conversation between President Xi and President-elect Trump on November 14, we can summarize China’s policy initiatives as follows:

China emphasizes the importance of China-US relations and cooperation being the only correct choice. Moreover, President Xi even made his personal commitment. This shows that China will continue to positively and constructively promote this relationship.

China emphasizes that this relationship brought and should continue to bring tangible benefits to the two peoples and the world at large. While Mr. Trump attacked China on quite a few economic and business issues, he certainly knew that economic cooperation with China will help him yield more economic benefits and that a total confrontation with China will bring catastrophes to the US economy such as highly increasing the living expenses that he promised to bring down during the campaign.

China emphasizes that China is the largest developing country
whereas the other is the strongest developed one. Furthermore, they are the top two world’s economies. Therefore, both share the special responsibilities for the world. This is to tell the Trump administration that the two countries should work together for better global governance and improving the international system and order.

There are also some signs that it is possible to turn some of the challenges into opportunities. Mr. Trump pays less attention to ideologies and geo-strategic factors, thus making it possible for the two countries to have a fresh look on the so-called U.S. Rebalancing Strategy in the Asian Pacific Region. At this stage of waiting for the readjustments of the U.S. strategies and policies, one can say three things at least. First, the Trump administration will rebalance the geographic extents among Europe-Russia, the Middle East and Asian Pacific. Second, the Trump administration will rebalance its relations with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Vietnam on the one hand and China on the other. Third, the Trump administration will also need to rebalance the contents between security/military and politics/economics.

Mr. Trump values more on concrete and tangible benefits. His advisors already started to talk about the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the Belt & Road Initiative (B&RI) advocated by China but denied by the Obama administration. Trump’s national security adviser James Woolsey said in an opinion piece that the Obama administration’s opposition to the formation of the AIIB was “a strategic mistake” and hoped the next administration’s response to China’s Belt and Road initiative would be “much warmer”. The Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said on November 15, 2016 that it would “not be a bad thing if the
United States, as the world’s largest economy, would join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)”.

IV. Conclusion

To sum up, the election of Mr. Trump as the new U.S. president certainly presents many new challenges, some of which are even unprecedented ones. We should never underestimate the width and depth of these challenges and take all the necessary measures to prepare for the worst. However, it does not mean the end-day of the world. On the contrary, this out-of-expectation result should enable the world to re-ponder the new situation and strive for the new solutions. Taking into consideration their weight and influence, China and the United States should shoulder special responsibilities for maintaining peace and stability of the world. Therefore, they have only one correct choice, i.e. cooperation. They cannot afford the devastative results of confrontation and conflicts, which leaves no winners but only losers. It should be pointed out that the atmospheres and essences of the Xi-Trump initial contacts are both positive and substantive. After all, China-US relations have gone through eight American Republican or Democrat presidents since President Nixon’s visit to China in 1972 and made great achievements in the past 35 years. So long as the two sides stay on the right track with the right leadership and institutions, one can have good reasons to believe that the China-U.S. relations would move ahead through post-election stabilities and enter into a new stage of cooperation.

(As of November 27, 2016)
Between 17 and 23 November 2016, at the invitation of President Rafael Correa, President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and President Michelle Bachelet, Chinese President Xi Jinping paid a state visit to Ecuador, Peru and Chile and attended the 24th APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting held in Lima. It was a visit of key significance geared towards the Asia-Pacific and Latin America, and the third visit by President Xi to Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) in four years.

During the visit, President Xi renewed traditional friendship and drew the blueprint for future cooperation with leaders of the three countries. He delivered a major speech at the Congress of Peru intended for the whole LAC region to chart the future course of the relations between the two sides. Marked by numerous highlights and fruitful outcomes, the visit has left a far-reaching impact and sent a strong message that despite
the turbulent and fluid international and regional environment, China’s confidence in the development prospects of Latin America and the Caribbean remains strong; the two sides remain each other’s source of development opportunities and China remains committed to enhancing cooperation with regional countries. The visit marks the beginning of a new journey towards a community of shared future between China and LAC. Upon the conclusion of President Xi’s visit, the Chinese government issued the second Policy Paper on Latin America and the Caribbean, detailing China’s vision, ideas and measures towards the region in the new era. This document will guide bilateral cooperation and lead the comprehensive and cooperative partnership between China and LAC to new height.

I. China-LAC relations in the new era

The long geographical distance between China and LAC has never been an obstacle to their time-honored friendly ties and the natural bond between the two peoples. The relationship has registered leapfrog growth in recent years, with frequent high-level exchanges and expanding interactions and cooperation in various areas. The two sides have boosted each other’s economic development, and together addressed the challenges brought about by the international financial crisis. The relationship between China and the Latin American and Caribbean region, with the following outstanding features, is a template of South-South cooperation in the new era.

First, this is a relationship navigated by high-level exchanges. Being developing countries alike, China and LAC states share broad interests on issues such as the pursuit of a multipolar world
and greater democracy in international relations. Over the years, leaders from both sides have enjoyed frequent exchanges. From the 1990s on, all principal Chinese leaders have visited the LAC region, and most of the region’s leaders have visited China during their tenure. Through close communication and candid dialogue on bilateral relations as well as regional and international issues of common concern, the two sides have strengthened and broadened their political consensus. In 2008, the Chinese government issued the first *Policy Paper on Latin America and the Caribbean*, establishing the goal of building a comprehensive and cooperative partnership featuring equality, mutual benefit and common development with LAC countries. It also contained policies for cooperation with the region in various areas and provided overarching guidance on the development of this relationship. In 2014, President Xi Jinping and LAC leaders jointly announced the establishment of the comprehensive and cooperative partnership of equality, mutual benefit and common development and the Forum of China and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (China-CELAC Forum), demonstrating that their political mutual trust has reached a new level and their comprehensive cooperation has entered a new stage.

Second, this is a relationship powered by practical cooperation. Since the turn of the century, China and the LAC region have fully tapped into their economic complementarities and spurred rapid growth of practical cooperation on the economic front. It took only one decade for their bilateral trade volume to rise from less than US$20 billion to US$260 billion, which is rarely seen in the history of world trade. China now stands as the second largest trading partner of the region and the largest trading partner of many individual regional countries. Free trade
agreements have been inked between China and countries like Chile, Peru and Costa Rica. Petroleum, soybean and iron ore from LAC helped sustain China’s growth while engineering machinery and production equipment from China facilitated the development of LAC countries. In addition, the region is a major destination of outbound investment and source of project contracting for Chinese companies. Many important cooperation programs in energy and resources, telecommunication and, infrastructure and so on have helped countries in this region to enhance their ability to develop on its own and, at the same time, brought tangible benefits to both peoples.

Third, this is a relationship underpinned by sound people-to-people exchanges. Both China and LAC boast a long history and a splendid civilization. Throughout the long course of interactions, the two peoples have always cherished friendly sentiments towards each other. Cooperation booms in different areas, and people-to-people and cultural exchanges have also become more vibrant. China is gaining in popularity among the people in LAC, and vice versa. There are now 39 Confucius Institutes, 11 Confucius Classrooms and one Chinese Cultural Center in the region, and every year nearly 10,000 LAC students pursue their studies in China. Spanish and Portuguese are taught in more than 50 Chinese institutes of higher learning. LAC is becoming a top destination for high-end Chinese tourists. China and LAC are linked by direct flights and more and more countries in the region offer Chinese tourists visa free treatment and other visa facilitation measures. Events such as the Year of Culture, the week of TV programs and a variety of art performances have brought our people even closer.
II. A new five-dimensional structure of China-LAC cooperation

In 2014, President Xi Jinping stated at the first China-LAC leaders’ meeting that China and LAC were better positioned than ever before to seize the growing opportunities for mutually beneficial cooperation across the board and achieve greater progress. He proposed to build a new, five-dimensional relationship characterized by sincerity and mutual trust in the political field, win-win cooperation on the economic front, mutual learning in the cultural sphere, close coordination in international affairs, as well as synergy between China’s cooperation with the region as a whole and its bilateral relations with individual regional countries. His initiative was well received by regional leaders and has thus become the new overarching goal of China’s policy towards LAC. Two years on, significant progress was made in advancing the relationship along this thinking. Efforts in each of the five areas have contributed to the overall relationship and, indeed, to one another.

To treat each other as equals and to help each other with sincerity is the fundamental premise of the relations between China and LAC. China is committed to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and maintains that all countries, regardless of their size, strength and wealth, are equal members of the international community. China firmly supports the efforts of LAC countries to pursue development paths suitable to their own national conditions, seek strength through unity and bring about prosperity. Since 2013, President Xi Jinping has paid three visits to the region, each covering a different sub-region and met with leaders from all the states that have diplomatic relations with China in this region.
China established comprehensive strategic partnerships first with Brazil, followed by Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, Ecuador and Chile. Strategic partnerships were established with Costa Rica and Uruguay and a comprehensive and cooperative partnership featuring equality, mutual benefit and common development with Caribbean countries that have diplomatic ties with China, thus strengthening China’s partnership network in this region. The two sides have improved dialogue and cooperation mechanisms, including high-level committees, strategic dialogues, bilateral commissions and political consultations, and continue to render each other understanding and support on issues concerning state sovereignty, territorial integrity, stability, development and other core interests and major concerns and uphold common interests.

To uphold mutual benefit and promote common development is the core engine that drives the relations forward. Guided by the “1+3+6” framework proposed by President Xi Jinping, practical cooperation has moved on to the fast lane. By adopting the China-Latin American and Caribbean Countries Cooperation Plan (2015-2019), cooperation in six key areas, namely, energy and resources, infrastructure, agriculture, manufacturing, innovation in science and technology, and information technology, is getting a real boost from trade, investment and financial cooperation. Since 2015, despite the frustrating world economic recovery and the falling international commodity price, China’s imports of major products from the region have remained stable. Bilateral trade mix continues to improve. Advantageous products from Latin America such as agricultural produce are becoming new drivers of exports to China. China’s direct investment stock in LAC has topped US$150 billion, expanding from traditional recipients such as the resource and energy industry to power generation,
automobile, machinery manufacturing, new energy, e-commerce and other emerging industries. New means of investment including equity acquisition and commercial franchise are being explored. LAC is now second to Asia as the largest destination of overseas investment by Chinese companies. The new “3 × 3” model for production capacity cooperation (i.e. jointly building the three major passageways of logistics, electricity and information in Latin America, enabling healthy interactions among the enterprise, society and government, and expanding the use of funds, credit loans and insurance as financing tools), unveils a promising future especially in infrastructure construction. China has put in place a set of financial arrangements in support of its cooperation with the region over the years, including a financing support package of US$35 billion, a US$30 billion China-Latin American Production Capacity Cooperation Investment Fund and a US$3 billion China-Caribbean Cooperation Fund. China signed bilateral financing and currency swap agreements with quite a few regional countries and designated RMB clearing banks in Chile and Argentina, providing key financing support to bilateral business cooperation. Closer cooperation and the growing convergence of interests have enabled China and LAC to better tap into each other’s strengths for common development.

To carry out exchanges and mutual learning and cement enduring friendship is a solid support for relations between China and the LAC region. In 2014, President Xi Jinping announced that China would provide LAC countries with 6,000 government scholarships, 6,000 training opportunities and 400 on-the-job master’s degree opportunities, and invite 1,000 leaders of political parties of LAC countries to visit China. The effective implementation of such important measures has further deepened
mutual understanding of the two sides. In 2016, cultural, sport and people-to-people exchanges culminated in such major activities as the Year of China-LAC Cultural Exchange and the 31st Summer Olympics and Paralympics in Brazil. During his third visit to the LAC region, President Xi Jinping announced that China would provide countries in the region with 10,000 training opportunities in various sectors, set up a center for press exchange and invite LAC reporters to work in China in the next three years, and train 500 media professionals for these countries in the next five years. The implementation of the said measures will further strengthen the people-to-people bond and traditional friendship between the two sides.

To enhance international collaboration and uphold equity and justice is an international responsibility for China and LAC countries as they develop their relations. The two sides have carried out effective dialogue and coordination and upheld common position in pursuing sustainable development, safeguarding the multilateral trading regime, improving global economic governance, tackling climate change and promoting Asia-Pacific regional cooperation in the UN, WTO and other international organizations and multilateral frameworks. China supported Brazil and Peru in hosting the 2014 BRICS Summit and 2016 APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting respectively. LAC countries have also been highly supportive of China’s efforts to host the 2014 APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting and the 2016 G20 Hangzhou Summit and China’s proposals, including an FTA of the Asia-Pacific and the Belt and Road Initiative. Brazil is a founding member of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and has worked with China in building the BRICS New Development Bank. The two countries held a common position at the Paris Conference on
Climate Change. Cooperation on regional and international affairs has effectively helped uphold the international order and system centered around the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, promoted Asia-Pacific regional cooperation and contributed to the building of an open and inclusive world economic system.

To ensure mutual reinforcement between China’s cooperation with the region as a whole and with individual countries is a strategic pathway for the growth of the relations between the two sides. In 2014, leaders of China and LAC countries jointly announced the establishment of the China-CELAC Forum. Its inaugural ministerial meeting was held in Beijing in January 2015, marking the full coverage of the overall regional cooperation mechanism with other developing countries advocated by China. Over the past two years, steady progress has been made in all cooperation areas of China-CELAC Forum. Over ten sub-forum meetings have been held in such areas as infrastructure, science, technology and innovation, and among political parties, young political leaders, the general public, think tanks and entrepreneurs, giving a boost to cooperation across the board. Cooperation measures under the framework of the China-CELAC Forum have also been steadily implemented. In the principle of equality and with the goal of mutual benefit, China actively advances cooperation with the region mainly through the platform of the China-CELAC Forum in a flexible, practical, open and inclusive spirit. China has continued dialogue and cooperation with sub-regional organizations such as Mercosur and the Pacific Alliance and regional financial institutions including the Inter-American Development Bank. China’s relations with LAC countries, sub-regional organizations and the region as a whole have all made progress and reinforced each other. Such a sound momentum has
been welcomed and acclaimed by the LAC region.

**III. Jointly build a community of shared future for common progress**

The CPC Central Committee with General Secretary Xi Jinping as the core has proposed to build a community of shared future for mankind based on its keen insights into the future of mankind and the trend of the times. A major innovation in the theory of major-country diplomacy with Chinese features and a major plan for the evolvement of international order and system, it is exerting a positive and profound impact on the contemporary international relations. When it comes to the relations between China and the LAC region, the two sides have always treated each other as equals, upheld fairness and justice, and committed themselves to pursuing economic growth, inclusiveness, mutual benefit, mutual learning between civilizations and green development. Given such high conformity with the master plan for building a community of shared future for mankind, the relations have already developed the basic features of a community of shared future.

In his speech in the Congress of Peru, President Xi Jinping pointed out that China and LAC countries need to stay committed to peace, development and cooperation, seek complementarity between development strategies, scale up cooperation, share fruits of cooperation and work together for China-LAC community of shared future which, like a giant vessel, will take the friendly relations onto a new voyage. This charts the course for the future of relations between China and the LAC region.
Staying committed to peace, development and cooperation means to act in accordance with the trend of the times, grasp the overall international landscape, always make national development and renewal a fundamental mission, and jointly uphold world peace, promote common development and build a new model of international relations featuring win-win cooperation. Peace and development represents the fundamental aspiration and biggest converging interest of the developing countries, China and LAC countries included. With one fifth of the world’s total landmass and nearly one third of the world’s population, China and LAC countries are crucial forces for world peace, stability and growth. On development, the two sides need to treat each other as equals, stay on a path of dialogue and partnership instead of confrontation or alliance, and develop a China-LAC model for state-to-state relations in the new era. The two sides need to conduct win-win cooperation, lend impetus to each other’s development, and contribute to global economic growth with their combined strengths. The two sides need to engage in exchange and mutual learning, seek harmony but not conformity, and offer their experience to shaping the harmonious coexistence among different civilizations. On major international affairs concerning peace, development and cooperation, the two sides need to make their voice heard, elaborate on their common position, and jointly increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries.

Seeking complementarity between our development strategies means to strengthen experience sharing on governance, enhance macro policy planning and coordination, and synergize China’s 13th Five-Year Plan with the strategies of LAC countries. China
will upgrade its foreign trade at a faster pace, further open its market to the world, encourage enterprises to invest overseas and speed up the implementation of the FTA strategy. This dovetails with development plans of LAC countries as they all aim to increase added value of exports, attract foreign investment, diversify industrial mix and safeguard global trade and investment liberalization. China and LAC can learn from each other’s comparative advantages in such areas as social governance, environmental protection, poverty reduction and health. China will hold a round table on environment and sustainable development in Beijing next year, when the two sides will compare notes on relevant policy concepts and explore new areas for cooperation. The two sides also need to grow the relations in the context of regional and international development. China calls for synergy between Asia-Pacific regional cooperation and the “look east” policy on development of LAC countries. The development of FTAAP will create more opportunities for China, LAC countries and beyond.

Scaling up cooperation means to drive development with innovation, take the initiative to adapt to the new changes and challenges in the global economic and financial landscape, and keep upgrading practical cooperation. As urbanization and the new type of industrialization in China and LAC countries create enormous market demand, the two sides need to seize the opportunity to unlock trade potential, optimize trade mix, nurture new growth areas in products with a cutting edge, high quality and high added value. The two sides need to guide investment in such sectors as high tech, clean energy, manufacturing, information and communications, foster a multi-dimensional investment network
covering financing, technology, equipment and human resources, and diversify ways of financial cooperation. The two sides need to strengthen production capacity cooperation, encourage enterprises from both sides to conduct joint innovation and R&D, support each other’s development strategies and lend new impetus to common development. Both sides need to make full use of bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms, including the China-CELAC Forum, to make good plans for cooperation in all areas, keep improving the institutional arrangements for trade and investment facilitation, and build a full-fledged legal and institutional architecture for our cooperation.

Sharing fruits of cooperation means to make our people the champion, contributor and beneficiary of China-LAC cooperation. China encourages enterprises to act on the concept of green development, fulfill their corporate social responsibilities and step up technological transfer and human resource cooperation with LAC countries. At the same time, Chinese businesses should respect local customs and cultural traditions, abide by local laws on labor, environment and in other areas, promote investment localization, and contribute to local employment and social development, so that people of both sides can truly feel the benefits of their cooperation. The two sides also need to expand cultural and people-to-people exchange and mutual learning between civilizations, so that people from both sides will understand and support each other in the exploration of a development path that suits their conditions, that the Chinese dream and the LAC dream of unity, coordination, development and revitalization will reinforce each other, and that China-LAC cooperation will bring both material and cultural benefits.
The giant vessel of China-LAC community of shared future has set sail. Let us work hand in glove for a smooth and long voyage that delivers greater prosperity and benefits for our people, and makes fresh contribution to the great endeavor of building a community of shared future for mankind.
In 2016, China experienced complex dynamics in its neighborhood and made extraordinary diplomatic efforts. Despite the sluggish recovery of the world economy, emerging geopolitical elements, and headwinds against globalization, China’s neighborhood maintained general stability and relatively fast growth. Yet, it also faced destabilizing factors and uncertainties, such as mounting downward pressure on economies, protruding hotspot and thorny issues, and rising security challenges. Under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as its core, China achieved diplomatic successes in promoting landmark projects and properly handling tricky issues and hotspots in its neighborhood.

1. The trend of the times breeds major adjustments

The aspiration for peace, growth and cooperation remained strong in the neighborhood of China. The
Asia-Pacific region, in particular, has increasingly become an anchor for stability, a high ground of cooperation, and an engine of growth. More and more countries cast their attention to this promising region. Meanwhile, the deep-seated aftermath of the international financial crisis continued to ferment. Forces within and without the region made moves on their chessboard as the regional situation evolved, leaving a deep and complex impact on the economic, political and security landscape in China’s neighborhood.

**Regional economy achieved outstanding performance, but downward pressure was mounting.** In 2016, the region continued to contribute greatly to the global economy with its sustained fast growth and showed great potentials for future growth, adding a highlight to the sluggish world economy. IMF projection indicated that the Asia-Pacific would grow by 5.4% this year, with most East Asian countries growing by over 5.5%. An Asian Development Bank report suggested that the developing economies in Asia, represented by China, contributed over 60% of global growth and remained a high ground in world development. At the same time, the lethargic world economy, fluctuating international financial market, geopolitical risks and the Brexit created adverse spillovers. Japan’s super-scale quantitative easing produced prominent negative effects. These aggravated the economic difficulties for some countries. It became an imminent challenge for countries in the region to balance multiple tasks such as structural adjustment and growth promotion under such unhelpful environment.

**Cooperation among major countries deepened, but competition heightened at the same time.** China, the United States, Russia, and other premier players engaged in communication and
coordination over the Asia-Pacific affairs at various levels. Major countries increasingly sought help and cooperation from one another, particularly through multilateral and bilateral dialogue and cooperation, in the fields of trade and investment, non-traditional security issues and environmental protection. It was in the common interest of major actors as well as other regional players. But it was concerning that a certain major country’s regional policy designed for maintaining its hegemony led to rising strategic misgivings and competition among major powers. The US pushed for a re-balance in the Asia-Pacific, with the US-Japan alliance at its core and a TPP as the platform. While Asia-Pacific countries pursued integration and inclusive growth, such relentless efforts to make and strengthen exclusive arrangements on security and free trade targeting a specific major country was apparently out of accord with the times. While parties were in urgent need of coordination to cope with the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula and to ensure stability in the South China Sea, the US pushed for the deployment of THAAD anti-missile system in the Republic of Korea and drew together a handful of countries for the joint patrol in the South China Sea, jeopardizing major-country relations and regional stability. Japan, on its part, insisted on its wrong position on history. It pressurized UNESCO repeatedly by refusing to pay its due share of contribution after the *Documents of the Nanjing Massacre* was inscribed in Memory of the World Register. It took a step further in lifting the ban on its right to collective defense and made troubles on issues related to the South China Sea and the Taiwan Straits. These actions sowed the seeds of disarray for regional peace and security.

**Regional situation was stable in general, but risks and challenges remained prominent.** Compared with other regions
in the world, most parts of China’s neighborhood were free from conflict and war, and bristled with economic and social vigor. But the resurfacing of geopolitical considerations and the rise of hotspot issues in the region manifested destabilizing factors and uncertainties. In Northeast Asia, the DPRK’s violation of the UN Security Council resolution, as evidenced by two nuclear tests and multiple missile tests, led to new escalations. Taking this opportunity, the US and the ROK held a joint military exercise of an unprecedented scale and pushed for the deployment of THAAD in the ROK, threatening international strategic balance and security in Northeast Asia. The spiraling tensions of nuclear tests and anti-missile deployment brought dark clouds over the Peninsula. In Southeast Asia, some countries unrelated to the issue were stirring troubles by fueling up the arbitration case on the South China Sea initiated by the Philippines, acting even more proactively than the case initiator. They challenged China on its legitimate territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests in an attempt to denigrate China’s image and heighten conflicts between regional countries. Fortunately, China, ASEAN and the countries concerned returned to the right track of settling differences through dialogue and consultation, bankrupting calculations of the few trouble-makers. In other places, confrontation between India and Pakistan escalated. Reconciliation process in Afghanistan stagnated. Outside forces interfered with power transitions in Central Asian countries. Terrorism and extremism spilled over to Central Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia at an accelerated pace. Both traditional and non-traditional security challenges were on the rise.

**Regional cooperation grew steadily, but there were many constraints.** Regional integration made significant progress, thanks to the joint efforts of countries in China’s neighborhood. The two
wheels, namely, political and security cooperation, and economic and trade cooperation, were rolling again and picked up speed. In this year, the ASEAN Community was founded; and the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Mechanism was officially launched. The China-Japan-ROK Leaders’ Meeting was at a crucial stage after it was resumed last year. Sub-regions in both the north and the south could now join forces to power up East Asian cooperation. For the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), a major breakthrough was achieved in membership expansion and extended the organization’s influence from Northeast Asia and Central Asia to South Asia. Economic and trade cooperation bonded regional countries together and drove cooperation in other fields in the neighborhood. Asian countries have signed close to 150 free trade agreements, 40% of which are within the region, and trade within Asia took up over 50% of the total foreign trade of all Asian countries. In 2016, countries attending the East Asia summits reaffirmed their commitment to an East Asia economic community; the Collective Strategic Study toward an FTAAP led by China and the US yielded consensus on most of the issues, moving economic integration in the Asia-Pacific one step further. But it would be wrong to forget the protruding imbalance in regional cooperation and the contrast between the economic “long plank” and the security “short plank”. And over-emphasis on the geo-strategic nature of free trade arrangements is incompatible with the trend of regional integration and would make it hard to garner support and participation.

2. The trend of the times calls for great vision

With globalization growing deeper and regional integration moving fast forward, national interests of countries in China’s
neighborhood converge to a greater extent, shaping an intertwined community of shared future. As people longed for development and prosperity, peace and stability became an irresistible trend. China and all the other peace-loving countries in the region worked together to blaze new trails and set new records for the Asian Miracle. In 2016, China’s neighborhood continued to be the leading engine for global growth. It was by no means a coincidence, but a hard-won achievement. Facts have proven time and again that commitment to peace, stability, win-win cooperation, equality and inclusiveness is the only way toward long-term stability and development.

**Jointly safeguard peace and security and promote regional stability.** At the G20 Hangzhou Summit, President Xi Jinping pointed out that without peace, there will be no development; and without stability, there will be no prosperity. Countries are all closely linked in their security. No country can develop on its own or resolve all problems without working with others. As the trend towards a multi-polar world gains more momentum, a group of developing countries including China are getting stronger, driving the balance of power in Asia towards a direction that is more conducive to peace. Committed to the path of peaceful development, China is exploring a new type of state-to-state relations featuring dialogue instead of confrontation and partnership instead of alliance, and a new paradigm of peaceful, equal-footed and inclusive partnerships. China embraces the trend of the times and has actively practiced an Asian vision on security that is common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable. China has made great efforts to advance the sound development of the SCO, Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), ASEAN Regional Forum, Xiangshan
Forum and other regional security platforms. It is fair to say that the pursuit of stability, mutual trust and security is shared by all peace-loving people in the region. We maintain that countries inside or outside the region and people in the East or the West should go beyond the Cold War mentality of either alliance or confrontation, and stick to the right direction of ensuring lasting peace and stability in the region.

**Jointly seek win-win cooperation and steer economic development.** Globalization is reshaping the world. Those who adapt to it thrive and those who go against it decline. Nearly half of the economies who successfully got rid of the middle-income trap after the end of World War II are in East Asia. They succeeded because they participated in the globalization process. Since the onset of its reform and opening up, China has maintained rapid economic growth, which can be attributed to a large extent to the fact that China has acted in the spirit of mutual benefit, openness and cooperation and worked with all parties to make the pie of common interests bigger. Just as Premier Li Keqiang pointed out at the summit commemorating the 25th anniversary of China-ASEAN dialogue relations, cooperation based on common interests will be the strongest and longest-lasting of all. China champions equitable, open, comprehensive and innovative development, aligns the Belt and Road Initiative with the development strategy of countries, and strives to build a global value chain and an open world economic system that benefits all, which conforms to the fundamental interests of countries inside and outside the region. Seeking cooperation rather than confrontation and win-win results instead of dominance, accommodating others’ interests while pursuing our own, and aiming at common development when developing oneself, this is the only way that will lead us to success.
Jointly promote equality and inclusiveness and achieve common progress. Currently, there are two voices when it comes to how countries in this region shall get along. One believes that common progress will be achieved when there is mutual inclusiveness, respect and learning among different countries, ethnic groups, religions and cultures. It is in this spirit that, in Asia, a land of colorful cultures, diverse ethnicities and plural institutions, China and other countries have championed together the Five Principles of Peaceful coexistence, followed the Asian way of mutual respect, consultation, consensus and accommodation of each others’ comfort levels, and established the SCO spirit of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for diverse civilizations and seeking common development. The other voice however believes that some civilizations and social systems are superior and more advanced than others and everyone is destined to bow to Western systems and models. People holding this view go to great length to use issues left from history to instigate conflict and confrontation among countries and “color revolution” inside societies. This is in essence colonialist thinking. At the opening ceremony of the fifth meeting of the CICA Ministers of Foreign Affairs, President Xi pointed out that Asians are known to be open, inclusive and visionary. We welcome countries outside the region making positive contribution to peace and stability here and working with Asian countries to promote security, stability, development and prosperity of Asia. As the wheel of the 21st century moves forward, the Asian spirit of equal treatment, seeking common ground while putting aside differences, openness and inclusiveness will shine brighter, and it is high time that the Western-centrism lost its ground.
3. All-round diplomatic efforts open up new vistas

Following these visions, China’s diplomacy has been committed to building friendship and partnership with its neighbors to foster an amicable, secure and prosperous neighborhood under the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness. It has advanced its cooperation with neighbors across the board, fulfilled its responsibilities in promoting regional peace and development, taken on the task of safeguarding national sovereignty, security and development interests, and created a stable and favorable neighborhood environment for the country’s endeavor to realize the two centenary goals. Under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as its core, China’s neighborhood diplomacy in 2016 has made proactive and pioneering efforts and produced fruitful outcomes and positive impact.

Expanding the “circle of friends” through high-level exchanges. Chinese leaders’ had contacts with leaders of almost all surrounding countries through exchanges of visits and multilateral conferences. Within this year, President Xi Jinping and President Putin exchanged visits and had meetings on multiple occasions, giving a strong boost to the strategic partnership of coordination between the two countries. During the G20 Hangzhou Summit, President Xi met with leaders of Kazakhstan, India, Indonesia and the Republic of Korea and reached broad agreement on enhancing mutual trust and cooperation. President Xi attended the SCO Tashkent Summit and visited Uzbekistan, Cambodia and Bangladesh, charting the course of SCO development and China’s relations with Central Asian countries, and comprehensively enhancing China’s mutual trust and cooperation with traditional
friends. Premier Li Keqiang attended the Boao Forum for Asia, the Asia-Europe Meeting, leaders’ meetings on East Asia cooperation, the meeting of the Council of Heads of States of Member States of the SCO and visited Laos, Mongolia and other countries in the neighborhood, bringing regional cooperation and China’s relations with relevant countries to greater depth. Other Chinese leaders have also conducted fruitful diplomatic activities in the neighborhood. Philippine President Duterte and State Counsellor of Myanmar Ang San Suu Kyi chose China as the first non-ASEAN country they visited since taking office, marking further consolidation of the friendship between these countries and China.

**Centering on the Belt and Road Initiative, and opening up new prospects for mutually beneficial cooperation.** Since President Xi proposed the initiative of jointly building the Belt and Road three years ago, the principle of wide consultation, joint contribution and shared benefit has taken deeper root in people’s mind and the Initiative has delivered more outcomes. First, the preliminary overall plan is completed. More than 100 countries and international organizations have taken an active part in the Initiative, and over 30 countries and international organizations have signed cooperation agreements with China. Second, breakthroughs were made in key projects. The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is well underway. The guidelines of the China-Mongolia-Russia economic corridor was signed. China has established 46 overseas cooperation zones with countries along the routes of the Belt and Road. Third, early harvests are made in connectivity. The pace of building the new Eurasian Land Bridge is quickened. The Jakarta-Bandung high-speed railway and the China-Laos rail have been launched. Fourth, industrial capacity cooperation is advancing at a higher speed. China has
signed cooperation agreements with 20 countries and the industrial capacity cooperation funds China established have totaled more than US$100 billion. Fifth, progress has been made in institutional innovation. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank is up and running and the first batch of projects funded by the Silk Road Fund were launched. Last June, during his visit to Uzbekistan, President Xi Jinping drew a blueprint for the development of the Belt and Road Initiative by pointing out that “Tremendous efforts should be made for the implementation of agreed projects and sustained development of the Belt and Road Initiative.” He said China would work with countries along the routes to build a win-win cooperation network, create a new cooperation model, foster a diversified cooperation platform and advance projects in priority areas for the Belt and Road Initiative, with a view to building a green and skill-based Silk Road for health and peace. The building of the Belt and Road is creating ever stronger momentum for the pursuit of peace and development in the neighborhood.

**Focusing on the management of hotspots to firmly uphold stability and national interests.** Faced with tough hotspot issues such as the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula and the issue of the South China Sea, China is always committed to regional stability and core national interests. On the issue of the Korean Peninsula, China is committed to achieving denuclearization and peace and stability on the peninsula and resolving the issue through dialogue and consultation. Acting as a stability anchor for the region, China is advancing in parallel tracks, the denuclearization and the replacement of the armistice agreement with a peace treaty, and calls on all parties to come back to the Six-Party Talks based on the September 19th Joint Statement. China supports and faithfully implements UNSC Resolution 2270 and urges all
parties to remain calm and exercise restraint. Voicing its clear opposition to the plan of the United States and the ROK to deploy the THAAD anti-missile system in the ROK, China is determined to uphold its strategic security and regional peace and stability.

On the issue of the South China Sea, China is committed to resolving the issue through negotiations and consultation. Supporting and championing the dual-track approach initiated by ASEAN countries to properly handle the South China Sea issue, and focusing on the greatest common interests of regional countries in maintaining regional stability, China plays the role of a stability anchor for the region. This year, pending the so-called award of the arbitration case initiated by the Philippines, certain forces within and outside the region attempted to use the opportunity to challenge China’s sovereignty and maritime rights and interests and smear China’s image. We fought back with intensified counter measures and ensured the smooth handling of the issue at the ASEM Summit, the ASEAN-China Foreign Ministers’ Meeting and the East Asia Summit. China and ASEAN issued a joint statement on the full and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea, adopted Guidelines for the Hotline Communications among Senior Officials of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of China and ASEAN Member States in Response to Maritime Emergencies and issued a joint statement on the application of the Code for Unplanned Encounters at Sea in the South China Sea, drawing the parties back to the right track of peacefully resolving differences through dialogue and consultation. In particular, President Xi and President Duterte reached important consensus on improving and growing the bilateral relations, which returned China-Philippines relations to the right track and reduced the arbitration award to nothing more
than a piece of paper. Multiple objectives of upholding sovereignty and territorial integrity, stabilizing the South China Sea and maintaining regional peace were realized. The past experience and the reality prove once again that only when regional countries hold in their own hands the key to settlement of the issue can the South China Sea and the region enjoy enduring peace and stability.

**Relying on multilateral mechanisms to elevate regional cooperation to a new level.** The spirit of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness brings about lasting benefits. In 2016, China actively engaged in regional cooperation in the neighborhood with important progress made across the board. On the economic front, the protocol on the upgrading of the China-ASEAN Free Trade Area came into effect officially, further liberalizing and facilitating two-way trade and investment. China and ASEAN issued a joint statement on production capacity cooperation at the summit commemorating the 25th anniversary of their dialogue relations, injecting new impetus to the win-win cooperation between China and the ten ASEAN countries. With China’s efforts, the *APT Statement on Promoting Sustainable Development* was issued at the APT Leaders’ Meeting and the *Vientiane Declaration on Promoting Infrastructure Development Cooperation* in the East Asia Summit, which further deepened cooperation on infrastructure and promoted sustainable development in the region. China played a successful host to the first Lancang-Mekong Cooperation Leaders’ Meeting, which set up three cooperation pillars, namely, political and security issues, economic and sustainable development and social, cultural and people-to-people exchanges, and identified five key priority areas including connectivity, production capacity, cross-border economic cooperation, water resources, agriculture and poverty reduction.
China launched a special fund for Lancang-Mekong cooperation, providing new driving force for deepening China-ASEAN cooperation and narrowing development gaps within ASEAN. China, Japan and the ROK hosted the foreign ministers’ meeting, commerce ministers’ meeting, education ministers’ meeting and negotiations on free trade area to implement the outcomes of last year’s leaders’ meeting and further deepen practical cooperation.

On the security front, China continued to live up to the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security and actively advanced a security management model with Asian characteristics. By hosting the CICA foreign ministers’ meeting for the first time and submitting the *Conclusions of 2014-2016 CICA Chinese Chairmanship and 2016-2018 Chairmanship Working Envisage*, China promoted deeper political mutual trust and security cooperation in the region. With the *Tashkent Declaration of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization* signed by President Xi and other SCO leaders and the *MOU on Honoring the Obligations of Joining the SCO* signed by India and Pakistan, SCO, this important platform for regional security dialogue and cooperation, grew from strength to strength. China continued to work with ASEAN countries to negotiate and conclude a treaty of good neighborliness, friendship and cooperation, advance the institutionalization of the unofficial meetings between their defense ministers and consolidate the ministerial dialogue mechanism on law enforcement and security cooperation. China supported the development of track 1.5 and track 2 dialogue mechanisms such as the Xiangshan Forum and actively engaged in multilateral security dialogue and cooperation mechanisms in the region. China took an active part in dialogue and cooperation under the framework of the ASEAN Regional
Forum and strengthened its cooperation with countries to address non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, natural disasters, transnational crimes and communicable diseases. China also took an active part in the reconciliation process in Afghanistan and made relentless efforts in promoting the improvement of India-Pakistan relations, with a view to both fostering an enabling neighborhood for its own peace and development and providing more public goods for regional peace and stability.

The year 2017 is a significant one in China’s peace and development course. The 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China is around the corner. Our reform and development have come to a critical stage. As world multipolarization, economic globalization and social application of information technology are gaining momentum, regional and global landscapes are going through profound changes. We believe that, under the strong leadership of the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as the core, China’s major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics will continue to promote good-neighborliness and win-win cooperation as its priority, live up to the neighborhood diplomacy spirit of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness and firmly uphold sovereignty, national security and development interests, with a view to fostering a more stable and enabling neighborhood for the successful opening of the 19th CPC National Congress and China’s reform and development and to making even greater contribution to the lofty cause of world peace and development.
Counter-Terrorism: New Challenges
Call for Better Cooperation

By He Sheng*

Foreword: Terrorism has become the biggest non-traditional security threat in today’s world, and how to effectively counter it is one of the most pressing tasks in global governance. At the moment, terrorism is posing a serious threat to international and regional security and stability, and the international counter-terrorism situation remains complex and grave. China, being a victim of terrorism, has taken an important part in and contributed significantly to the international counter-terrorism endeavor to uphold international and regional peace and stability, as well as the safety of life and property of the people.

I. International Counter-Terrorism Situation

According to incomplete statistics, terrorist attacks took place in more than 90 countries in 2015. In the first ten months of 2016, there were nearly 1,800 such attacks globally. The leader of a Western country even

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suggested that the world had entered an era of “super-terrorism”. The following features are the most salient ones in the counter-terrorism situation:

First, terrorist activities come in more diverse ways. With terrorist forces stepping up propagation of extremist ideologies and methods of violence, many “lone wolf” terrorists have come into being. They are self-radicalized and without any organizational affiliations. The targets of attacks are also gradually shifting from “hard” ones such as military and political installations to “soft” ones such as mass rallies and transportation vehicles which are normally less guarded. The means of perpetration are also changing from bomb attacks, shooting and kidnapping to more simple and low-cost ones such as chopping with knives and ramming with vehicles. A knife, a gun, a car or even a retrofitted pressure cooker would suffice for a terrorist attack.

Second, terrorist threats are increasingly global, network-based and spontaneous. As they are losing ground in West Asia, extremist organizations are attempting to incite terrorist attacks worldwide to offset the pressure on the battlefield. Terrorist attacks in the Asian, European and American continents are mostly orchestrated directly by extremist organizations or their sympathizers. The perpetrators usually claim responsibility immediately after the attacks.

Third, the return of foreign terrorist fighters (FTFs) is posing greater challenges. As the international community intensifies military strikes, a large number of FTFs in the Middle East begin moving to other parts of the world or return to their home
countries. These fighters have a good knowledge of their home countries and abundant experience in the battleground as well as radical and extremist ideologies. When they return, they wait on an opportunity to launch attacks or secretly propagate violent and extremist ideologies. Such FTFs are extremely hard to track down and defend against, like stealth bombs that can explode anytime.

Fourth, interwoven with other issues, terrorism is getting more intractable. In recent years, international terrorist forces are increasingly involved in regional hotspot issues. As a result, counter-terrorism is intertwined with these issues. The Syrian crisis has lingered on for five years and has become a hotbed for terrorist forces. Peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan remains elusive, which is another breeding ground for terrorism. Terrorism-related hotspot issues have become an important factor in shaping the international counter-terrorism situation, and their resolution has a direct bearing on the success of counter-terrorism.

II. Reasons Behind the Increasingly Challenging Counter-Terrorism Situation

Since 9/11, the international community has taken the threat of terrorism more seriously and countries have intensified counter-terrorism efforts. But in recent years, international terrorist activities have exacerbated. The reasons behind it deserve scrutiny.

What is happening? First, the spread of violent and extremist ideologies is significantly faster. International terrorist forces are spreading violent extremism all over the world, which has activated many once “dormant” terrorist organizations and generated more FTFs and “lone wolf” terrorists. As a result, the international
counter-terrorism situation is increasingly challenging. Driven by violent extremism, terrorism is heading toward a dangerous scenario where “anyone can be a perpetrator”. **Second, the threat of cyber terrorism is worsening.** Terrorist organizations have greatly enhanced their capabilities in idea spreading, member recruiting and action taking by exploiting the Internet, which is wide in influence, fast in communication, easy to use and hard to regulate. The cycle of terrorist activities is shortened and their frequency much higher. It is also mainly through spreading violent and terror audios and videos on the Internet that the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) propagates extremism, demonstrates how to make explosives and incites extremists to carry out violent and terrorist activities. **Third, international counter-terrorism cooperation has not been effective.** In recent years, more attention has been given to international cooperation on this front, but there has not been effective synergy formed due to factors such as major country rivalry, geopolitics and different approaches in counter-terrorism.

**Why does that happen? First, economic and social problems are the root causes.** Unbalanced development in the world has given rise to extremism in some countries and regions, which can easily lead to terrorism. In particular, when global economic recovery remains sluggish, there are deep fault lines between different social classes, and unemployment rate among young people has remained high. Vulnerable groups are particularly prone to extremism. **Second, hegemony and power politics are important reasons behind terrorism.** Some major countries, guided by their “values diplomacy” in West Asia and North Africa, have wilfully interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, thus sowing the
seed of hatred and aggravating tensions with Islamic radical forces.

It can be expected that terrorist attacks will remain unabated in the short term.

**III. China’s Contribution to International Counter-Terrorism**

Like many other countries, China is a victim of terrorism. The most direct and immediate terrorist threat China faces is East Turkestan terrorist forces represented by ETIM. Combating ETIM is a priority of China in international counter-terrorism cooperation. ETIM, a UN-listed international terrorist organization, has in recent years incited, orchestrated and carried out many terrorist attacks in China, resulting in huge casualties. Meanwhile, it is also increasingly targeting China’s organizations and personnel aboard.

Not merely a menace to China, ETIM terrorists also penetrate West, Central, South and Southeast Asia, posing immediate security threats to many countries. Combating ETIM has become an important part of the international fight against terrorism. Some countries have already intensified their restrictions and strike against ETIM. On 15 July, the British government added ETIM to a renewed list of “proscribed terrorist organizations”. The US also once again confirmed the nature of ETIM as a terrorist organization in the outcome list of the meeting between Chinese and US presidents in Hangzhou. Many countries have made it clear that the UN Security Council’s designation of ETIM as a terrorist organization is legally binding.

Facts have shown that ETIM is closely related to the
World Uyghur Congress (WUC). It is worth noting that the WUC and other East Turkestan forces are quite active in some Western countries. They use the pretext of “democracy”, “human rights”, “religion” and “freedom” to swindle support out of local governments and people and frequently carry out anti-China secessionist activities through various means.

China has taken an active part in and contributed significantly to the international counter-terrorism cause. China has fought resolutely against all forms of terrorism and is committed to stronger counter-terrorism cooperation with the rest of the international community. We have followed a new security concept and a distinctly Chinese approach. First, China maintains that the UN plays a central and leading role in counter-terrorism cooperation, and that countries should respect each other in equal-footed cooperation. China opposes double standards and has worked vigorously for the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and counter-terrorism resolutions of the Security Council and the establishment of a global counter-terrorism system featuring win-win cooperation. Second, a holistic approach should be adopted to address both the symptoms and root causes. In particular, the sources of terrorism should be tackled to prevent terrorism from happening in the first place. More importantly, efforts should be made to seek political solutions to regional hotspot issues and advance economic and social development of developing countries so that the solutions will be durable and sustainable. Third, we should oppose associating terrorism with particular countries, ethnicities or religions. Instead, we should work for equal-footed dialogue among different civilizations to create a favorable environment for international
counter-terrorism cooperation.

China is spearheading counter-terrorism exchanges and cooperation in the international community. In recent years, as international terrorist organizations have increasingly used the Internet to enhance their influence, it has become a priority in international counter-terrorism cooperation to combat cyber terrorism. In this context, China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs hosted in Beijing the second Global Counterterrorism Forum Symposium on Preventing and Countering Terrorists’ Use of the Internet on 21 October. Delegates from 44 countries and international organizations and Internet companies and academic institutions from China and abroad attended the symposium. The symposium has helped to deepen people’s understanding of the harm of cyber terrorism, increased various parties’ willingness for cooperation against cyber terrorism, and discussed practical steps to combat cyber terrorism. This well-received symposium is China’s important diplomatic endeavor to provide public goods in the security realm to the international community.

Going forward, China will, with a greater sense of community of shared future for mankind, share interests and responsibilities with other countries to jointly prevent the spread of terrorism and protect the safety of life and property of the people. China will build more platforms for international counter-terrorism cooperation, step up exchanges and communication with other parties and deepen bilateral and multilateral counter-terrorism cooperation. China will continue to push for greater synergy in the international community’s counter-terrorism efforts with the UN at the center. China will work for greater counter-terrorism
cooperation under multilateral frameworks such as APEC, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS and the GCTF to uphold the security interests of developing countries and inject more positive energy into global counter-terrorism cooperation. China will continue to work with the international community to pursue win-win cooperation and shared security. Together, we will write a new chapter in international counter-terrorism cooperation and build a global security architecture that features justice and shared contribution.
China-US Economic and Trade Relations Will Enter an Eventful Period

By Zhou Shijian*

1. The US Economy and a Strengthening US Dollar

After experiencing the worst recession since the end of the Second World War, the US economy started to recover in 2010. For about seven years, the recovery has only been moderate. Investors don’t have enough confidence in the real economy. The money issued by three rounds of quantitative easing has been pumped into the stock, bond and housing markets, creating prosperity of the virtual economy. As the economies of Europe and Japan are in a bad shape with a weak euro and yen, the US economy is the only bright spot among Western countries with a strengthening US dollar.

On 12 December 2013, the US Dollar Index (USDX) exceeded 80. On 2 January 2015, it exceeded 90. From 25 November to 2 December 2015, it exceeded 100.

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However, it was suppressed by the US Federal Reserve and fell back to a bit more than 90. On 10 October 2016, the USDX topped 97. Between November and 23 December 2016 (by the date of this article), the USDX was above 100 for one and half months and reached 103.36 on 22 December, a record high for 14 years since 2002. To forestall inflation, the Federal Reserve will raise the interest rate at least twice in 2017. This means that the dollar will continue to strengthen for some time to come. As revealed by Wind Data, since the 1990s, the USDX was above 100 for only two periods of time: from 15 May 1989 to 22 September 1989, and from 30 July 1997 to 15 April 2003. That was about the same time as the financial crisis in Japan and the financial storm in East Asia.

Why could the USDX exceed 100 and stabilize at such a level this time? First, the European and Japanese economies have been sluggish for a protracted period of time. The QE monetary policy and negative interest policy adopted by the European Central Bank and the Bank of Japan have failed to pull their economies out of the quagmire. China is under downward economic pressure and is adjusting its industrial structure. Brazil and Russia have been in recession for two years. Under such circumstances, given the notable recovery momentum in the US economy, there is the need for its currency to appreciate. The expectations for the Federal Reserve to raise the interest rate and the second interest hike on December 14 have pushed up the value of the US dollar. As a result, capital has flown back to the US at a faster pace, causing volatility on the capital markets of other countries and even local financial risks in some places.
The Pros and Cons of a Strong US Dollar for the US Economy.

On the upside, it will help attract foreign capital. On the downside, a strong US dollar harms export and tourism. US exports fell by 9.1% in 2015 and by another 5.1% from January to September 2016. A strong US dollar has a negative impact on the profits of multinationals. The US has more multinationals than any other country, with its companies all over the world. Because local currencies depreciate against the US dollar, the subsidiaries in developing countries will negatively impact the total profits of their parent companies which are calculated in US dollars. This will, in turn, weigh on the tax income and GDP of the US. A strong US dollar also pushes up the cost of enormous debt payments by the US government.

One prominent issue in the US economy is the explosive increase of national debts. Since the beginning of the new century, the US has launched two invasions and worked to tackle the financial crisis. National debts have increased at an unprecedented speed. For 204 years from the founding of the United States to the year 1980, the US government issued US$907.7 billion treasury bonds. In the 28 years from 1980 under the Reagan administration to early 2009 under the Bush administration, national debts shot up to US$10 trillion. In the 8 years alone from early 2009 when Obama took office to the end of 2016, US national debts grew to US$20 trillion. Government debts account for 110% of the GDP, far above the alarming level of 60%. In the past two years, the US needs to raise US$700 billion annually to pay the interests on its debts, which is like a precarious “quake lake” over its head.
President-elect Donald Trump mocked President Obama for his economic incompetency, as the US GDP has only grown by 2% annually under his watch. Trump claimed that under his leadership, the US economy will grow at an annual pace of 3.5-4% and return fast to prosperity. Then how to achieve it? Massive tax cuts. Trump has made it clear in his political platform that corporate income tax will be slashed from 35% to 15%. Taxes on the rich will be cut from 39.6% to 30%. This will certainly stimulate investment, attract overseas capital back to the US and boost consumption. Trump wants to model on the massive tax cuts (more fiscal deficits) as adopted by President Reagan to achieve economic prosperity. The problem is that Trump lives in a different age than Reagan. When Reagan took office in 1981, he was confronted with less than US$1 trillion national debts, compared with the US$20 trillion debts Trump has to grapple with when he is inaugurated on 20 January 2017. Every year, he needs at least US$1 trillion to pay the principal and interests of the debts. Where does the money come from? He can only pay back old debts with new debts. According to the predictions of US economists, US national debts will increase by US$10 trillion the first year after Trump comes into power. However, great historical changes have taken place. In 1985, the US was the largest creditor in the world, while it is the largest debtor now. 40 years ago, the US treasury bond was known as the “Gilt-edged Bond”. Now, it has become a hot potato. According to foreign media reports, central banks worldwide sold US$393.1 billion of US treasury bonds from January to September 2016. According to the Bloomberg report on 16 June 2016, China had reduced its holding of the US treasury bonds by US$250 billion since 2014 until March 2016. From June to October 2016, China reduced
its holding of the US treasury bonds by US$128.3 billion. What has happened shows that the US treasury bond is no longer a safe haven asset. Issuing treasury bonds to raise money would be unsustainable.

2. Current China-US Economic and Trade Cooperation

The biggest highlight in China-US economic and trade cooperation is the rapid growth of China’s investment in the US.

According to China’s statistics (Investment in the US via a third place is not included. For example, Shuanghui International Holdings acquired Smithfield Foods with US$7.1 billion. This was not counted as investment of the Chinese mainland, as the company was registered in Hong Kong), Chinese investment in the US was US$4.348 billion in 2012, US$4.01 billion in 2013, US$5.24 billion in 2014, US$8.39 billion in 2015, and US$18.63 billion from January to November 2016. By the end of November 2016, Chinese investment in the US had reached US$49.12 billion in accumulative terms.

According to the statistics of the Rhodium Group, Chinese investment in the US was US$14 billion in 2013, US$11.9 billion in 2014, and US$15.8 billion in 2015. By the end of 2015, Chinese investment in the US had totaled US$61.8 billion. On 27 May 2016, the Chicago Tribune cited Stephen Orlins, Chairman of the National Committee on US-China Relations, as saying that the China-invested enterprises in the US created 100,000 jobs.

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis, more and more
big Chinese companies are keen about investing in the US. The US boasts a well-established and transparent legal environment, advanced technologies, well-trained labor force, abundant and cheap energy supply, sound infrastructure and first-class R&D capabilities. Most importantly, the US has complete sale channels and a huge consumer market. For any product, entering the US market means opening the world market.

Since the outbreak of the financial crisis, inbound investment in the US has been on the decline. According to the statistics of the US Department of Commerce, foreign investment in the US was US$306.37 billion in 2008. But it dropped to US$160.57 in 2012 and US$86 billion in 2014, trailing the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong and ranking 3rd in the world. In 2015, thanks to a strong US dollar, the US attracted more investment, which rebounded to US$384 billion. As the largest economy in the world, the US needs capital from the rest of the world to support its economic recovery and return to prosperity.


According to the calculation of the author, as Chinese investment in the US has outpaced US investment in China, China’s total investment in the US is expected to exceed accumulated US investment in China by the end of 2018.
China and the US started negotiations on the Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) in 2008. During the Strategic and Economic Dialogue in 2013, the two sides agreed to carry out negotiations on the basis of pre-establishment national treatment and a negative list. Since then, the negotiation has entered a substantive stage. The two sides completed negotiations on the text of the treaty at the end of 2014 and started negotiations on the negative list at the beginning of 2015. Both China and the US wanted to reach an agreement within the tenure of President Obama.

BIT is an important part of China-US economic relations. A high-standard BIT will help forge closer links between the two countries and improve the quality of economic and trade cooperation. And it will be a crucial step towards a China-US Free Trade Area.

Even if the two sides won’t reach an agreement before the end of this year, they should continue to work together after the inauguration of the new administration and complete the BIT negotiations at an early date by overcoming non-economic interferences. After all, this serves the vital economic interests of both countries.

China-US bilateral trade has shown a weaker momentum in recent years.

According to Chinese statistics, China-US trade totaled US$558.3 billion in 2015, increasing slightly by 0.58% over 2014. China’s exports to the US were US$409.5 billion, a year-on-year increase of 3.4%. According to US statistics, US-
China trade was US$598.1 billion, a moderate growth of 1.25% compared with 2014. US exports to China were US$116.2 billion, the first negative growth (-6.3%) since 2009.

According to Chinese statistics, bilateral trade was US$418.03 billion from January to October 2016, falling by 9.1%. Chinese exports to the US were US$312.57 billion, falling by 8%. Chinese imports from the US were US$105.46 billion, dropping by 12.2%. China’s trade surplus with the US was US$207.1 billion, decreasing by 5.6%. According to US statistics, US-China trade totaled US$488.49 billion from January to October 2016, down by 5.4%. US exports to China were US$92.03 billion, dropping by 3.5%. US imports from China were US$396.46 billion, down by 5.8%. US trade deficit with China was US$304.43 billion, down by 6.5%, slightly better than the first half of the year.

There are several reasons for the falling China-US trade. First, the global trade is in a slump. According to the statistics of the WTO, global exports in 2015 were US$16.48 trillion, a fall of 13.3% compared with the US$19 trillion of 2014. The data released by the WTO on July 27 shows that global exports in the first quarter of this year dropped by 7.7% over the first quarter of 2015. In 2015, the foreign trade of the US decreased by 5.6%, exports fell by 7.2% and imports dropped by 4.5%. In 2015, China’s foreign trade went down by 8%, exports fell by 2.9% and imports by 14.2%.

Second, both the Chinese and US economies are under downward pressure, with weak demand.
Third, the US dollar has been strengthening since late 2013. A strong dollar has dampened the international competitiveness of the US products and undermined the export competitiveness of the US.

According to the report released by the US-China Business Council on 18 August 2016, China continued to be the third largest export market of the US in 2015 and an important contributor to US economic growth. (China was America’s eleventh largest export market in 2000 and surpassed Japan as the third largest export market in 2007, note by the author).

The report also pointed out that US exports to China in the service sector has maintained a momentum of sustained and fast growth, with an annual increase of 17% over the past 10 years. In 2014, the US service exports to China totaled US$42 billion, making China the fourth largest service export market of the US.

(1) Trade Deficit with China

For many years, the US has run a big trade deficit with China. In 2014, US trade deficit with China was US$342.6 billion, accounting for 50.6% of the total US trade deficit. In 2015, US trade deficit with China was US$365.7 billion, accounting for 49.6% of the total US trade deficit of US$737.1 billion. In the first half of 2016, the US had a deficit of US$161 billion, accounting for 46.2% of its total trade deficit of US$348.3 billion, which has come down slightly.

The US trade deficit is composed of three parts. First, competitive deficit. Japan’s automobiles and the Airbus aircraft
from Europe constitute a threat to their counterpart industries in the US and must be handled carefully. Second, resource deficit. The US imports a huge amount of crude oil from the Americas and Middle East and mineral resources from Africa and Asia. This is an important part of its trade deficit and cannot be resolved easily. Third, supplementary deficit. The US imports daily consumer goods from China, East Asia and Southeast Asia as an important supplement to its economy, industrial structure and people’s life. This is nothing but beneficial to the US.

Most of China’s exports to the US are daily consumer goods of high quality yet low cost. This helps alleviate the inflation in the US and benefits the low and middle-income groups.

**Traditional trade statistics cannot explain the current issue of trade imbalance.**

First, since the start of reform and opening-up, about 70% of the foreign investment in China has come from East Asia. Products that used to be the source of deficit between other East Asian economies and the US have been made on the Chinese mainland, causing the “effect of trade balance transfer”. Most of the parts and components in these products are from East Asia. They are not “Made in China”, but “Made in East Asia”. The income from the exports is shared by East Asia, not solely owned by China. However, according to the principle of place of origin, all the value of the exports to the US is traced back to China. China-US trade cannot be simply characterized as bilateral trade. It is multilateral trade, trade between the US and East Asia.

Secondly, one prominent feature of the China-US trade is
that 60% of it is processing trade. China only gets a fraction of the profits from processing. The US importers, wholesalers and retailers get a far larger share of the profits than Chinese manufacturers and exporters. Hence the phenomenon of “surplus in China, profits in the US”. As US economist Charles Kadlec said, according to the principle of place of origin, the US$178 manufacturing cost of an iPhone is put under China’s account, because China is the final assembly place. China, however, only gets US$6.5 of the added value.

It has been 46 years since the US started running foreign trade deficit in 1971. According to the statistics of the US customs authorities, the US has trade deficits with more than 90 countries and regions. The blame should not be all put on the RMB exchange rate. Rather, it is a natural result of economic globalization, industrial adjustment and massive international division of labor. This is a structural issue that cannot be reversed.

(2) The Issue of RMB Exchange Rate

It has been the practice of the successive US governments over the years to force the currencies of their trading partners to significantly appreciate, so as to reduce trade deficits. The US has done so to the Deustchemark in the early 1980s, to the Japanese yen in the mid-1980s, to the New Taiwan Dollar in the late 1980s, and to the ROK won in the early 1990s. Since the beginning of the new century, the US has pushed hard for significant RMB appreciation. But what has been the result? Over the years, the US has maintained trade deficits with Germany, Japan, the Taiwan region, ROK and China. This has never been reversed. In
2015, the US ran trade deficits of US$74.2 billion with Germany, US$68.6 billion with Japan, US$14.8 billion with the Taiwan region, US$28.3 with ROK and US$365.7 billion with China.

Once again, take China for example. RMB appreciated by 36% from July 2005 to early August 2016, while US trade deficit with China increased from US$201.6 billion to US$365.7 billion in 2015, up by 81.4%.

These facts show that the trade surplus or deficit of a country or region does not have much to do with its exchange rate. The exchange rate is not the deciding factor. Rather, deficit or surplus is a trading activity. It is the result of comparative advantages on a market basis. The competitiveness of the products of a country or region is determined by a host of factors. Simply forcing the currency appreciation of the counterparty to reduce one’s own trade deficit is a traditional and narrow-minded thinking on international trade. Time has changed, and the situation is more complicated. Such a traditional thinking must be adjusted and updated.

After 11 years of exchange rate reform, the RMB exchange rate has basically become market driven. The band of the exchange rate fluctuation has increased from the original 0.3% to 0.5%, 1%, 2% and current 3%. In the latest half a year, the RMB exchange rate has been once again pegged to a basket of currencies and basically maintained stability. Now, people are more focused on the depreciation of the RMB against the US dollar and neglect its appreciation to different degrees against the yen, euro and pound.
The main reason for RMB’s depreciation against the dollar lies in the dollar itself, not the RMB. On 10 October 2016, the USDX exceeded 97, and the central parity rate of the RMB was 6.7098 the following day. On 15 November, the USDX exceeded 100, and the central parity rate of the RMB was 6.8592 on 16 November. On 22 December, the USDX rose to 103.36, a 14-year high since 2002. The central parity rate of the RMB was 6.9463 the next day. In the face of the significant appreciation of the US dollar, the currencies of quite many developing countries have experienced relatively sharp depreciation. By comparison, the fluctuation of the RMB is comparatively moderate. This is a widely recognized fact that must not be distorted.

On 1 October 2016, the International Monetary Fund officially included the RMB into the SDR basket as one of its five reserve currencies. This is a recognition of the market-based reform of the RMB exchange rate and the global use of the RMB.

There is no reason that China should be labeled as a “currency manipulator”.

3. **China-US economic and trade relations will enter an eventful period in 2017**

After the strongly protectionist Trump team take office, they will inevitably push for trade protectionism globally, which will for sure meet with opposition and reprisals across the world. As a consequence, it will hurt all and benefit none, and the world economy will backslide. There are examples in history. In the 1930s when the US experienced the Great Depression, President Hoover raised import tariffs by a great margin to protect domestic
industries. That was opposed by the rest of the world. When goods cannot move across borders freely, soldiers go beyond national borders. The Second World War thus broke out.

China has no intention to wage a trade war. Nor is it afraid of a trade war. In the 44 years of China-US economic exchanges, there has been only one trade war: the textile trade dispute in 1983. It ended with compromise made by the US government. It is worth noting that China’s GDP in 1983 was less than 5% of that of the US, while China’s GDP in 2015 was 61% of US GDP. Today’s China is not what it was 33 years ago. Any US administration should never belittle China. In 2015, China imported 22% of US cotton, 56% of US soy beans, 26% of Boeing aircraft sold overseas and 33% of the GM vehicles sold to other countries. Substitutes for these products can be found elsewhere in the world. The US is fully aware of that.

Dialogue is better than confrontation, and cooperation is better than friction. China and the US are each other’s big market. Since 2010, China has been the largest market for US agricultural products. Trump nominated the governor of an agricultural state to be the US ambassador to China in the hope of promoting agricultural exports to China.

China has become a vital trading partner for the US long time ago. US-China trade in 2015 was US$598.1 billion, accounting for 16% of US foreign trade. If Hong Kong and Macao are included, US-China trade will be US$642.6 billion, accounting for 17.2% of US foreign trade.

That said, the US is also a very important trading partner
of China. In 2015, China-US trade was US$558.3 billion, accounting for 14.3% of China’s foreign trade. China’s exports to the US were US$409.5 billion, accounting for 18% of its total exports. If the US$481.9 billion exports via Hong Kong are included, it will account for 21.2% of China’s total exports. Since 2012, the US has surpassed the EU as China’s largest export market.

China-US economic and trade cooperation faces broad prospects, with both major opportunities and daunting challenges. The two countries will lose from confrontation and gain from cooperation. The two governments should strengthen dialogue and cooperation in a win-win spirit. This will not only benefit the Chinese and American people, but also promote the development of the world economy.
Visits & Events of CPIFA

Dr. Henry Kissinger, Former US Secretary of State Visits China

Hosted by CPIFA, Dr. Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State visited China from November 29 to December 2, 2016. During his stay in Beijing, President Xi Jinping, Wang Qishan, Secretary of the CPC Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, Vice Premier Liu Yandong and State Councilor Yang Jiechi met with him respectively. The two sides exchanged
views on Sino-US relations, international situations and issues of common concern. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, attended the above meetings.

HRH the Duke of York from the UK Visits China

At the invitation of CPIFA, HRH the Duke of York from the UK visited China from 26 October to 1 November. He attended the opening ceremony of Pitch@Palace China Club and participated in the 11th China International Aviation & Aerospace Exhibition. In Beijing, State Councillor Yang Jiechi met with HRH.

President Wu Hailong Meets with H. E. Mahinda Rajapaksa

Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA met with H. E. Mahinda Rajapaksa, Former President of Sri Lanka, at CPIFA
on 29 November 2016. The two sides exchanged views on China-Sri Lanka relations and other issues of mutual interest.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Mayor Edwin Mah Lee of San Francisco

Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with Mr. Edwin Mah Lee, Mayor of San Francisco, at CPIFA on 6
December 2016. The two sides exchanged views on China-US relations and other issues of common interest.

The Third China-Latin America and the Caribbean Think Tanks Forum Holds in Beijing

From November 7 to 8, the Third China-Latin America and the Caribbean Think Tanks Forum, co-sponsored by CPIFA and CFIS (the China Foundation for International Studies), was held in Beijing.

Prior to the opening ceremony, State Councilor Yang Jiechi met with former President Eduardo Frei of Chile and former Prime Minister Bruce Golding of Jamaica, who came to China for the forum. Mr. Yang Jiechi, Mr. Liu Hongcai, Vice Minister of the International Department of CPC Central Committee, Mr. Wang Chao, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, Amb. Liu Guchang, Chaiman of CFIS and Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, attended and addressed
the Opening Ceremony. Amb. Liu Yuhe, Vice President of CPIFA, attended the welcoming dinner and the closing ceremony.

Under the theme of “New Moment for China-Latin America Cooperation—Forge ahead and Jointly Build the Future”, about 160 people, including experts, scholars and other representative of various sectors from China and LAC countries attended the forum. The participants conducted in-depth discussions on the topics of “Exploiting Cooperation on Production Capacity and Upgrading the China-LAC Practical Cooperation”, “Deepening Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges, and Building a New China-LAC Partnership of Mutual Learning”, “Building the China-CELAC Forum and Promoting New Progress in the Holistic and Integrated China-LAC Cooperation” and “Assisting in the China-LAC Cooperation and Giving Play to the New Role of China-LAC Think Tanks”.

**President Wu Hailong Attends the 9th Seminar on China-Japan Relations**

From November 7 to 10, President Wu Hailong headed a delegation to visit Japan, and attended the 9th Seminar on China-Japan Relations co-sponsored by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and Japan Institute for International Policy Studies. The experts and scholars of political, economic, cultural and other sectors from both sides conducted frank and in-depth discussions on the topics of “Promoting Asian Peace and Prosperity”, “China-Japan Economic Cooperation
under the Economic Globalization” and “Deepening China-Japan Cultural Communication”. Chinese Ambassador to Japan Cheng Yonghua attended and addressed the opening ceremony.

During the stay in Japan, Foreign Minister Fumio Kishida of Japan, Mr. Yohei Kono, Chairman of Japan Council for the Promotion of International Trade and Former Speaker of the House of Representatives, and M.H.R. Ichiro Aisawa, Seiji Maehara, Koichi Takemasa, Hitoshi Kikawada, Hitoshi Kiuchi met with the delegation and exchanged views on the issues of common interest. The delegation also visited and discussed the future cooperation with the Japan Institute of International Affairs, the Japan Research Institute and the Society of Chinese Professors in Japan.
Vice President Lu Shumin Attends the Bali Democracy Forum

From 7 to 11 December 2016, Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, as Special Representative of Mr. Wang Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister, attended the Bali Democracy Forum IX hosted by the Indonesian government.

The theme of the forum was “Religion, Democracy and Pluralism”. Delegates including 26 ministerial level officials and representatives from 101 countries and international organizations attended the forum.

In the General Debate of Ministerial Level of the Day 1 forum, Vice President Lu Shumin delivered a keynote speech in which he comprehensively elaborated on China’s building of the socialist democratic system with Chinese characteristics.

The 6th Seminar on China-Indonesia Relations holds in Jakarta

From November 21 to 25, the 6th Seminar on China-Indonesia Relations, co-sponsored by CPIFA and the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), was held in Jakarta.

Chinese delegation, led by Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, consisted of Amb. Peng Keyu, Vice President of CPIFA, Amb. Lan Lijun And Yu Hongyao, Former Chinese Ambassadors, as well as the experts and scholars from China-ASEAN Business Council, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, China Institute of International Studies, Renmin University of
China and Peking University. Indonesian delegation, headed by Mr. Jusuf Wanandi, Vice Chair of board of Trustees of CSIS Foundation, included Dr. Philips J. Vermonte, Executive Director of CSIS and representatives from academia, government, business and media.

Amb. Lu Shumin and Mr. Wanandi addressed the opening ceremony. The both sides conducted in-depth discussions on the topics of strengthening bilateral relations, regional situation, Indonesia-China maritime nexus and socio-cultural cooperation.

During the stay in Indonesia, the Chinese delegation met with Mr. Luhut Pandjaitan, Minister for Maritime Affairs of Indonesia, Mr. Muhammad Nasir, Minister for Research, Technology and Higher Education and Ms. Elaine Tan, Executive Director of ASEAN Foundation.
MSC Core Group Meeting Held in Beijing

The CPIFA and the Munich Security Conference (MSC) co-hosted MSC Core Group Meeting in Beijing from 2 to 3 November 2016. More than 100 participants and observers from government, academia, entrepreneurs, media and international organizations had a candid and in-depth discussion on China as a Global Security Actor, Security in the Asia-Pacific, Non-traditional Security Threats in Asia and Beyond and the Geopolitics of the New Silkroad. Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA attended all the sessions and chaired the opening ceremony, welcome banquet and farewell luncheon. Mr. Zhang Yesui, Vice Foreign Minister attended the opening ceremony and delivered a keynote speech. Mme. Fu Ying, Chairperson of the Foreign
Affairs Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC), made a speech at the farewell luncheon. Over 30 Chinese participants as well as more than 60 foreign participants including Ambassador Wolfgang Ischinger, Chairman of MSC, Mme. Louise Mushikiwabo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda, Mr. Markus Ederer, Secretary of State of the German Foreign Ministry, Mr. Lundeg Purevsuren, former Foreign Minister of Mongolia, Ambassador Virasakdi Futrakul, Vice Foreign Minister of Thailand, Gen. Cesar Yano, Undersecretary of Department of National Defence of the Philippines, Gen. Nguyen Chi Vinh, Vice Minister of National Defence of Vietnam, and Mr. Araz Azimov, Vice Foreign Minister of Azerbaijan, attended the meeting.

After the meeting, Mr. Li Yuanchao, Vice President of China, met with the foreign participants at the Great Hall of the People.

**Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies Delegation visits China**

At the invitation of CPIFA, a 5-person delegation from the Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (MISIS) visited Beijing and Shanghai from October 13 to 18. The delegation was led by Ambassador U Wynn Lwin, former Ambassador of Myanmar to India and Senior Member of MISIS.

During their visit in Beijing, Ambassador Sun Guoxiang, Special Envoy for Asian Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Ambassador Peng Keyu, Vice President of CPIFA, Ms. Yang Xiuping, Secretary-General of the ASEAN-China Center (ACC), and Mr. Dong Manyuan, Vice President of
the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS), met with or hosted banquets for the delegation. Ambassador Peng Keyu and Ambassador U Wynn Lwin signed a MOU on behalf of CPIFA and MISIS. During their visit in Shanghai, Mr. Fu Jihong, Deputy Director of the Foreign Affairs Office of Shanghai and Mr. Yan Anlin, Vice President of the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS) met with or hosted luncheon for the delegation.

The two sides exchanged views on China-Myanmar relations and the domestic situation of Myanmar.
英国脱欧及对欧盟影响

梅兆荣  中国前驻德国大使、外交学会前会长

2016年6月23日英国公投脱欧，是对欧盟一体化的沉重打击，将对欧盟的发展产生深远影响，堪称欧盟历史上的一个重大转折。

为正确认识和评估这一“政治地震”，有必要回顾卡梅伦前首相发起脱欧公投的背景和意图。了解欧洲战后历史的人都知道，1973年英国加入欧共体是看中了欧共体单一大市场的好处，但对推进欧洲一体化建设不感兴趣。长期以来，英国作为欧共体及后来的欧盟成员总有一点特殊性，被称为是“三心两意”、“挑肥拣瘦”的成员国。换句话说，英国只想利用欧盟单一大市场，为英国经济和伦敦金融中心捞取好处，但不支持推进欧盟一体化。它强调要维护英国主权，反对建立“联邦欧洲”和“欧盟制宪”，不加入体现欧盟一体化成就的欧元区和申根协定。随着欧盟一体化进程的进展，特别是欧洲主权债务危机的持续发酵，欧元先天性缺陷的凸显，欧盟官僚机构的弊端不断暴露，欧盟为治理债务危机成立银行业联盟等超国家机制，严格财经纪律，以及欧洲难民危机的迅猛冲击，英国社会上和执政的保守党内部疑欧情绪和反欧势力日益滋长，出现了脱欧还是留欧的两派争论。针对这样的情况，时任英国首相的卡梅伦宣布，如果他能在2015年大选中获胜，将于2016年就是否脱欧举行全民公投。卡梅伦此举旨在一箭三雕：一是安抚党内疑欧派，缓和内部争论，防止分裂；二是借此笼络人心，以利于他赢得大选，保持和巩固其党魁和首相地位；三是压欧盟在英关切的问题上作出让步。卡梅伦这一手达到了预期目的，不仅在2015年大选中以较大多数胜出，而且促使欧盟为了留住英国而在谈判中作了两大让步：一是同意英国今后可以有选择地参加一体化步骤，从而认可了欧盟一体化实行双速或多速的原则；二是同意英国对欧盟公
民进入英国从业时可以在一定时间内不予享受英国的高福利。这些“成果”使卡梅伦非常得意，但他不得不兑现举行脱欧公投的诺言。

在脱欧公投筹备过程中，英国全国上下围绕留欧还是脱欧的争论达到了炽热的程度，不仅使英国社会分裂，而且搅动了整个西方世界。欧洲一些重要国家的领导人和政要纷纷发声敦促英国留在欧盟，美国总统奥巴马也亲自出马施加影响和压力，大批美国高官赴英游说警告脱欧的害处和后果。但结果却适得其反，引发了英国民众的强烈反感，最后脱欧派以近52%的微弱多数获胜。但公投结果揭晓之后，出现了一些奇怪现象：卡梅伦引咎辞职后，在公投中获胜的保守党的脱欧派领袖约翰逊却激流勇退。随后推出主张留欧的原内政大臣特蕾莎·梅接任党魁和首相，且新内阁内两派代表人物皆有。但在狂热的辩论冷却下来以后，一些主张留欧的议员和民众不认可公投结果，有的声称后悔当初投了脱欧票，要求举行第二次公投。在这一波浪潮平息和新内阁宣布拟于2017年3月底向欧盟正式提出脱欧申请之后，主张留欧的议员又提出，政府启动脱欧程序须经议会批准，并称其申诉已获高等法院裁定批准。对此，特蕾莎·梅政府予以拒绝，声称将上诉最高法院予以驳回，并向德、法和欧盟领导人重申，将按原定计划启动脱欧进程。

从上述情况不难看出，脱欧公投这一决定很大程度上出于政党私利，导致了英国社会围绕留欧还是脱欧问题的撕裂。正如欧洲一些媒体指出：用“公投”这种充满情绪化的手段来解决英国是否退出欧盟这样事关国家走向的重大复杂问题，不会带来理性的结果。这是一种“劣质民主”，是西方民主制度陷入深重危机的表现。

根据欧盟条约第50条规定，脱欧谈判期限为2年。欧盟方面敦促英国尽快递交脱欧申请以启动谈判，英方则因拿不出脱欧方案而采取了拖延政策。主要原因是，无论脱欧派还是留欧派，都对公投结果做了错误估计，对公投之后如何行动缺乏预案。而为了应对公投结果公布以后的混乱，整顿和统一内部思想，以及拟定脱欧谈判方案，需要很长时间。可以预料，谈判将是复杂、艰巨和曲折的，不排除中间出现一些紧张局面甚至新的变故。从英国的角度看，据说理想的谈判结果应是对自己有利而又不损害欧盟。而欧盟从其利益考虑，应使英国为其脱欧付出代价，太便宜了英国会鼓励一些成员国效仿，引发连锁反应。但对英惩罚过重又会使谈判拖而不决，由此造成的不确定性将给欧洲经济带来重大损失。况且，英国退出欧盟后仍是北约成员，与欧盟在政治、经济上紧密相连，把关系搞得太僵不符合双方长远利益。另一方面，脱欧谈判需要解决的问题很多，但核心是如何重塑未来英欧之间的经贸、投资和金融关系，关键问题是英国是否或在多大程度上以什么条件留在欧洲单一大市场，确保伦敦金融中心的地位和利益不致受损。
与此相联，必须同时解决欧盟成员国公民在多大程度上可以自由进入英国就业，并享受英国的高福利待遇。这些既是英国也是欧盟特别是波兰、匈牙利以及巴尔干国家的关注所在，将是双方讨价还价的重点。

不管英欧谈判结局如何，英国脱欧对欧盟的影响将是多方面的、深远的，实际上部分影响已开始显现。粗线条地看，大致可以归纳为以下几个方面：

一是欧盟实力和影响力将遭削弱，国际地位会下降。英国经济占欧盟总量15%，人口占12.5%，是欧盟内投资存量最大的国家，也是欧盟预算的第二大出资国和单一大市场的重要推动力量。作为联合国安理会五常之一、拥核国家以及与美国有特殊关系的北约成员国，英国对欧盟的外交、安全和全球影响力不可小觑。英国脱欧无疑会使欧盟体量瘦身、重量减轻、能量减弱。

二是鼓励和加强欧盟各国的疑欧极端力量，从而削弱欧盟一体化的根基。英国公投脱欧反映了四大趋势性问题：贫富差距扩大导致的社会矛盾深化；草根阶层对精英统治的强烈不满；对欧盟官僚机构的反感日益增长；反全球化思潮上升。应当指出，所有这些现象在欧盟其他成员国或多或少同样存在，英国脱欧先例对诸如法国“国民阵线”、意大利“五星党”、荷兰“自由党”和德国“另择党”等右翼民粹主义力量无疑起了鼓舞作用。虽然英国脱欧也对欧盟敲了警钟，促使人们反思如何通过改革减少弊端。比如德法外长已开始改口，不再讲“更多的欧洲”，而提出要建设“灵活的欧洲”，还声称要“倾听人民的声音”，“问题不在于如何使成员国将主权更多地转让给布鲁塞尔”等等，但只是说说而已，没有基于共识的具体举措。

三是将改变欧盟内部关系结构，并对欧盟政策走向产生影响。欧盟作为主权国家联合体，法律上各成员国的外交政策是独立自主的，但各成员都力图借重欧盟增强自己对外份量和贯彻自己利益诉求，同时在重大外交与安全政策上尽量保持对外一致。英、法、德三大国基于其实力对欧盟政策有较大的话语权和影响力，并建立了既相互联用又相互制约的关系结构。例如，德国常在英法之间左右逢源，在经贸政策上以英压法，在推进政治一体化方面则拉法促英。法英则相互借重以制约德国坐大，阻止德国成为欧洲主宰。英国脱欧后，这些杠杆作用将发生变化，英国作为美国最亲密的盟友对欧盟对外政策的影响力将大大弱化甚至丧失。而随着法国国力衰落，德国主导欧盟的欲望会增强，但也会引发其他中小成员国的疑惧和抵制，欧盟内部的分歧和矛盾可能发展。德国将在“德国的欧洲”和“欧洲的德国”之间徘徊。

四是美国需在欧盟内部寻找新的“帮手”替代英国脱欧前扮演的角色。种种迹象表明，美极力拉德国扮演这一角色，这不仅是基于德国在欧洲的政治经济
份量和影响力，更是因为默克尔具有较强的大西洋情结，非法、意等国领导人能及。不过，德国是否和在多大程度上扮演美国所希望的英国在欧盟内所起的作用，还有待观察。但今后德国内外政策的走向和德美关系的演变值得注意。在这个意义上，英国脱欧的影响将超出欧洲范畴。
当前世界局势复杂多变，乱象纷呈。世界格局，正经历上个世纪九十年代初苏联解体、东欧剧变以来最为深刻的一次变动。这是世界上政治、经济、社会等各种矛盾不断激化作用的结果。西方少数大国主导的国际秩序难以为继，美国力图构建单极世界的努力也遇到重大挫折，世界局势持续紧张动荡渐成常态。

导致世界局势如今态势的主要因素有：

一、世界经济持续低迷，有陷入长期性停滞的风险

2008年发生全球金融、经济危机以来，迄今已有八年之久，但从整体而言，世界经济尚未摆脱危机阴影，即使有所复苏，也很脆弱。重振世界经济，成了举世关注的一大难题。究其原因，关键在于，目前在世界上占据主导地位的垄断资本主义制度自身出了问题。

根据美国官方公布的数字，从2014年起，未来十年，美国经济平均年增长率将为2.1%，大大低于1948年至2007年3.4%的历史平均水平。据国际货币基金组织2016年4月的数据，2015-2020年发达国家年平均增长率将只有1.6%，陷入“长期性停滞”。这对世界经济有不小的负面影响。

美国在世界上经济实力最强，又有美元在世界金融体系中占据优势地位，其经济现状对世界经济起着举足轻重的作用。一年多来各国屏息关注美联储是否以及何时加息，就是证明。在美国影响下，世界经济遇到两大挑战，一是债务负担极其沉重，二是经济“金融化”，使实体经济失去金融业的应有支撑。

根据国际货币基金组织2016年10月公布的数字，2015年全球债务（包括政府债务，家庭债务和非金融企业债务）达到152万亿美
元，比2008年金融危机前的112万亿美元高很多，而2002年只有67万亿美元。目前世界经济规模大约75万亿美元，即每提升1个百分点，年开支就需增加7500亿美元。在债务负担如此沉重情况下，这几乎是不现实的。沉重的债务既降低了世界经济抵御新的金融风险的能力，也影响经济的可持续发展。

再有，美欧等资本主义国家经济“金融化”日益严重，即金融系统里的绝大部分资金被用于针对现有资产借贷行为，而非资助那些能够创造就业、提高工资的项目。以美国为例，金融业在其经济中的比重从1980年的4%，上升到目前的7%，而其盈利占所有企业盈利的25%，仅创造了4%的就业岗位。这就促成虚拟经济与实体经济严重脱节。实体经济得不到必须的资金支持，这成为经济增速放缓、失业率居高不下的根由。

垄断资本主义制度在当今世界上占据主导地位，这两大挑战是这种社会制度派生出来的，将长期困扰世界经济，绝非所谓“全球治理”所能解决。

二、西方主要资本主义国家社会呈现严重分裂状况，其影响波及全球

无论英国脱欧和美国大选折射出的普通民众与精英阶层之间的尖锐对立，还是欧洲不少国家所谓“民粹主义”政党的崛起，都显示资本主义制度出现了危机。

美苏冷战结束后，以美国为首的西方大国加紧推进“全球化”。这种有利富人而不利于穷人的“全球化”，使资本主义制度固有的贫富悬殊弊端更加突出。据统计，美国最富有的1%的人拥有43%的美国财富，英国最富有的1%的人，拥有23%的英国财富。2015年华尔街六家银行高管分红1.3亿美元，而半数美国家庭拿不出400美元的现金，必须借钱或变卖东西。美联储前主席格林斯潘曾指出，2008年金融危机后，美国已经分裂成两个：一个是超级富人的美国，他们在经济复苏中赚到了高额的奖金；另一个则是大量中产阶级、中小企业主的美国，他们仍在艰难地挣扎。在如此“不平等”的体制下，在这次美国大选中，代表体制外力量的特朗普和自称“社会主义者”的桑德斯异军突起，就不足为奇了。美国广大普通民众通过支持特朗普和桑德斯，表达对精英阶层极力维护的现行体制的强烈不满和愤怒。

英国脱欧和民粹主义在欧洲崛起，从一定意义上说，也是精英阶层误导民众的结果。欧洲精英阶层从上个世纪九十年代起，就大力鼓吹并推进“越来越紧密的联盟”，也就是“全球化”的欧洲版———欧洲一体化。欧盟的建立和运营在很大程度上是为了“商业阶层的利益”考虑，普通民众得不到多少实惠，这让他们
愤怒。正是这种愤怒情绪导致英国全民公投决定脱离它加入45年之久的欧盟；也是欧洲各地以反一体化、反外来移民为主要政见的所谓“民粹主义”政党纷纷崛起的重要原因。

英国决定脱欧后，并不能解决普通民众与精英阶层之间的对立，反而凸显社会的分裂。美国政府几年前以扰乱社会秩序为名，取缔反映基层民众对现行体制不满的“占领华尔街运动”；现在又通过民主党内部运作，逼迫桑德斯放弃竞选；迹象还显示，共和民主两党一些精英们正联手，企图通过丑化、妖魔化特朗普等手段阻止特朗普当选。然而，出乎世人预料的是，特朗普大胜希拉里，当选下一任总统，这表明美国广大民众对现行体制的极度不满，渴望变革。

西方主要资本主义国家由于自身的原因而造成的社会严重分裂，将对他们国内政局稳定和内外政策乃至世界局势都产生重大影响。

三、全球战略安全环境面临严峻威胁

2016年6月中俄两国领导人发表关于加强全球战略稳定的联合声明，指出，当前影响全球战略稳定的消极因素正在世界各地增加，我们对此感到担忧，中俄两国要尽一切努力，防止世界大战悲剧重演。环视亚洲、欧洲、中东等地区的安全形势，可以看清，这一联合声明，绝非无的放矢，而是切中要害。

当前威胁全球战略稳定的主要因素是美国霸权，更确切地说，它执意推进旨在维系美国世界霸主地位的战略。即将公布的美国新版军事战略将俄罗斯、中国、朝鲜、伊朗和极端恐怖主义组织视为对美国的安全威胁，声言将全力应对。国防部长卡特甚至扬言，美军已做好“明天”就开战的准备。

美国不顾中国方面一再申明愿同美方建立不冲突、不对抗、平等合作、互利共赢的新型大国关系，不顾俄罗斯方面通过各种渠道向美方表明愿与其建立相互合作、考虑彼此利益的新型大国关系，执意将中国和俄罗斯视为主要敌人。即使针对朝鲜、伊朗施加的种种制裁和军事威胁，其最终目标依然是针对中国和俄罗斯。以朝鲜核、伊朗核为借口在中俄周边建立美国导弹防御体系就是明证。

为了遏制俄罗斯的复兴，美国制造了乌克兰危机，并以俄罗斯收复克里米亚为借口，坚持同欧盟对俄实施经济制裁，妄图搞垮俄罗斯经济；以保护中东欧国家安全为名，无视与罗斯达成的谅解，扩大北约在俄周边地区的军事存在；加紧部署针对俄的反导系统；利用叙利亚战事甚至美国总统选举等一切机会，抹黑普京总统和俄罗斯。美国参谋长联席会议主席约瑟夫·邓福德在谈及美国新版军事战略时，直言不讳的指称，俄罗斯是对美国国家利益的最严峻的挑战、最重大
的威胁。近来美国媒体还有意炒作美俄“第二次冷战”或引发世界大战等耸人听闻的言论。

奥巴马政府制定并实施所谓亚太再平衡战略。在此战略名义下，在政治上，挑起南海争议问题，并借此极力挑拨中国与其周边国家的关系；在经济上，签订并推进将中国排斥在外的跨太平洋伙伴关系协定，试图推行其在亚太地区的经济主导权；在军事上，蓄意制造紧张局势，大力拼凑“亚太北约”，作为其在亚太地区推行霸权政治的主要抓手。利用朝核问题构建美、日、韩三边军事同盟，从而形成美国做后台老板、日本做马前卒的同盟网，围堵中国。美国正将其全球60%的海空军力量调集到亚太地区；在这一地区频繁举行各种军事演习，展示包括核动力航母、潜艇、轰炸机在内的种种先进武器，不断推进在韩、日等中国周边地区部署危及中国战略安全的反导系统；不顾中国反对，继续派机、舰对中国进行抵近侦察，以航行自由为名，一再派军舰进入中国近海地区，挑战中国领土主权。

为控制整个欧亚大陆，牵制中俄，美国多年来一直力图控制整个中东地区。他入侵阿富汗、伊拉克、利比亚、叙利亚，对这些地区制造动乱，从中渔利。美国利己主义的中东政策，不仅使中东地区滋生出基地、伊斯兰国等形形色色的恐怖主义组织，威胁世界和平，贻害四方，而且使中东地区战乱一直不能平息，制造无数人道主义灾难。

纵观全球，战略安全形势日益严峻，大有失控的危险。

四、分裂的幽灵在欧洲徘徊，欧盟遭遇生存危机

年初，欧洲问题专家曾预言，困扰欧洲的各种麻烦可能动摇欧洲经济和政治一体化的基础，此话不幸言中。6月23日，英国全民公投决定脱离它已加入45年之久的欧洲联盟，成了压垮已深受经济持续低迷、债务危机未解、难民问题不断发酵、恐袭事件接二连三等种种困扰的欧盟的最后一根稻草。英国公投脱欧，既关乎英国今后政治走向，更是对欧盟的一次不信任投票。欧盟委员会主席容克于今年9月14日在欧洲议会发表年度国情咨文时指出，英国公投脱欧后，欧盟限于“生存危机”。

为什么曾一度朝气蓬勃，被誉为其他地区一体化楷模的欧盟，却陷入了目前这种境地？俗话说，成也萧何，败也萧何，成败概源于“一体化”。

欧洲一体化进程在第二次世界大战后应运而生，它有助于欧洲国家战后经济的恢复和维持欧洲的和平。在上世纪苏联解体、东欧剧变后，西欧的一些政治
精英们被胜利冲昏了头脑，无视广大普通民众的感受，急于在整个欧洲实行彻底一体化。在这种思想指导下，在90年代初，先是签订《马斯特里赫条约》，在原来欧洲共同体基础上建立欧洲联盟，简称欧盟，接着在条件尚不具备的情况下实行货币一体化，启用欧元；订立《申根协定》，取消成员国之间的边界管理。之后，又急于扩大新成员，将国情迥异的大批中东欧国家吸收进来，使成员国数目从12个一下子增加到28个。其后果是人为地加剧了内部的不平衡，这也成为导致分裂的原因之一。

由于利益诉求不一，欧元的启用造成欧盟分裂为欧元区国家和非欧元区国家。欧洲主权债务危机发生后，欧元区国家又分裂为北部欧洲债权国和南部欧洲债务国。为走出经济危机，政治精英们又试图从推进“更紧密联盟”中找出路。这不仅促使英国公投脱欧，而且蕴育着欧盟进一步分裂为核心国和边缘国，欧盟将会更加四分五裂。欧洲理事会主席图斯克在英国公投前就警告说，“分裂的幽灵正在欧洲徘徊”。英国公投决定脱欧后，他公开批评说“乌托邦式的企图建立联邦欧洲，加速着欧盟的解体”。

再有，欧洲一体化进程起始时确定“主权分享”和“协商一致”的原则。随着国际形势的变化和成员国增多，这种运作方式越来越难以适应国际竞争日趋激烈的大环境，拖累欧盟经济的发展。同时，“主权分享”原则的过渡实施，导致欧盟委员会等机构的官僚主义化，将欧盟的法规凌驾于各主权国家法律之上。久而久之，这形成欧盟机构与主权国家之间的尖锐矛盾，甚至冲突。近来在欧盟内部吵得不可开交的难民摊派方案就是例证。

正是由于自身的错误，欧元区因经济、债务危机而岌岌可危；《申根协定》又因难民潮冲击越来越难以维持。事实表明，欧盟的机制和运作方式难以为继，必须进行根本性改革。可是在谁改革谁丢票的欧洲现实情况下，任何改革都不容易。要制定27个成员国都能接受的改革方案则更加困难。欧盟在英国脱盟后，虽不会解体，但逐渐走向衰落，恐难避免。这对世界局势的演变将会有不小的影响。

五、中东乱局愈演愈烈，由此派生出来的恐怖主义灾害和难民潮冲击也难解决

中东地区战略地位重要，又拥有极其丰富的油气资源，历来是大国觊觎的地方。这一地区由于存在着复杂的宗教、教派、民族矛盾，不仅给外部势力插手的机会，而且也导致战乱不断。第二次世界大战后半个多世纪，中东地区一直是世
世界上局势最为动荡的地区。

进入21世纪后，在中东地区占据主导地位的美国，为了控制整个中东地区，以反恐、推进民主为名，未经联合国授权，先后对阿富汗、伊拉克、利比亚、叙利亚等国发动战争。至今，这些国家深陷内战不已。由于常年战乱，数以百万计的难民流离失所，处境悲惨。美国为首的西方国家对中东的错误政策制造了二战后人类历史上最为严重的人道主义灾难，后患无穷。

更有甚者，中东的乱局滋生出形形色色的极端恐怖主义组织，贻害四方。美国口头上标榜反恐，实际上他反恐问题同样采取双重标准，即只反对对美国安全有威胁的组织，而对对安国家安全构成威胁的恐怖组织，不但不反，还要加以利用。例如，它迟迟不肯把“东突”恐怖组织列入恐怖主义组织名单，而且不顾中国方面的一再要求，坚决不把关塔那摩监狱释放出来的“东突分子”交给中方。

拉登为首的基地组织是在美国中央情报局一手扶持下发展起来的，已不是什么秘密。对近日为害各方的“伊斯兰国”的崛起，美国同样也难脱干系。据德国《焦点》周刊去年5月发表的一篇题为《五角大楼机密文件：美国政府缔造了伊斯兰国组织》的文章披露，早在2012年8月，美国国防部情报局的一份文件就曾预言，中东地区或出现一个由伊拉克和叙利亚恐怖组织组成的联盟——“伊斯兰国”，并强调这“符合西方国家的意愿”，“巴沙尔将被孤立和削弱”。三年后，2014年6月，该预言成为现实，“伊斯兰国”宣告成立。时至今日，美国人不仅不肯全力围剿“伊斯兰国”，而且还默许对“伊斯兰国”的多种资助“无障碍地”继续进行。在这种情况下，“伊斯兰国”的势力在各方打击下虽遭到削弱，但距离奥巴马总统号称两年内剿灭“伊斯兰国”的目标相去甚远。“伊斯兰国”的势力已经向其他地区扩散，今年在欧洲频频发生的恐袭事件就是例证。

在美国这种利己主义政策作用下，世界和平与安宁的恐怖主义危害，短时期内不可能得到解决，将成为促使世界局势持续动荡不安的一大因素。
共建携手共进的中拉命运共同体

祝青桥 外交部拉美司司长

应厄瓜多尔总统科雷亚、秘鲁总统库琴斯基、智利总统巴切莱特邀请，2016年11月17至23日，中国国家主席习近平对三国进行国事访问，并出席在秘鲁利马举行的亚太经合组织第二十四次领导人非正式会议。这是中国面向亚太和拉美的一次重大外交行动，也是习近平主席四年内第三次访问拉美。

访问期间，习近平主席同三国领导人畅叙传统友谊，共谋合作发展大计，并在秘鲁国会发表面向整个拉美和加勒比地区的重要演讲，规划指引中拉关系发展方向。访问亮点纷呈、成果斐然、影响深远，在国际地区形势动荡多变的形势下，释放出中国对拉美发展前景信心没有变、中拉互为机遇格局没有变、中国加强同拉美国家各领域合作政策没有变的明确信息，标志着中拉双方站在了携手打造命运共同体的历史新起点。在习主席访拉结束之际，中国政府发布了第二份《中国对拉丁美洲和加勒比政策文件》，全面阐述了新时期新形势下中国对拉政策的新理念、新主张、新举措，将指导今后一个时期中拉各领域交流合作，引领中拉全面合作伙伴关系不断迈上新台阶。

一、处于历史新时期的中拉关系

中国同拉美和加勒比地区相距遥远，但双方友好交往源远流长，人民传统情谊深厚，具有天然的亲近感。近年来，中拉关系实现跨越式发展，双方高层交往频繁，各领域交流合作不断扩大。中拉相互输送发展动力，共同应对国际金融危机挑战，成为新时期南南合作的典范，具体表现在以下三个方面：

一是高层交往引领中拉关系发展方向。中拉同为发展中国家，
在世界多极化和国际关系民主化等问题上有广泛的共同利益。长期以来，双方高层交往密切。上世纪90年代起，中国主要领导人均实现访拉，拉美多数国家领导人任内也曾访华。双方就双边关系和共同关心的地区和国际保持了经常性沟通和坦诚对话，不断凝聚和扩大政治共识。2008年，中国政府发布首份《对拉美和加勒比政策文件》，提出建立平等互利、共同发展的中拉全面合作伙伴关系这一目标，阐述了中方各领域对拉合作政策，为中拉关系发展提供了重要指引。2014年，习近平主席与拉美领导人共同确立了平等互利、共同发展的中拉全面合作伙伴关系，宣布将成立中国—拉美和加勒比国家共同体论坛，使双方政治互信达到新的水平，也标志着中拉关系进入全面合作新阶段。

二、务实合作打造中拉关系有力支撑。新世纪以来，中拉充分发挥经济互补性，经贸领域务实合作实现了快速发展。中拉贸易从不到200亿美元发展到2600亿美元仅用了10年时间，这在世界贸易发展史上是少见的。中国已是拉美第二大贸易伙伴国和多个拉美国家的第一大贸易伙伴，同智利、秘鲁、哥斯达黎加三国签署了自贸协定。来自拉美的石油、大豆、铁矿砂等商品为中国经济发展提供了重要保障，中国的工程机械、生产装备也在拉美国家建设中发挥了积极作用。此外，拉美成为中国企业海外投资和工程承包的重要目的地，双方在能源资源、通信、基础设施等领域实施了一大批重大合作项目，有效提升了拉美的自主发展能力，为中拉人民带来了实实在在的好处。

三是人文交往奠定中拉关系坚实基础。中拉都拥有悠久历史和灿烂文明，中拉交往历史悠久，双方人民素怀友好感情。随着双方各领域合作的深入开展，中拉人文交往日益密切，拉美“中国热”和中国“拉美热”不断升温。中国已有近30所孔子学院和11所孔子课堂和1家中国文化中心，每年有近万名拉美学子来华学习进修。中国也有50多所高校开设西班牙语或葡萄牙语专业。拉美正成为中国高端出境游的重要目的地，双方开通多条直航航线，越来越多的拉美和加勒比国家给予中国游客免签等签证便利。双方还通过互办文化年、电视周、文艺展演等活动积极开展文化交流，进一步拉近了双方人民心与心的距离。

二、构建中拉关系“五位一体”新格局

2014年，习近平主席在首次中拉领导人会晤上提出，中拉深化全面互利合作面临更好机遇、具备更好基础、拥有更好条件，完全有理由实现更大发展，并提出构建政治上真诚互信、经贸上合作共赢、人文上互学互鉴、国际事务中密切协作、整体合作和双边关系相互促进的中拉关系五位一体新格局，得到拉方领导人
积极响应，成为新时期中国对拉政策的总体目标。两年多来，双方在构建中拉关系新格局方面取得了新的重要进展，五位一体辩证统一、相互促进的发展态势更加清晰。

坚持平等相待，始终真诚相助，是中拉关系发展的根本前提。中方坚持和平共处五项原则，坚持国家不分大小、强弱、贫富都是国际社会平等成员，坚定支持拉美国家走符合自身实际的发展道路，实现联合自强、发展振兴。2013年以来，习近平主席三次访问拉美，足迹遍布拉美大陆和加勒比不同次地区的国家，并在多双边场合同拉美加勒比国家领导人广泛会面，实现了元首外交的“全覆盖”。继同巴西之后，中国先后同秘鲁、墨西哥、阿根廷、委内瑞拉、厄瓜多尔、智利建立全面战略伙伴关系，同哥斯达黎加、乌拉圭建立战略伙伴关系，同加勒比建交国建立相互尊重、平等互利、共同发展的全面合作伙伴关系，进一步丰富了中国在拉伙伴关系网络。中国同拉美加勒比各国高层会、战略对话、双边委员会、政治磋商等对话合作机制更加完善，双方在涉及国家主权、领土完整、稳定发展等核心利益和重大关切的问题上继续相互理解、相互支持，积极维护共同利益。

坚持互利合作，促进共同发展，是中拉关系发展的内生动力。双方在习近平主席提出的“1+3+6”务实合作新框架下，积极推动务实合作换挡提速。双方制定了《中国与拉美加勒比国家合作规划（2015—2019）》，充分发挥贸易、投资、金融合作“三大引擎”作用，不断深化双方在能源资源、基础设施建设、农业、制造业、科技创新、信息技术六大重点领域的合作。2015年以来，面对世界经济复苏艰难、大宗商品国际价格下跌等不利因素，中国从拉美进口主要商品的数量始终保持稳定，双方贸易结构不断优化，农产品等特色优势商品正成为拉美对华出口新的增长点。中国对拉美直接投资存量已经超过1500亿美元，投资领域从传统的资能源行业向电力、汽车、机械制造、新能源、电子商务等新兴行业不断延伸，并积极探索股权并购、特许经营等新的合作方式。拉美已成为仅次于亚洲的中国企业海外投资第二大目的地。双方共同探索产能合作“××”新模式，在基础设施建设等领域的产能合作发展前景良好。中方先后设立350亿美元一揽子融资安排、300亿美元中拉产能合作基金、30亿美元中国—加勒比合作基金等对拉金融合作机制，同拉美多国签署了双边融资和货币互换协议，在智利、阿根廷设立人民币清算银行，为中国经贸合作提供了重要的融资支持。中拉务实合作不断深化，利益融合日益扩大，正走向更高水平的优势互补和共同发展。

坚持交流互鉴，巩固世代友好，是中拉关系发展的坚实支撑。习近平主席2014年宣布的5年内向拉美加勒比国家提供6000个政府奖学金名额、6000个赴华
培训名额以及400个在职硕士名额，邀请1000名拉美和加勒比国家政党领导人赴华访问交流等重大举措得到有效落实，进一步加深了双方相互了解。2016年举办的“中拉文化交流年”以及巴西举办第31届夏季奥运会、残奥会等重大活动掀起了双方文化、体育交流和人员交往新高潮。习近平主席在第三次访拉期间宣布，未来3年中方将为拉美和加勒比国家培训1万名各类人才，中方将在华设立中拉新闻交流中心，邀请部分拉美媒体记者来华工作，并在未来5年为拉方培养500名媒体从业人员。这些措施的实施将进一步促进中拉之间的民心相通，深化中拉人民传统友好情谊。

坚持国际协作，促进公平正义，是中拉关系发展的国际责任。中拉双方在联合国、世界贸易组织等国际组织和多边框架内，就实现可持续发展、巩固多边贸易体制、完善全球经济治理、应对气候变化、推动亚太区域合作等议题开展了有效对话协调，维护共同立场。中国支持巴西举办2014年金砖国家领导人会晤、支持秘鲁举办2016年亚太经合组织领导人非正式会议。拉美国家也积极支持中国举办2014年亚太经合组织领导人非正式会议以及2016年二十国集团杭州峰会。支持中国提出的亚太自贸区倡议和一带一路倡议。巴西成为亚洲基础设施投资银行创始成员国，并与中国一道推进金砖国家开发银行建设，在巴黎气变大会上采取共同立场。中拉在国际和地区事务中开展的合作，有效维护了以联合国宪章宗旨和原则为核心的国际秩序和体系，推动了亚太区域合作，为构建开放包容的世界经济体系作出了贡献。

坚持整体合作与双边关系相互促进，是中拉关系发展的战略路径。2014年，中拉领导人共同宣布建立中国—拉共体论坛，论坛首届部长级会议于2015年1月在北京举行，实现了中方倡导、面向发展中国家的地区整体合作机制的全覆盖。两年来，中拉论坛各领域合作稳步推进，先后在举办了基础设施、科技创新、政党交流、青年政治家、民间友好、智库、企业家等领域的多个分论坛会议，有力推动了中拉各领域合作，论坛框架下各项对拉合作举措也得到稳步落实。中方始终坚持平等相待的合作原则、互利共赢的合作目标、灵活务实的合作方式和开放包容的合作精神，积极推动以中拉论坛为主要平台的中拉整体合作进程，并继续开展中国—加勒比经贸合作论坛及同南共市、太平洋联盟等次地区组织、美洲开发银行等地区金融机构的合作，初步形成了中拉之间双边关系、中国与拉美次地区组织关系和中拉整体合作并行互促的良好局面，受到拉方的普遍欢迎和积极评价。
三、共建携手共进的命运共同体

打造人类命运共同体，是以习近平同志为核心的党中央在深刻洞察人类前途命运和时代发展趋势的基础上，推动中国特色大国外交理论创新的重大成果，就国际秩序和国际体系变革提出的重大方案，对当代国际关系正产生积极而深远的影响。中拉关系的发展始终坚持平等相待，维护公道正义，致力经济振兴、实现包容互惠，推动文明互鉴、倡导绿色发展，这与打造人类命运共同体的总布局高度一致。中拉关系已经具备了命运共同体的基本特征。

习近平主席在秘鲁国会演讲中提出，中拉双方应高举和平发展合作旗帜，推动发展战略对接，推进合作换挡加速，实现合作成果共享，共同打造中拉命运共同体这艘大船，引领中拉友好关系驶入新航程。这为中拉关系的未来指明了方向。

高举和平发展合作旗帜，就是要顺应历史潮流，把握国际大势，始终把实现国家发展、民族振兴作为根本任务，同时携手维护世界和平、推动共同发展，构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系。谋和平、求发展是包括中拉在内的广大发展中国家的根本诉求和最大利益交汇点。中国和拉美面积占世界五分之一，人口占世界近三分之一，是维护世界和平稳定、推动世界经济增长的关键力量。双方在发展道路上应坚持平等相待，走“对话而不对抗，结伴而不结盟”道路，为新时期国与国关系书写“中拉模式”；坚持合作共赢，相互输送发展动力，为世界经济发展注入“中拉力量”；坚持交流互鉴，提倡“和而不同”，为不同文明和谐共处提供“中拉经验”；在涉及和平、发展与合作的重大国际事务上发出“中拉声音”，阐明“中拉立场”，共同提升新兴市场国家和发展中国家的代表性和发言权。

推动发展战略对接，就是要加强治国理政经验交流，增强宏观政策规划和协调，推动中国的“十三五规划”同拉美和加勒比国家发展战略相衔接。中国将加快对外贸易优化升级，向全球扩大市场开放，支持企业扩大对外投资，加快实施自由贸易区战略。这与拉美提升出口附加值，吸引外国投资，实现产业结构多元化，维护全球贸易与投资自由化的发展规划高度契合。中拉在社会治理、环保、减贫、卫生等领域可以相互借鉴，取长补短。明年中拉将在北京举行中拉环境与可持续发展圆桌对话会，就双方相关政策理念进行“对表”，探索中拉合作新领域。双方还要将中拉关系发展同国际和区域发展对接。中国积极推动亚太区域合作与拉美国家在发展问题上“向东看”相向而行，亚太自贸区建设将为包括中拉在内的域内国家和世界带来更多发展机遇。
推进合作换挡加速，就是要以创新为发展动力，主动适应世界经济金融形势的新变化新挑战，不断提升中拉务实合作的层次和水平。中拉城镇化和新型工业化进程的发展将释放出巨大的市场需求，双方要抓住机遇，深挖贸易潜力，优化贸易结构，将特色优质产品和高附加值产品打造成新的贸易增长点，促进投资进一步向高新技术、清洁能源、制造业、信息通讯等领域拓展，推动形成资金、技术、装备和人才等多元投资网络，进一步丰富金融合作形式，加大产业对接和产能合作，积极鼓励双方企业开展联合创新和研发，服务各自发展战略，为双方发展提供新的助力。双方应充分利用包括中国—拉共体论坛在内的各种多双边合作机制，做好双方各领域合作规划，不断完善中拉贸易、投资便利化各项制度安排，为双方合作搭建更加完备的法律和制度框架。

实现合作成果共享，就是要让双方人民成为中拉合作的推动者、实践者和受益者。中方鼓励企业在对拉合作中贯彻绿色发展理念，重视履行社会责任，加强技术转让和人力资源合作，同时尊重当地习俗和文化传统，遵守当地劳工、环保等等法律制度，积极推动投资本地化，促进当地就业和社会事业发展，使双方人民切实感受到中拉合作带来的好处。我们还要进一步开展人文交流和文明互鉴，让中拉人民探索自身发展道路的进程中相互理解，相互支持，使中国梦与团结协作、发展振兴的“拉美梦”交相辉映，让中拉合作在物质和精神层面同步实现繁荣发展。

中拉命运共同体的巨轮已经启航。让我们齐心协力，携手共进，让这艘巨轮行稳致远，乘风远航，为双方人民带来更多的繁荣与福祉，为建设人类命运共同体伟大事业做出新的贡献！
引领和平合作方向，推动周边稳定发展
——2016年中国周边形势和周边外交回眸

周 剑 外交部政策规划司副司长

2016年，是我国周边形势很不简单的一年，也是中国外交工作很不平凡的一年。在世界经济复苏乏力、地缘政治因素凸显、全球化遭遇逆风的背景下，我国周边地区保持了总体稳定和较快发展势头，同时也面临经济下行压力增大、热点难点问题突出、安全挑战上升等不稳定不确定因素。在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，中国周边外交工作打造亮点、攻克难点、稳住热点，取得一系列丰硕成果。

一、大趋势酝酿大调整

环顾我国周边，求和平、谋发展、促合作潮流依然强劲，特别是亚太地区日益成为稳定之锚、合作高地、发展引擎，越来越多国家把目光投向这片充满希望的地区。另一方面，国际金融危机的深层次影响继续发酵，域内外力量围绕地区格局演变投棋布子，对中国周边的经济、政治、安全形势产生了深刻复杂影响。

地区经济一枝独秀，但面临下行压力。2016年，地区经济增长快、贡献大、后劲足的势头继续保持，为复苏乏力的全球经济平添一抹亮色。据国际货币基金组织预测，亚太地区今年将增长5.4%，绝大多数东亚国家增速超过5.5%。亚洲开发银行报告认为，以中国等为代表的亚洲发展中经济体对全球经济增长贡献率在60%以上，仍然是世界发展事业的一片高地。与此同时，世界经济低迷不振，国际金融市场动荡、地缘政治风险、英国脱欧等消极影响外溢，日本超级量化宽松政策的负面效应凸显，一些国家经济困难加剧。如何在大环境不利形势下，平衡推进调结构、促增长等多重目标，是
摆在地区各国面前的突出问题。

大国合作深入推进，但博弈一面上升。中国、美国、俄罗斯等主要力量围绕亚太事务开展了一系列沟通协调，大国之间相互借重合作增多，特别是在经贸投资、非传统安全、环境保护等领域开展多双边对话合作，符合各大国以及地区各方共同利益。令人关注的是，有的大国基于维护地区霸权等考量推进地区政策，导致大国之间战略互疑和竞争博弈增多。美国以美日同盟体系为基石，以跨太平洋伙伴关系（TPP）为平台，持续推进亚太“再平衡”战略。在亚太各国融合发展背景下，不遗余力地强化和打造排除特定大国的安全和自贸安排显然不合时宜。在各方迫切需要协调应对朝鲜半岛核问题和维护南海稳定形势下，美国推动在韩国部署“萨德”反导系统，对大国关系和地区稳定产生了负面影响。日本在历史问题上坚持错误立场，在《南京大屠杀档案》列入世界记忆名录之后，以拒缴会费的方式不断向联合国教科文组织施压；进一步解禁集体自卫权，在南海、台海等问题上制造麻烦，给地区和平与安全埋下了隐患。

地区局势基本稳定，但风险挑战突出。总的看，较之世界其他地区，中国周边绝大多数国家都是远离冲突战乱的“净土”、经济社会发展充满活力的“热土”。但随着地缘政治回归，热点问题此起彼伏，我国周边形势中的不稳定不确定因素明显增多。在东北亚，朝鲜违背联合国安理会决议，两次进行核试验并多次试射导弹，推动局势一再升级。美国与韩国举行规模空前的联合军演，借机推动在韩国部署“萨德”反导系统，威胁国际战略稳定和东北亚安全。朝核、反导两大问题螺旋上升，半岛上空阴云密布。在东南亚，一些不相干的国家在菲律宾南海仲裁案问题上煽风点火，兴风作浪，跳得比当事国还高，挑战中国的正当领土主权和海洋权益，妄图借此抹黑中国形象，激化地区国家矛盾。所幸中国与东盟及当事国回到对话协商解决分歧的正确轨道，使少数国家上述图谋破产。此外，南亚印巴对抗升级，阿富汗国内和解陷入僵局，域外力量插手中亚国家政权交接，恐怖极端主义加速向中亚、南亚、东南亚外溢，传统和非传统安全挑战都有所上升。

区域合作稳步推进，但制约因素不少。在各方共同努力下，我国周边主要方向上的区域一体化取得明显进展，政治安全与经贸合作“两个轮子一起转”重拾势头。今年是东盟共同体建成元年，是澜沧江—湄公河合作机制正式启动的第一年，也是中日韩领导人会议继去年重启之后的关键一年，东亚合作“一南一北”次区域动力源有望变得更加强劲。上海合作组织扩员取得重要突破，影响力从东北亚、中亚进一步辐射到南亚。经贸合作是周边区域合作的粘合剂和助推器，亚洲
国家已签署实施近150个自贸协定，其中40%为域内自贸协定，域内贸易占各国外贸总量50%以上。2016年，东亚合作领导人系列会议重申各方致力于建成东亚经济共同体目标；中美牵头的亚太自贸区集体战略研究就绝大部分内容达成一致，亚太经济一体化迈出新步伐。不容忽视的是，周边区域合作不均衡格局依然突出，经济“长板”与安全“短板”并存。同时，片面强调自贸安排的地缘战略属性，不仅有悖区域一体化潮流，也难以得到广泛支持和响应。

二、大潮流呼唤大视野

在全球化深入发展、区域一体化加速推进的今天，周边地区国家利益深度交融，越来越成为你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体，和平稳定成为大势所趋，发展繁荣才是民心所向。中国与地区各国爱好和平的力量一道，不断开创并刷新着亚洲奇迹，2016年我国周边地区继续成为全球发展的“领头羊”。这一局面来之不易，绝非历史偶然。事实一再证明，只有坚守和平稳定、合作共赢、平等包容的正道，方能行稳致远。

共护和平安全，维护地区稳定。习近平主席在二十国集团杭州峰会演讲中指出，没有和平就没有发展，没有稳定就没有繁荣；各国安全紧密相关，没有哪个国家可以独善其身，也没有哪个国家可以包打天下。当前，随着世界多极化深入发展，中国等一批发展中国家不断壮大，推动亚洲力量对比朝着有利于和平的方向发展。在坚持走和平发展道路同时，中国正在走出一条对话不对抗、结伴不结盟的国与国关系新路，开创和平、平等、包容伙伴关系新范式。中国把握时代脉搏，积极践行共同、综合、合作、可持续的亚洲安全观，大力推动上海合作组织、亚洲相互协作与信任措施会议、东盟地区论坛、香山论坛等区域安全平台健康发展。可以说，共护稳定、共建信任、共享安全，是地区一切爱好和平人民的共同心声。我们主张，国不分域内域外，人不论东方西方，都应超越要么结盟要么对抗的冷战思维，坚守维护地区长治久安的正确方向。

共谋合作共赢，引领发展大计。经济全球化正在深刻重塑世界的面貌，适之者兴，悖之者衰。二战后成功摆脱中等收入陷阱的经济体有将近一半集中在东亚，就是因为这些国家成功参与了全球化进程。中国改革开放以来经济保持快速发展，很大程度上得益于我们本着互利共赢、开放合作精神，同各方一道不断做大共同利益的蛋糕。正如李克强总理在中国—东盟建立对话关系25周年纪念峰会上指出，建立在共同利益上的合作最牢固，最持久。中国倡导以公平、开放、全面、创新为核心的发展观，推动共建“一带一路”和发展战略对接，打造全球
价值链和开放型世界经济体系，符合域内外各方根本利益。以合作取代对抗，以共赢取代独占，在追求己方利益时兼顾他方利益，在寻求自身发展时着眼共同发展，才是走的通走得远的康庄大道。

共倡平等包容，实现共同进步。当前，对于地区国家如何相处存在两种声音。一种认为，不同国家、民族、宗教、文化之间，应当相互包容、相互尊重、相互借鉴，努力实现共同进步。正是在亚洲这片文化多彩、民族多样、制度多元的土地上，中国与有关国家共同倡导和平共处五项原则，共同坚持相互尊重、协商一致、照顾各方舒适度的亚洲方式，共同形成互信、互利、平等、协商、尊重多样文明、谋求共同发展的上海合作精神。还有一种认为，有的文明比别的优越，有的社会制度比别的高明，只有向西方的制度和模式俯首称臣，才是历史归宿。持此论调者不惜利用历史遗留问题，在国家之间挑起矛盾对立，在社会内部策动“颜色革命”，其实质是殖民主义思维作祟。习主席在亚信第五次外长会开幕式讲话中明确指出，亚洲一贯具有开放包容的传统，也拥有登高望远的智慧，我们欢迎域外国家为亚洲和平与发展贡献正能量，同亚洲国家一起促进亚洲安全稳定和发展繁荣。21世纪的车轮滚滚向前，平等相待、求同存异、开放包容的亚洲精神，必将焕发出更加夺目的光彩，“西方中心论”可以休矣。

三、大外交开创大格局

中国外交正是秉持上述理念，坚持与邻为善、以邻为伴，坚持睦邻、安邻、富邻，践行亲诚惠容理念，全面发展同邻国各领域友好合作，为推进地区和平发展事业尽责，为维护国家主权、安全与发展利益担当，为实现“两个一百年”奋斗目标营造稳定有利的周边环境。2016年，在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，我国周边外交积极作为，奋力开拓，取得丰硕成果，产生积极影响。

以高层交往为引领，扩大周边国家“朋友圈”。我国领导人通过双边互访和出席多边会议，基本实现同周边国家领导人交往的“全覆盖”。习近平主席年内同普京总统实现互访并多次会晤，全面提升中俄战略协作水平。二十国集团（G20）杭州峰会期间，习主席分别同哈萨克斯坦、印度、印尼、韩国等国领导人举行会面，就增进互信与合作达成广泛共识。习主席出席上海合作组织塔什干峰会并访问乌兹别克斯坦，访问柬埔寨、孟加拉国，引领上合组织以及同中亚国家关系发展方向，全面提升与传统友好国家互信与合作水平。李克强总理出席博鳌亚洲论坛、亚欧首脑会议、东亚合作领导人系列会议、上合组织总理会晤并访问老挝、蒙古等周边国家，推动区域合作和我与有关国家双边关系深入发展。其
他中央领导同志也对周边地区开展了卓有成效的外交活动。菲律宾总统杜特尔特、缅甸国务资政昂山素季将中国作为东盟外首访国家，标志着周边国家对华友好的局面进一步巩固。

以“一带一路”为主线，开创互利合作新局面。习主席提出共建“一带一路”重大倡议3年来，共商共建共享理念更加深入人心，“一带一路”建设取得更多成果。一是规划布局初步完成，100多个国家和国际组织积极参与，30多个国家和国际组织与中国签署合作协议。二是重点项目取得突破，中巴经济走廊建设全面展开，中蒙俄经济走廊规划纲要正式签署，中国已同“一带一路”沿线国家共建46个境外合作区。三是互联互通初具规模，欧亚大通道建设步伐加快，雅万高铁、中老铁路项目启动。四是产能合作加快推进，中国与20个国家签署合作协议，中方设立的产能合作基金超过1000亿美元。五是机制创新取得进展，亚洲基础设施投资银行开业运营，丝路基金首批投资项目顺利启动。今年6月，习近平主席访问乌兹别克斯坦时用落地生根、深耕细作、持久发展3个关键词为“一带一路”未来发展规划了蓝图，指出中国将同沿线国家一道，构建“一带一路”互利合作网络，共创“一带一路”新型合作模式，打造“一带一路”多元合作平台，推进“一带一路”重点领域项目，携手打造“绿色”、“健康”、“智力”、“和平”丝绸之路。“一带一路”建设正在为周边和平发展事业注入日益强劲的动力。

以管控热点为重点，坚持维稳维权不动摇。面对朝核、南海等热点难点问题，始终坚定维护地区稳定和国家核心利益。在朝鲜半岛问题上，中国坚持实现半岛无核化、坚持维护半岛和平稳定、坚持对话协商解决问题。中国推动半岛无核化与停和机制转换双轨并进，呼吁各方回到以9·19共同声明为基础的六方会谈，积极发挥地区形势“稳定锚”作用。支持并认真执行安理会2270号决议，同时敦促各方冷静克制。明确反对美韩在韩国部署“萨德”反导系统，坚决维护中国国家战略安全与地区和平稳定。

在南海问题上，中国坚持通过谈判协商的方式解决问题，赞成并倡导东盟国家提出的妥善处理南海问题的“双轨”思路，抓住维护地区稳定的最大公约数，发挥了“定海针”作用。今年所谓菲律宾仲裁案裁决出台前，针对一些域内外势力妄图借机挑战中国主权与海洋权益、抹黑中国形象，我们进行了有理有利有节的斗争，先后打赢亚欧首脑会议、东盟外长会、东亚峰会等一系列硬仗，中国东盟就全面有效落实《南海各方行为宣言》发表联合声明，就南海问题共同制定应对海上紧急事态外交高官热线平台指导方针，共同发表在南海适用《海上意外相遇规则》的联合声明，最终把各方重新拉回通过双方对话协商和平解决分歧的正
确轨道。特别是习主席与杜特尔特总统就改善和发展两国关系达成重要共识，成功实现中菲关系转圜，使南海仲裁结果成为一张废纸，实现了维护领土主权、稳定南海局势、维护地区和平等多重目标。历史和现实反复证明，地区国家只有将解决问题的钥匙牢牢掌握在自己手里，才能保持南海和平稳定，实现地区长治久安。

以多边机制为依托，推动区域合作上台阶。亲诚惠容，福泽绵长。2016年，中国积极参与周边区域合作，在各个领域取得重要进展。在经济领域，中国—东盟自贸区升级相关协定书正式生效，进一步提升双方贸易投资自由化便利化水平。中国与东盟在建立对话关系25周年纪念峰会上发表产能合作联合声明，为中国同东盟10国合作共赢注入新动力。中国推动东盟与中日韩领导人会议发表《10+3关于促进可持续发展的声明》，推动东亚峰会发表《东亚峰会基础设施发展合作万象宣言》，进一步深化基础设施等各领域合作，促进区域可持续发展。中国成功举办澜沧江—湄公河合作首次领导人会议，确定了政治安全、经济和可持续发展、人文社会三大支柱，以及互联互通、产能、跨境经济、水资源、农业和减贫五个优先合作领域。设立并启动澜湄合作专项基金，为深化中国与东盟合作、缩小东盟内部发展差距提供了新动力。中日韩三方积极落实去年领导人会议成果，举办了外长会、经贸部长会、教育部长、自贸区谈判等，推动务实合作持续深入发展。

在安全领域，继续践行共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，积极推进具有亚洲特色的安全治理模式。我们首次主办亚信外长会，提交《中国担任2014–2016年亚信主席国工作总结和2016–2018年主席国工作规划》，推动深化地区政治互信与安全合作。习主席在上合组织塔什干峰会上，同各国领导人共同签署《上海合作组织成立十五周年塔什干宣言》、印巴加入上合组织义务备忘录等文件，有力推动这一地区安全对话合作重要平台不断发展壮大。中国继续推动同东盟国家商签“睦邻友好合作条约”，推动实现中国—东盟防长非正式会晤机制化，强化执法安全合作部长级对话机制。我们支持香山论坛等“一轨半”二轨对话平台的发展，积极参与地区多边安全对话合作机制。中国积极参与东盟地区论坛框架下的对话合作，加强同各国合作应对恐怖主义、自然灾害、跨国犯罪、传染性疾病等非传统安全威胁。中方还积极参与阿富汗和解进程，为推动印巴改善关系作出不懈努力，既是为了自身和平发展营造有利周边环境，也是为地区和平稳定提供更多公共产品。

2017年将是中国和平发展进程中具有重要意义的一年，党的十九大即将召开，我国改革发展步入关键阶段。世界多极化、经济全球化、社会信息化趋势深
人发展，国际和地区格局深刻演变。我们相信，在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，中国特色大国外交将坚持把推进与周边国家睦邻友好与互利合作作为首要方向，坚持践行亲诚惠容周边外交理念，坚持维护国家主权安全与发展利益不动摇，为党的十九大胜利召开和国内改革发展营造更加稳定有利的周边环境，为世界和平与发展的崇高事业作出新的更大贡献。
深刻把握全球反恐形势新特点
积极书写反恐国际合作新篇章

和 笙 国际问题研究员

恐怖主义是当今世界最主要的全球性非传统安全威胁，有效反恐是全球治理最为紧迫的任务之一。当前，国际反恐形势复杂严峻，对国际地区安全稳定构成严重威胁。中国深受恐怖主义之害，同时也是反恐事业的重要参与者和贡献者，致力于维护国际地区和平稳定和人民生命财产安全。

一、当前国际反恐形势

据不完全统计，2015年全球有90多个国家发生过恐怖袭击。今年1-10月，全球发生恐袭事件近1800起。西方某国领导人甚至表示，全球已进入“超级恐怖主义时代”。当前反恐形势有以下几个突出特点：

一是恐怖活动手段更加多样。恐怖势力加大输入极端思想和施暴手段，导致无恐怖组织背景、自我极端化的“独狼”式恐怖分子明显增多。空袭对象从军政部门等“硬目标”向集会人群、交通设施等防范薄弱的“软目标”转移。恐袭方式从炸弹袭击、枪杀和绑架人质等手段向持刀砍杀、驾车碾杀等简单化、低成本手法转变，恐怖分子用一把刀、一杆枪、一辆车甚至一个改装的高压锅都能实施恐袭。

二是恐怖威胁呈全球化、网络化、就地化态势。极端组织在西亚战场节节败退，转而全力在全球策动恐袭，籍此缓解正面战场压力。亚、欧、美三大洲恐怖袭击多点极端组织直接策划实施或受其间接蛊惑煽动所致，并被其抢先认领。

三是外国恐怖作战分子回流问题日益突出。随着国际社会加大
军事打击，中东地区的大批外国恐怖作战分子开始加速向世界各地流窜、回流。这些人熟悉当地特别是原籍国情况，实战经验丰富，思想激进极端，逃避追踪、打击的意识和能力较强，或伺机制造恐怖袭击，或秘密传播暴力极端思想，如同不定时隐形炸弹，防不胜防。

四是恐怖主义同特定问题相互作用，复杂难解。近年来，国际恐怖势力越来越多介入地区热点问题，使反恐问题同热点问题相互关联，紧密缠绕。叙利亚危机延宕五年，为恐怖势力坐大创造了条件。阿富汗和解进程举步维艰，恐怖活动持续延烧。涉恐热点问题走向已成为国际反恐形势发展的重要变量，推动解决热点问题攸关反恐成败。

二、反恐形势日益严峻的原因

“9.11”事件之后，国际社会更为重视应对恐怖主义威胁，各国纷纷加大了反恐力度。但近年来国际恐怖主义活动愈演愈烈。有关原因值得深思。

从现实情况看，首先，暴力极端思想的传播速度明显加快。国际恐怖势力大肆宣传极端思想，导致暴力极端主义在全球播种蔓延，激活大批“休眠”恐怖组织，催生更多外国恐怖作战分子和“独狼”式恐怖分子，加剧国际反恐形势恶化。暴力极端思想正在引导恐怖主义走向“人人可能施暴”的危险境地。其次，网络恐怖主义为祸愈演愈烈。恐怖组织利用网络影响广、传播快、使用易、监管难的特点，大大提高了宣传、招募和行动能力，缩短了恐怖活动的周期，助推国际恐怖活动大幅增长。通过互联网发布暴恐音视频也是“东突”恐怖势力宣扬极端思想、传授制恐制爆技术、煽动极端分子实施暴恐活动的主要途径。第三，反恐国际合作成效不彰。近年来，反恐国际合作有所升温，但受大国博弈、地缘政治及各自反恐战略等因素制约，反恐国际合作始终难以形成有效合力。从深层次看，一方面，经济社会困境是根源。世界发展不平衡问题导致一些国家和地区极端主义情绪滋长，形成蕴育恐怖主义的温床。特别是当前全球经济复苏乏力，社会阶层分化严重，年轻人失业率高企，弱势群体容易受极端主义腐蚀渗透。另一方面，霸权主义和强权政治是重要诱因。一些大国势力在西亚北非推行价值观外交，肆意干涉别国内政，埋下仇恨种子，激化了同伊斯兰激进势力的矛盾。

可以预见，恐怖袭击高发齐发的态势短期内难以改观。
三、中国为国际反恐事业所做贡献

中国同许多国家一样是恐怖主义的受害者。中国面临的最直接最现实恐怖主义威胁来自以“东伊运”为代表的“东突”恐怖势力，打击“东伊运”是中国开展反恐国际合作的重要关切。“东伊运”是联合国安理会认定的国际恐怖组织，近年来煽动、策划、实施多起针对中国境内目标的暴恐事件，造成大量人员伤亡。同时，该组织也越来越多对中国在海外的机构和人员施袭。

“东伊运”恐怖分子不仅为祸中国，也在西亚、中亚、南亚、东南亚等地四处流窜，伺机生事作乱，对世界多个国家构成现实安全威胁。打击“东伊运”已成为国际反恐斗争的重要一环，有关国家针对“东伊运”的限制和打击力度正在加大。今年7月15日，英国政府将“东伊运”列入更新的“被禁止的恐怖组织”名单。美国也通过中美元首杭州峰会成果清单形式对“东伊运”恐怖组织定性予以再确认。许多国家纷纷表示，联合国安理会把“东伊运”列为恐怖组织对其具有法律约束力。

值得注意的是，“世维会”等“东突”势力在个别西方国家十分活跃，打着“民主”、“人权”、“宗教”、“自由”的旗号，骗取当地政府和民众的支持，并频繁开展不同形式的反华分裂活动。事实证明，该组织与“东伊运”有千丝万缕的联系。

中国是国际反恐事业的重要参与者和贡献者。中国坚决打击一切形式的恐怖主义，致力于加强同国际社会的反恐合作。我们以新安全观为引领，践行中国理念和方案。首先，坚持联合国在反恐合作中的中心地位和主导作用，主张各国相互尊重，平等合作，反对“双重标准”，坚决推动落实联合国《全球反恐战略》及安理会反恐决议，建立以合作共赢为核心的国际反恐体系。第二，坚持综合施策、标本兼治理念，加强源头治理，防患未然；同时突出重点，坚决推动政治解决地区热点问题，促进发展中国家的经济社会发展，寻求最持久、可持续的解决方案。第三，反对将恐怖主义与特定国家、民族和宗教挂钩，坚决推动不同文明平等对话交流，加强人文沟通，营造有利于开展反恐国际合作的大环境。

中国积极引领国际社会在反恐前沿领域的交流与合作。在近年来网络恐怖主义助推国际恐怖组织迅速坐大，打击网络恐怖主义成为反恐国际合作当务之急的背景下，今年10月21日，中国外交部在北京举办了“全球反恐论坛”框架下第二次打击网络恐怖主义研讨会。论坛成员等44个国家和国际组织，以及国内外一些互联网企业和相关学术机构代表与会。会议深化了各方对网络恐怖主义危害的认识，凝聚了合作打击网络恐怖主义的意愿，探讨了打击网络恐怖主义的务实措
施，取得积极成果。本次研讨会是中国向国际社会提供安全领域公共产品的一次重要外交实践，受到广泛好评。

展望未来，中国将牢固树立人类命运共同体意识，与各国利益共享，责任共担，休戚与共，共同遏制恐怖主义泛滥，维护人民生命财产安全。中国将继续搭建更多反恐国际合作平台，加强与各有关方的交流与沟通，深化多边反恐合作。中国将继续以联合国为中心，推动国际社会形成反恐合力。中国将继续以联合国为中心，推动国际社会形成反恐合力。中国将继续加大在亚太经合组织、上海合作组织、金砖国家合作、“全球反恐论坛”等多边框架下的反恐合作，维护发展中国家安全利益，为全球反恐合作注入更多“正能量”。中国将继续与国际社会一道，以合作共赢为导向，以共享安全为目标，共同书写反恐国际合作新篇章，共同营造公道正义、共建共享的全球安全格局。
中美经贸将步入多事之秋

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一、美国经济及美元走强

美国经济在经历了战后最严重的大衰退之后，从2010年开始复苏，至今已有7年，始终停留在温和复苏。投资者对实体经济缺乏信心，三批量化宽松货币政策印出的钞票大都进入了股市、债市和房市，造成了虚拟经济的繁荣。由于欧洲和日本经济不好，欧元、日元疲弱，美国经济在西方经济中呈现出一枝独秀的状态，美元一路走强。


那缘何美元指数此次会强势突破100点大关并且站稳？ 首先，欧洲及日本经济持续低迷，无论是欧洲央行还是日本央行采取的量化宽松货币政策及负利率政策都没有把经济从泥潭中拉出来。中国经济处于下行期，正在进行产业结构调整。巴西和俄罗斯深陷两年的长期衰退之中。这种情况下，复苏势头较为明显的美国经济及其货币有着升值的需求。其次，对美联储加息预期和12月14日的第二
次加息也推动了美元升值。在这种情况下，资本将加速回流美国，导致其他国家资本市场动荡，甚至出现局部地区的金融风险。

美元走强对美国经济有利有弊

有利的方面是便于吸引外资。不利的方面是强势美元打压了出口和旅游。2015年美国外贸出口下降了9.1%，2016年1-9月外贸出口又下降了5.1%。强势美元影响了跨国公司的利润结算，美国是世界跨国公司最多的国家，遍布于全世界，特别是在发展中国家的子公司由于所在国家的货币对美元普遍贬值，直接影响了母公司以美元计算的利润总额，进而影响了美国的税收和GDP。此外，强势美元还提高了美国政府偿还巨额债务的成本。

当前美国经济的一个突出问题是国债剧增。进入新世纪以来，美国发动了两次侵略战争和应对金融危机，国债以空前的速度在增长。从建国之始到1980年的204年里美国政府发行国债9077亿美元。从1981年里根总统到2009年初小布什总统只用了28年国债就突破了10万亿美元，而奥巴马政府从2009年初到2016年年底8年里国债将达到20万亿美元。政府债务占到GDP之比为110%，大大超过了60%的金融警戒线。最近两年仅偿还国债的利息联邦政府每年要筹集7000亿美元。联邦政府头上顶着一个国债“堰塞湖”。

当选总统特朗普嘲笑奥巴马总统领导经济无能，每年GDP只有两个点左右的增长。他声称他将领导美国经济每年以3.5%-4%的增长迅速回到繁荣。靠什么办法呢？大规模减税。特朗普的执政纲领明文规定将企业所得税从35%下调到15%，富人税从39.6%下调到30%。这肯定会刺激投资和吸引海外资本回流，也会刺激消费。特朗普要学习里根总统通过大规模减税（增加财政赤字）来换取经济繁荣的办法。问题是特朗普和里根面临的背景大不相同，1981年上台的里根总统面对的是不到1万亿美元的国债，而2017年1月20日上台的特朗普面对的是20万亿美元的庞大国债，每年仅偿还国债本金和利息就至少需要1万亿美元，钱从哪里来？只能靠大规模发行新债换旧债，以债养债。据美国经济学家测算，特朗普上任后第一个四年国债将增加10万亿美元。但是历史发生了巨大的变化，1985年，美国还是世界最大的债权国，现在早已是最大的债务国了。40年前美国国债号称“金边债券”，现在却变成了“烫手山芋”。据外媒报道，2016年1-9月，全球央行共抛售美国国债3931亿美元。2016年6月16日，美国彭博新闻社报道，自2014年以来到2016年3月底，中国已减持美国国债2500亿美元。另据美国财政部统计，2016年6月至10月，中国减持美国国债1283亿美元。事实表明，美国国债已不再是金融“避险港”了，单靠扩大发行国债集资之路恐怕难以为继了。
二、当前的中美经贸合作

当前中美经贸合作最大的亮点是中国对美投资迅速增长。

按照中方统计（不含经第三地赴美投资。例如2013年9月双汇国际控股公司以71亿美元收购美国史密斯·菲尔德食品公司，因双汇国际在香港注册而没有被统计在中国大陆对美投资内），2012年对美投资43.48亿美元，2013年40.1亿美元，2014年52.4亿美元，2015年83.9亿美元，2016年1-11月共186.3亿美元，截止到2016年11月底中国对美投资累计491.2亿美元。

据美国荣鼎咨询公司统计，中国赴美投资：2013年140亿美元，2014年119亿美元，2015年158亿美元，截止到2015年底对美累计投资618亿美元。2016年5月27日，《芝加哥论坛报》报道美中关系委员会会长斯蒂芬·欧伦斯说，中国在美投资企业提供了10万个就业岗位。

金融危机以来，中国越来越多的大型企业显示了赴美投资的积极性。美国拥有健全和透明的法治环境，先进的技术水平、训练有素的职工、廉价的能源供应、完善的基础设施和一流的研发能力，最重要的是有健全的销售渠道和庞大的消费市场。任何一种商品打开了美国市场就意味着打开了全球的市场。

自金融危机以来，美国吸引外资呈现了下降的趋势。据美国商务部统计2008年美国吸引外资3063.7亿美元，到2012年降到1605.7亿美元，2014年竟然降到了860亿美元，排在中国大陆和香港之后，位居世界第三位。2015年，由于美元走强，有利于吸引外资，反弹到3840亿美元。作为世界最大的经济体，美国需要世界上资金来支撑美国经济的复苏和重回繁荣。

美国对华投资继续增长，据中方统计，2012年31.3亿美元，2013年33.5亿美元，2014年23.7亿美元，2015年20.9亿美元，2016年1-11月共22.1亿美元。截止到2016年11月底，美国对华投资累计796.8亿美元。

笔者测算，由于中国对美投资增长快于美国对华投资的速度，预计到2018年底，中国对美投资总额将超过美国对华投资总额。

2008年中美正式启动投资协定谈判。在2013年中美战略与经济对话中，双方确认以准入前国民待遇和负面清单为基础展开谈判，此后谈判进入实质阶段。在2014年底完成了投资协定的文本谈判，于2015年初开始负面清单谈判。中美双方都有意愿争取在奥巴马总统任期内达成协议。

投资协定是中美经济关系的重要组成部分，达成一个高标准的投资协定，将有助于两国建立更加紧密的联系，提高两国经贸合作的质量，将迈出建立中美贸易自由区的极为重要的一步。
即使今年年底前达成协议，在美国新政府上台后双方也应继续努力，排除非经济因素的干扰，力争早日完成投资协定的谈判，因为它毕竟符合两国的重大经济利益。

近年来，中美双边贸易呈现疲弱态势。

2015年中方统计中美贸易总额为5583亿美元，比2014年微增0.58%，对美出口4095亿美元，同比增长3.4%。按美方统计，美中贸易额为5981亿美元，比2014年微增1.25%，对华出口1162亿美元，也出现了自2009年以来首次负增长（-6.3%）。

2016年1-10月中方统计双边贸易总额4180.3亿美元，下跌9.1%，对美出口3125.7亿美元，下跌8.0%。从美进口1054.6亿美元，下跌12.2%。对美贸易顺差2071亿美元，下跌了5.6%。按美方统计，2016年1-10月美中贸易总额4884.9亿美元，-5.4%，对华出口920.3亿美元，-3.5%，从中国进口3964.6亿美元，-5.8%，对华贸易逆差3044.3亿美元，-6.5%。比上半年的数据略好一些。

中美双边贸易额下降的原因如下：首先全世界贸易形势不好。据世贸组织统计，2015年全球出口额16.48万亿美元，比2014年19万亿美元下降13.3%。7月27日世贸组织公布数据今年第一季度全球出口额又比2015年第一季度下降7.7%，2015年美国对外贸易总额下降5.6%，出口额下降7.2%，进口额下降4.5%；2015年中国外贸总额下降8.0%，出口下降2.9%，进口下降14.2%。

其次，中美两国的经济都呈现下行的态势，内需疲弱。

第三，从2013年底，美元走强，强势美元降低了美国商品的国际竞争力，打击了美国的出口竞争力。

2016年8月18日，美中贸易全国委员会发布报告，2015年中国继续成为美国第二大货物出口市场，是美国经济增长的“重要贡献者”（2000年中国是美国第十一大出口市场，2007年超过日本成为第三大商品出口市场——笔者）。

报告还指出，在服务贸易领域美对华出口呈现持续快速增长态势，过去十年年均增长近17%。2014年，美国对华服务贸易出口额420亿美元，中国成为美国第四大服务出口市场。

（一）对华贸易逆差问题

多年以来，美对华贸易逆差居高不下。2014年美对华贸易逆差3426亿美元，占当年美国外贸逆差总额50.6%，2015年美对华贸易逆差3657亿美元，占当年美国外贸逆差总额7371亿美元的49.6%。2016年上半年美对华贸易逆差1610亿美元，占逆差总额3483亿美元的46.2%，略有下降。

美国的外贸逆差由三个部分组成。1. 竞争性逆差，日本的小汽车和欧洲的空
客大飞机对美国的同类型产业构成威胁，是需要认真应对的。2. 资源性逆差，美国从欧洲和中东进口大量的原油和从非洲、亚洲等地进口的矿产资源是逆差的重要部分，难以解决。3. 补充性逆差，从中国、东亚、东南亚进口的的日用消费品是美国经济发展、产业结构调整和人民生活需要的必要补充，有益无害。

中国对美出口的大部分商品是物美价廉的日用消费品，缓解了美国的通货膨胀，有利于广大的中低收入人群。

传统的贸易统计数字说明不了当前贸易不平衡的问题。

首先，改革开放以来，中国吸引外资的70%左右来自东亚地区。东亚地区把对美国贸易造成顺差的产品生产转移到了中国大陆，引发“贸易平衡转移效应”，这些产品其中大部分零部件来自东亚地区，并非Made in China，而是Made in East Asia。出口所得自然为东亚地区所分享，而非中国所独有。但对美出口金额依据原产地规则全部被统计在中国名下。中美贸易不能局限为双边贸易，而是多边贸易，是美国与东亚地区的贸易。

其次，中美贸易一大特点是中国对美国出口60%为加工贸易，中国只获得了少量的加工费用。美国进口商、批发商、零售商获得了远高于中国生产商和出口商的利润，出现了“顺差在中国、利润在美国”的普遍现象。美国经济专家查尔斯.卡德莱茨指出，按照原产地规则，iPhone的制造成本178美元全部算在中国名下，因为中国是最后组装的地点，其实中国只获得了6.5美元的增值。

美国从1971年开始出现外贸逆差，至今已有46年了。按照美国海关统计美国对90多个国家和地区都有外贸逆差，不能全怪人民币汇率。美国的外贸逆差是经济全球化和产业机构调整的必然结果，是大规模国际分工的必然产物，是结构性的，很难逆转。

（二）人民币汇率问题

强压贸易伙伴的汇率大幅升值以达到减少自己的贸易逆差的问题，这是历届美国政府多年以来习惯的做法。20世纪80年代初，美国压马克大幅升值，80年代中期压日元大幅升值，80年代末压新台币大幅升值，90年代初压韩元大幅升值，新世纪以来一直打压人民币大幅升值，但效果如何呢？多年以后，美国对德国、日本、台湾地区、韩国和中国一直处于贸易逆差状态，从未发生逆转。2015年美国对德国逆差742亿美元，对日本逆差686亿美元，对台湾逆差148亿美元，对韩国逆差283亿美元，对中国逆差3657亿美元。

再以中国为例，从2005年7月到2016年8月上旬，人民币升值高达36%，而美国对华贸易逆差从2005年的2016亿美元增加到2015年3657亿美元，增长81.4%。

以上事实充分说明，一个国家和地区的贸易顺差或逆差与这个国家的汇率
关系不是很大，不是决定性的因素，这是贸易行为，市场作用，是比较优势的结果。一个国家和地区的商品是否有竞争力是多种因素构成的，简单地依靠强压对方货币升值来减少本国贸易逆差是传统的和狭隘的国际贸易思维。时代发展了，情况复杂了，这种传统思维也应该调整和更新了。

经过11年的汇率改革，人民币汇率已基本实现了市场化。汇率波动的幅度已经从最初的0.3%→0.5%→1%→2%，现在已经实现了3%的波动幅度。最近半年多来，人民币汇率重新盯住一揽子货币，基本上是平稳的。现在人们更多地关注人民币对美元的贬值，而忽略了与此同时人民币对日元、欧元和英镑确有不同程度的升值。


2016年10月1日，国际货币基金组织正式将人民币纳入特别提款权篮子，成为五大货币之一。这也是对人民币的市场化和在全球普遍使用高度肯定。“货币汇率操纵国”的帽子扣不到中国的头上。

三、2017年中美经贸关系将步入多事之秋

带有强烈贸易保护主义色彩的特朗普执政团队入主白宫后，必然要掀起在全球推行贸易保护主义的狂风恶浪，必然会招致全世界的反对和报复。其结局是两败俱伤也得不到好处，致使世界经济出现倒退。历史上有过前车之鉴，上世纪80年代，美国经济出现大萧条之后，胡佛总统大幅度提高进口产品关税，借以保护国内工业，遭到全世界的反对。当商品不能自由越过边界，士兵就越过了边界，引发了第二次世界大战。

中国不愿意打贸易战，但也不惧怕打贸易战。44年的中美经贸往来自发生了一次贸易战，那就是发生在1983年的中美纺织品贸易纠纷，结果以美国政府妥协让步而结束，必须指出，1983年中国的GDP尚不足美国GDP的5%，而2015年中国的GDP已相当美国GDP的61%。今天的中国也远不是33年前的中国，对此任何一届美国政府都不应当对中国小视。2015年中国从美国进口了22%的棉花，56%的大豆，波音飞机出口量的26%，通用汽车公司出口量的33%。而且这些产品在世界上
都能找到替代品，对于这一点，美国人的心里也是一清二楚的。

对话总比对抗强，合作总比摩擦强。中美两国互为对方的大市场，从2010年起中国就是美国最大的农产品市场。特朗普之所以提名农业州州长当驻华大使，意在让他促进农产品对华出口。

中国早已成为美国举足轻重的贸易伙伴。2015年美中贸易额5981亿美元，占美国外贸总额16.0%；加上香港和澳门，美中贸易额6426亿美元，占美国外贸总额17.2%。

当然，美国也是中国极为重要的贸易伙伴。2015年中美贸易额5583亿美元，占中国对外贸易总额14.3%。对美出口额4095亿美元，占出口总额的18.0%，若加上经香港转口对美出口4819亿美元，占出口总额的21.2%。从2012年起美国就超过了欧盟成为中国最大的出口市场。

中美经贸合作有极其广泛的前景。既面临重大机遇，也面临严峻挑战。斗则双损，合则双赢。两国政府应本着合作共赢思路加强对话合作，这不仅有利于中美两国人民，而且有利于推动世界经济的发展。