It gives me great pleasure to come to Tsinghua University on such an exuberant summer's day and join you at the Sixth World Peace Forum. Before I start my speech, let me express my warm congratulations on the opening of the forum and extend my sincere greetings to all the distinguished guests, experts and scholars present.

As a Chinese saying goes, “It takes time for a trend to develop, the same is true for the success of a great undertaking.” This may well illustrate the growth of the World Peace Forum. It is China's first high-level non-governmental forum on international security. Starting from scratch six years ago, it has gradually grown into a major forum with increasing influence in Asia and the world. Such growth could not have been possible without your continuous support and contribution. I hope you will continue to support

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the World Peace Forum and contribute your wisdom on how best nations can work together to address global security challenges.

The theme of the current edition of the forum is "On Challenges to International Security: Joint Efforts, Responsibility and Reform". The theme is highly relevant as it reflects the current situation and trend of the times.

The world we live in today, if I may use a phrase of the English writer Charles Dickens, is at "the best of times" and "the worst of times". We are now in an era of great progress, great transformation and profound changes. The trend towards a multipolar world is gaining momentum. Economic globalization, IT application and cultural diversity are growing. Peace, development and win-win cooperation are becoming an irreversible trend of our times. Never before have we seen countries so closely interconnected, technologies so advanced and abundant in helping mankind overcome difficulties, and people of all countries so aspire to a better life.

This said, the world is also faced with many challenges. Global economic growth remains sluggish. The gap between the rich and the poor is widening. Regional hotspot issues and turmoils are rising. Risks of terrorism, climate change and communicable diseases are mounting. Cold War mentality and power politics still linger on. To address these risks and challenges, we need to adjust our measures and philosophy in the following aspects:

**First, we need to update and change our security concept.**

In today's world, Cold War mentality still exists and zero-sum
game thinking still sells well. Recent years have seen a growing backlash against globalization and free trade in some countries. Conservatism, isolationism, protectionism and populism are gaining ground and, as a result, various kinds of conservative, narrow-minded security concepts are on the rise. History has repeatedly told us that a self-centered, beggar-thy-neighbor approach will only serve to escalate tensions and lead to more conflicts. We cannot and should not carry the outdated mentality into the 21st century. Instead, we must rise up to the global security challenges and adopt a new security concept that keeps up with the times.

**Second, we need to improve security governance.**

The ongoing conventional and unconventional security challenges cannot be properly addressed and resolved without a better global security governance. The United Nations and its Security Council are the core and pillar of the international security governance architecture. Confrontation and injustice we see in our world today have emerged not because the purposes and principles of the UN Charter are outdated, but because they have not been effectively implemented. To improve the global governance system, we must firmly uphold the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, better leverage the role of the collective security mechanism established under the UN Charter, and further enhance the governance capacity and efficiency of the United Nations.

**Third, we need to solve prominent security concerns.**

Regional and international hotspot issues in the Middle East, Syria and other places are causing turbulence and turmoils,
displacing millions of people. Terrorism is spreading in Europe and violent terrorist attacks have wreaked havoc in the UK, France, Germany and other European countries. Situation on the Korean Peninsula remains grave and our top priority is to prevent further escalation of tensions and seek a peaceful solution to the crisis.

What should we do in such a turbulent world? China is of the view that given the complexity and gravity of those challenges to international security, it is important to adhere to the three principles as highlighted in the theme of this year's forum:

First, making joint efforts.

Due to economic globalization, countries have become increasingly interdependent parts of a community of shared interests and future. Such being the case, the international community should work more closely together to address global security challenges. As a Chinese ballad goes, we need to learn from bees who make honey together and from candles whose flame centers around a single wick. Only by making joint efforts and helping each other can members of the international community enjoy lasting and sustainable peace.

Second, fulfilling our due responsibility.

Each generation has its own mission. Our preceding generation, with their extraordinary vision, has established the international order and system with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter as its core, and has secured for us seven decades of general peace. To pass on the torch of peace from generation to generation represents a common aspiration of all peoples and
nations and is a joint responsibility for world leaders and for every one of us. As an Afghan proverb goes, as long as there is a strong revolve to scale the height of a mountain, one can always find a path. We need to pluck up our courage to fulfill our historical responsibilities, rise up to all problems and challenges, and work together to surmount all difficulties. With great power comes great responsibilities. Major countries, who are blessed with abundant resources, stronger capacity and greater strength, have both a responsibility and an obligation to play a bigger role in promoting and maintaining world peace and security.

Third, reforming the approach to address security challenges.

An outdated approach cannot solve new problems or address new challenges. According to a Chinese adage, when all means are exhausted, changes are necessary, and changes will lead to a solution. We must abandon outdated security concepts and philosophy and get rid of obsolete approaches to security issues. We must pursue common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable international security in a spirit of innovation and reform. We need to work towards a global governance system, especially an economic governance system, that truly reflects the changing dynamism of international balance of power. We also need to work for a greater representation and greater voice of emerging economies and developing nations. We need to advance equality of rights and opportunities and promote fair rules that apply to all countries involved in international cooperation, so that the international governance system will reflect the will and interests of most people in a more balanced way.

China has been and will always be a staunch force for
world peace and common development. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in November 2012, Chinese President Xi Jinping has put forward a series of new ideas, new visions and new initiatives with Chinese characteristics on international relations. They include the establishment of a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, the concept of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and the building of a community of shared future for mankind. These new ideas have been warmly received by the international community.

Under the guidance of President Xi’s thinking on diplomacy, China will endeavor to not only create a sustainable peaceful external environment favorable to its own development, but also contribute to world peace and security. To build a community of shared future for mankind, where countries work together, help each other and share weal and woe, China stands ready to honor its international commitments and join other countries in a concerted effort to address the root causes of international security challenges. To this end, I would like to propose the following:

**First, promoting security through greater development.**

As President Xi Jinping stressed, "Development holds the master key to solving all problems." Lack of development is the root cause of turbulence in many regions, and it is in development that lies solution to such turmoils. Development is essential to people's livelihood and dignity. Only when development is so adequate that people lead a decent life with dignity can hope beat frustration in their hearts. In this connection, China's Belt and Road Initiative offers a way forward for greater development and
peace. The building of the Belt and Road will bring economic opportunities for participating countries and provide solutions to their security issues. We should promote sustainable human and environmental progress and pursue a green, low-carbon and circular economy. We should honor the Paris climate agreement and minimize risks of conflict caused by environmental degradation.

Second, promoting security through greater cooperation.

President Xi once quoted a proverb which goes, "Strength does not come from the muscle of the arms, but from the unison of the heart." Participating in international security cooperation and building partnership rather than alliance is a major avenue that China follows in promoting regional and world peace and stability. As of the end of 2016, China had established partnerships of different forms with 97 countries and international organizations. They include major powers, China’s neighbors and other developing countries. China will continue to actively participate in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia and other multilateral security cooperation mechanisms. We will work with our partners to expand areas of cooperation, look for new modes of cooperation, discuss new security concepts and jointly establish efficient and effective mechanisms for security coordination, so as to promote an international order and international system that is more fair and equitable.

Third, promoting security through more dialogue.

As President Xi Jinping pointed out, "Those who share the
same ideal and follow the same path can be partners. Those who share common ground while shelving differences can also be partners.” Dialogue is an important instrument to end wars and promote peace. The scourge of wars that mankind had to suffer in the last century makes us realize that confrontation is no solution and the use of force and the strong bullying the weak only makes the world more insecure. We should seek to resolve disputes through peaceful means. We should strengthen mutual trust, avoid misgivings, seek common ground and reduce differences through genuine dialogue. Political dialogue is essential for solving security concerns. This is the case for the Korean Peninsula nuclear issue and security issues in Iraq, Afghanistan or Syria. China opposes any willful use or threat of force and any attempt to provoke or intensify tensions for selfish interests.

Fourth, promoting security through more cultural exchanges.

As President Xi Jinping rightly said, "Diversity of civilizations should not be a source of global conflict; rather, it should be an engine driving the advance of human civilizations." Cultural diversity is a basic feature of human society, and cultural exchange is the deepest of all exchanges. There will be no conflict if people understand each other. Mutual exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations can help nations understand each other better and find more in common. Mutual exchanges and mutual learning serve as a "lubricant" for reducing frictions and as a "catalyst" for deepening mutual understanding and friendship. We should build more "bridges" and "roads", rather than "walls", that can help connect peoples and promote exchanges and friendship. We should further increase cultural and people-to-people exchanges and cooperation, encourage more two-way visits and make the best
use of dialogue and exchange mechanisms at both governmental and non-governmental levels, so that the seeds of people-to-people friendship will grow and yield fruits of peace, development and win-win cooperation.

China is now standing at a new starting point and pursuing an innovation-driven, coordinated, green, open and inclusive development. We will continue to adapt to the new normal of the economy and stay ahead of the curve. We will advance the supply-side structural reform and strive for a sustainable and balanced growth. China's economy has continued to make steady progress. Its GDP has registered a 6.9% growth in the first quarter of this year, getting this year off to a great start. This is a strong indication that our supply-side structural reform is paying off.

As a Chinese proverb goes, "Success comes from harmony, and strength comes from unity." All countries need to work more closely together to address global security challenges and build a community of shared future for mankind, so as to leave our future generations a better world of lasting peace and common security.
It is a real pleasure to once again be invited to the World Peace Forum, which is in its sixth session this year. Since its inception, the Forum has contributed its wisdom to promoting world peace and addressing global and regional security challenges, and has hence, gained greater influence.

The world today faces both unprecedented development opportunities and structural adjustments unseen in the past centuries. From a historical perspective, we live in a time of rapid scientific and technological progress, huge material abundance, flourishing prosperity of civilizations and rising interdependence among countries. The trend of peace and development has never been stronger. However, we also face the reality of increasing uncertainties and destabilizing factors in human society where intertwined risks appear in multiple fields and new challenges and regional conflicts keep cropping up.

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On the security front, the threat of terrorism has grown markedly in recent years. Nearly 20,000 lives were lost in 2016 alone. By some estimates, in the first quarter of this year, over 700 terrorist attacks took place in different parts of the world, casting a shadow over the security of all countries. Our planet is far from peaceful and tranquil, and our society is burdened with a heavy security deficit.

On the economic front, the impact of the world financial crisis still lingers; recovery needs to be further firmed up; unbalanced development remains acute, and protectionism is on the rise. Global trade growth between 2009 and 2016 was only half as fast as between 1980 and 2008. Multilateral trade negotiations have stalled, and economic globalization and regional integration has suffered from setbacks. All these point to a more prominent development deficit.

In addition, climate change, cyber security, public health security and other global issues are prominent. The world total of refugees has reached a record high since the end of WWII, putting a formidable pressure on the international community. There is an urgent need for the global governance system to change and improve, and the governance deficit needs to be covered.

As actions are guided by ideas, we need new ideas to address new problems. The Cold War mentality, hegemonism and zero-sum games are things of the past. As Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed on many occasions, world's countries, with the aspiration for a community of shared future for mankind, should build a new model of international relations featuring win-win cooperation, seek common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and
explore a new path for world peace and security.

Countries may differ in size and capacity, but are all equal members of the international community. All countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity should be earnestly respected. Their legitimate security concerns and the right of their people to choose their own development path should also be respected. World affairs should be handled by countries working together and differences and disputes should be resolved through dialogue and consultation.

No country can have security while others are in turmoil and no one can be immune from global challenges. When one country pursues development and security at home, it must work for the common development of all and give consideration to the security of others. Only by doing so can we find a path towards common security that is built and shared by all.

Diversity is a defining feature of human civilizations and an inherent force driving social progress. Isolation leads to estrangement, while communication inspires dynamism. We need to enhance mutual trust through communication and mutual learning, and achieve harmony by seeking common ground and putting aside differences. This way, we can build a solid foundation for peace, integration and common progress of all countries.

China remains committed to an independent foreign policy of peace and the path of peaceful development and has been a positive force contributing to international and regional security.

We have pursued a neighborhood policy of fostering amity and friendship to promote prosperity and stability in Asia.
As a member of the big Asian family, China has all along viewed its own destiny in the context of the future of Asia. We have practiced a neighborhood diplomacy of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, been committed to building friendship and partnership with our neighbors, and endeavored to promote harmony, security and prosperity, with the aim of building a community of shared future in the neighborhood. As an advocate of regional cooperation in Asia, China stands for the regional cooperation model with Asian features which takes into account the comfort level of all sides, and respects ASEAN's centrality in East Asian cooperation. We are devoted to the coordinated development of existing regional cooperation mechanisms and to open regionalism so that regional cooperation will deliver wider benefits. We have taken an active part in ASEAN Plus One, ASEAN Plus Three, China-Japan-ROK Cooperation, APEC, Lancang-Mekong Cooperation, BCIM Economic Corridor and other regional and sub-regional cooperation mechanisms, and called for accelerated RCEP negotiations, so as to advance economic integration in Asia. China is committed to upholding peace and security in Asia and supports the gradual development of a regional security architecture that meets the reality of the region and the needs of various parties.

We have worked to build a new type of major-country relations to maintain a balanced and stable global strategic environment.

The China-US relationship is one of the most important bilateral ties in the world. The nearly 40-year history of China-US diplomatic relations has proven that the relationship will move forward despite twists and turns only when both countries uphold the principles of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. After the new US administration took office, thanks
to the joint efforts of both sides, President Xi Jinping and President Donald Trump had a historic meeting at Mar-a-Lago, which has charted the course for China-US relations in the new era. Four high-level dialogue mechanisms were agreed between the two sides at the meeting, namely the Diplomatic and Security Dialogue which has been inaugurated, and the Comprehensive Economic Dialogue, the Law Enforcement and Cybersecurity Dialogue, and the Social and People-to-People Dialogue which will be launched successively. The early harvests of the 100-day plan on economic cooperation are being actively followed through. The two sides have also maintained effective communication and coordination on major global and regional issues. Despite possible difficulties and challenges ahead, cooperation is the only right choice for the two countries, which will not only meet the fundamental interests of the two nations, but also contribute significantly to world peace and development.

The China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination has stood the test of international vicissitudes and increasingly become an important pillar for global strategic stability. We will maintain close coordination with Russia on major global and regional issues, deepen practical cooperation in various fields, and promote complementarity between the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union, so as to bring the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination to a higher level.

China and Europe have achieved fruitful results in the partnerships for peace, growth, reform and progress of civilizations. We are ready to work with Europe to re-balance economic globalization and strengthen global governance. China will, as
always, firmly support Europe in following its independently chosen path of integration and support the unity, stability and prosperity of the EU.

We have actively supported international cooperation and worked for the reform of global governance system.

In his important speech at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting early this year, President Xi Jinping proposed that the world should adapt to and properly guide economic globalization, ensure that different countries, different social strata and different groups of people all share the benefits of economic globalization, and rebalance the process of economic globalization. As emphasized by President Xi, the world should commit itself to growing an open world economy, promote trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and say no to protectionism.

Multilateralism is an effective way to promote world peace and development. China has firmly defended the UN-centered international multilateral system, and the basic norms governing international relations with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter as the bedrock. Calling for bigger representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries, China has also pushed for improving and reforming the global governance system.

Terrorism is the common enemy of mankind that poses a serious threat to global peace and security. China strongly condemns terrorism of all forms, and has all along stood for enhanced international cooperation against terrorism. China is ready to join other parties in promoting bilateral and multilateral cooperation on counter-terrorism. China supports the establishment of a UN-led
global united front on counter-terrorism, supports the central role of
the United Nations and its Security Council, supports the formulation
of a comprehensive convention on international terrorism under the
UN, and supports the establishment of an international cooperation
and governance mechanism on cyber terrorism. The international
community needs to adopt comprehensive measures to address
both the symptoms and root causes of terrorism, and to find a
fundamental solution to contain the spread of terrorism. The fight
against terrorism, separatism and extremism, particularly the ETIM
and other East Turkestan forces, is China's core concern, and also
an important part of the international counter-terrorism campaign.
China will continue to work with the international community in the
spirit of mutual respect, equality and cooperation to jointly combat
the threat of terrorism and safeguard international and regional
security.

Climate change is a common menace to mankind. China will
earnestly implement the Paris Agreement and take concrete measures
to step up climate action. We will quicken our pace in putting into
practice our vision for green development, as it is both an imperative
for sustainable development and the obligation of a responsible
major country. And we will continue to play an active part in global
climate governance according to the principles of common but
differentiated responsibilities, equity and respective capabilities.

The UN peacekeeping operations are an important safeguard
of world peace and security. China is the biggest contributor of
peacekeepers among the permanent members of the UN Security
Council and the second biggest contributor to the UN peacekeeping
budget. As we speak, more than 2,500 Chinese peacekeepers are
serving in nine peacekeeping operations, including those in Mali
and South Sudan. We stand for and support enhanced efficiency and capacity of the UN peacekeeping operations.

We have played a constructive role in facilitating the resolution of regional hotspot issues.

Tensions on the Korean Peninsula have drawn people's attention. It is in the interest of all parties concerned to maintain peace and stability on the Peninsula. China is committed to a denuclearized, peaceful and stable Korean Peninsula and a settlement through dialogue and consultation. China will continue to earnestly implement the Security Council resolutions related to the DPRK. At the same time, China firmly opposes any move that may lead to turmoil or war on the Peninsula. We don't want to see new tensions there. Recently, relevant countries sent signals about solving the issues through dialogue and consultation. There is a new window of opportunity to bring the Korean nuclear issue back to the track of dialogue and consultation. In order to ease the tensions and create the conditions for resuming talks, China has put forward a "suspension for suspension" proposal, which calls on the DPRK to suspend its nuclear and missile activities and the US and the ROK to suspend large-scale joint military exercises. This is to prepare the ground for implementing a "dual-track approach", which envisions denuclearization and the establishment of a peace mechanism for the Peninsula to address the security concerns of relevant parties in a balanced way and achieve lasting peace and security on the Peninsula. China is open to any good suggestions from other parties.

With regard to the US deployment of the THAAD anti-missile system in the ROK, China has stated its firm opposition clearly and repeatedly. Once again China urges an immediate halt of the
deployment process.

Developments in Afghanistan have security ramifications in both the region and beyond. China supports an "Afghan-led, Afghan-owned" inclusive reconciliation process and will play its constructive role in helping Afghanistan, together with the international community, to achieve ethnic and political reconciliation and national reconstruction at an early date.

Continued turbulence in the Middle East has produced worrisome spillover effects. China calls on the international community and Palestine and Israel to work together for an early solution of the Palestinian issue, which will create fundamental conditions for durable peace and stability in the Middle East. The future of Syria can only be decided by the Syrian people on their own. China is willing to play a positive role in facilitating a comprehensive political settlement of the Syrian issue. We hope relevant parties will keep up the momentum for political settlement, build trust through political dialogue and reach a solution that accommodates the legitimate concerns of all parties. As a friend and partner of all Gulf countries, China hopes that the Gulf countries will properly resolve their recent differences through consultation.

Thanks to the joint efforts of countries in the region, the situation in the South China Sea has gradually cooled down, which is in the interest of all parties. The South China Sea has long been peaceful and stable on the whole, and the freedom of navigation has never been a problem. China respects and upholds the freedom of navigation and overflight enjoyed by all countries under international law in the South China Sea, but firmly opposes the attempt of relevant countries to flex their muscles there and
challenge and threaten China's sovereignty and security under the pretext of upholding the "freedom of navigation and overflight". China and ASEAN countries have agreed on the framework of a "Code of Conduct in the South China Sea" (COC), laying a solid foundation for future COC consultation. China is ready to work with ASEAN countries to continue to facilitate the consultation following the principle of mutual respect and consensus on the basis of full and effective implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC), and strive for an early conclusion of COC without external disruption. With our joint efforts, the South China Sea will be a sea of peace, friendship and cooperation.

Last month, the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in Beijing was a big success. In his important speeches at the Forum, President Xi Jinping pointed out that we should build the Belt and Road into a road for peace, a road of prosperity, opening-up and innovation, and a road connecting different civilizations. He said that China is ready to share its practices of development with other countries, but it has no intention to interfere in other countries' internal affairs, export its own social system and model of development, or impose its own will on others. In pursuing the Belt and Road Initiative, China will not resort to outdated geopolitical maneuvering and have no intention to form a small group detrimental to stability. President Xi also emphasized the need to follow the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits and make policy, infrastructure, trade, financial and people-to-people connectivity a shared goal. President Xi announced that China will scale up financing support for the Belt and Road Initiative. His speeches have charted the course for
international cooperation on the Initiative from a strategic and long-term perspective.

Like many other great causes in the world, the Belt and Road Initiative will inevitably run into various difficulties and challenges. But I am convinced that as an important international public good, the Belt and Road Initiative will further display its role as time goes by.
I’m delighted to speak at this dinner marking the 6th Tsinghua World Peace Forum.

Thanks in no small measure to the professionalism and hard work of Tsinghua University and Professor Yan Xuetong and his team, this forum has significantly contributed to enhancing mutual understanding between China and the rest of world. And I would like to acknowledge your devotion and hard work.

In late May, the Chinese report from the China-US Strategic think tank Joint Report project was launched in Beijing. At the same time, the forum on China-US relations with the theme “exploring a new pathway to a win-win partnership” was also held. While both Chinese and the US academics had

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high expectations for China-US relations after the Mar-a-Lago meeting, they also expressed concerns about the uncertainty in the world’s future. With US scholars also questioning China’s strategic intentions. My observation is that some of those involved in international strategic research are prone to a rather rigid mentality. Often seeing interactions among countries as a zero-sum game, and creating an atmosphere in debates that can become exhausting.

To provide some fresh air, we invited entrepreneurs of the new economy to speak at the lunch time session. They were founders or executives from Tencent, JD, Mobike and Kuaishou, who showcased the rapid growth of China’s mobile internet application technologies. The power of innovation left a deep and refreshing impression on not only the US scholars, but also the Chinese. It’s fair to say that the entrepreneurs showed us another way of looking at today’s world. As they want to pursue happiness and share happiness with others, and so far they seem to have been quite successful.

As scholars in international relations, we tend to feel pressured all the time, being bound by the imperatives of analysis and prediction. So I was thinking, what if the security goals of the international players were not about guarding against and opposing each other, but instead about creating opportunities and sharing happiness; Wouldn’t the world be a better place? Maybe this is too idealistic, but the experience of the sharing economy should not be lost on us. The success of China’s new economic leaders is evidence of the success of reform and opening-up, with one of the critical conditions for that success being that China has managed to maintain a peaceful and stable environment. It is hard
to imagine so many exciting innovations would have flourished in an environment of conflict or instability. Therefore, peace is in all our best interests and with that, successful development follows.

Earlier today, the forum had interesting discussions on how China will play a greater role in the world. Indeed, the speed of industrialization and modernization of a country the size of China have been unprecedented and will inevitably lead to many changes in the world, although some will be hard to predict. How can the existing international order and world structure be adjusted? How will the global markets and resource allocation react to the new changes? What kind of power will China be, and what role will it play? These are some of the many questions the world needs answered.

People in China are not familiar with discussions like this; but we can no longer shy away from them. The world is reexamining China, and China also needs to find its new identity. As President Xi Jinping said, “China is closer to the center of the world stage; closer to achieving its goal of national rejuvenation; and more capable and confident about achieving its goals than ever before”. And these are exactly what is defining China today.

Professor Yan gave me a rather general topic for tonight: he asked me to talk about anything that I wanted to share with the audience.

**So, the first point I want to share with you is that for the Chinese people, the most important thing remains for us to focus on our own path.** This includes achieving the reform and development goals adopted at the 18th Party Congress; carry
out the 13th five year program, maintaining social stability and economic growth, improve the legal system, and strengthening our comprehensive governance capacity in order to achieve the Two Centenary Goals President Xi has laid out.

The Chinese people have long understood that “development is of overriding importance.” This is true now, and will remain so in the future. But with this very success in development, the people’s desire for further development also increases. GDP is no longer considered the only goal; rather, higher quality growth that is green and balanced is being pursued. At the same time, with the accumulation of wealth, society is demanding greater equitable distribution and good governance.

Currently China’s development is far from balanced, with challenges and difficulties on the way. Therefore, it is essential the government in China actively promotes development and addresses the people’s concerns.

Diplomatic policy extends from domestic affairs, with foreign policy reflecting a country’s fundamental objectives. Specifically, China’s foreign policy objective must be to build a favorable and stable international environment which will enable the realization of its national objectives. This will ensure China’s future development and make it possible for its people to pursue their dreams for a prosperous life in a strong and stable country.

My second point is that China needs to make greater contributions toward world peace and development, by shouldering more and greater international responsibility. Our country and people need to prepare themselves for this by
In today’s world, peace and development remain the main trends. China’s action in correctly identifying and understanding these trends is one of the key factors in its success. Nevertheless, as the world has also been witnessing the increased desire for peace and development, they have also seen the rising backlash against them. With major challenges to peace no longer being large-scale wars, due to the existence of nuclear deterrents. However, security challenges are becoming more and more complex as the threat of new or hybrid types of challenges, such as terrorism, mixed wars and cool wars continue to exist.

Against this backdrop, constructing a system to manage global security has become a huge challenge, as it is hard to create synergy among the existing international security mechanisms, which are often already flawed. The UN peacekeeping mechanism is by far the best embodiment of common security interests, yet it is unable to cope with all challenges. On the other hand, the US, which has the strongest defense capabilities in the world, insists that its military alliance should remain the global security pillar. However, this alliance is an exclusive circle. It is not able to accommodate or be concerned with the security interest of non-allies, much less address the many security concerns in today’s world. As a matter of fact, some of the US’s strategic miscalculations have instead aggravated security challenges. Faced with a new security environment, it is imperative for both the US and the emerging powers like China to explore new paths. The recently held China-US diplomatic and security dialogue covered many important security issues, and such dialogues are evidence of both countries’ efforts in seeking coordination and
collaboration on international security.

From a historical perspective, the rise of emerging powers is often accompanied by readjustments in the existing global governance. This readjustment inevitably comes with a certain type of “tension.” The lesson of history is that conflicts may occur as result of the way major countries dealt with this tension.

To avoid this historical trap, China must strive to build a new paradigm of peaceful development and shared interests. Just as individuals benefit from the sharing of bicycles so can countries benefit from sharing peace and the fruits of win-win cooperation.

President Xi Jinping proposed the building of a new model of international relations featuring win-win cooperation. Calling on all nations to forge a community with a shared future for mankind and embrace a new era of win-win cooperation and common development, not least through the implementation of the Belt and Road initiative. These propositions and initiatives highlight the ideal that the projects should be “jointly built through consultation to meet the interests of all,” and form the pillars of the Chinese philosophy on international relations and represent China’s response to a changing world. This vision can be seen as one of the most important theoretical innovations of this era and is well-tailored to the needs of our times.

Naturally, problems and difficulties will be encountered during the implementation of the initiatives, but they will continue and be revised and improved along the way to deal with any unforeseen challenges.
My third and last point is that China must constantly improve the way it interacts with the rest of the world. The great visionary Mr. Lee Kuan Yew once said, small and medium sized countries will face a “giant that has never before existed in human history.” In recent years, our neighbors and other countries have been watching China’s policies and moves closely. We must be sensitive to external reactions and respond in a timely manner to promote and ensure understanding.

When a country grows strong, it should be capable of understanding and working with public opinion and maintain multi-level and cogent communication with the international community. To this end, we must constantly review and improve our capabilities in diplomacy, international law, public opinion and economic development to prepare us for our participation in international affairs and global governance. I believe that in such a fast-changing era, it is imperative that China stays modest and prudent as we continue to learn.

So, when China’s interests run up against those of other countries, how should we make decisions? How should we explain our views to the international community? The traditional powers may tend to impose on others, but how to manage the unavoidable consequences will be the challenge. History judges the success of a country not only on how it exercised power, but also on how it promotes the common good.

When carrying out President Xi’s vision and propositions, we must be down to earth and ensure we explore and accumulate experience.
These are my humble opinions on the relationship between China’s growth and peace. And I look forward to our continued sharing of thoughts.
Keynote Speech at the 6th World Peace Forum
23 June 2017, Beijing

By Hamid Karzai*

It is a distinct pleasure to be here in Beijing, an ancient seat of civilization and culture. I would like to express deep appreciation to Tsinghua University and the Chinese People’s Institute for Foreign Affairs for organization this timely and important 6th World Peace Forum and for inviting me once again to come to this country. Afghanistan and China are historic friends and strategic partners and we are proud of that.

I come to you in that spirit of sober reflection, and sincere and open discussion. It is my desire that together we try to make sense of the troubling international scene in which deadly attacks on the weak and the innocent have become the order of the day.

The wretchedness of the present must give way to a future in which we can breathe free. In recent years, the world has become a more dangerous place, not less. Our aspirations and dreams stand betrayed.

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It is possible to reverse this, or at least it is possible to nurse the hope of reversing this, if the principal players in our region and beyond can decide that it is cooperation, rather than confrontation, that unlocks doors to a better world.

I come from a region, which remains in turmoil, and from a land that has not known peace for four decades. In Afghanistan, in the final days of the Cold War, contending superpowers, driven by antagonistic ideologies, brought conflict and destruction to my country. When that painful phase, in which my country was made the battleground and devastated, came to an end, our neighbors sought to capitalize on our difficulties in an effort to extend their hegemony.

The US, which arrived in the wake of September 11, 2001 to eliminate the scourge of terrorism and to help us regain our poise has been in Afghanistan for 16 years and is yet to achieve that self-professed aim. My country remained a battleground, and we continue to be devastated in every sense of the term.

The initial victory against the radical extremism was swift as whole-hearted support was given to the US forces and the international coalition by the people of Afghanistan. American troops were welcomed with open arms by the common Afghan. But not long after this, the US watched as the extremists reconstituted beyond our borders. The US brought in tens of thousands of more soldiers, ostensibly to fight terrorism. But it is the ordinary people of Afghanistan who began to be killed in their thousands as collateral damage whereas the terrorism grew from strength to strength, untouched in their external sanctuaries. So much blood has been split in Afghanistan and it is that of our
people.

Recent developments bring more worry. Earlier this year the US detonated the world’s biggest non-nuclear bomb, known as the Mother of All Bombs, in my country for reasons that remain wholly unclear.

Ostensibly, the detonation was done to stop the Islamic State or Daesh in its tracks. This task has not been achieved, as subsequent deadly Daesh attacks in Afghanistan testify. What is more, we learnt a week ago that Daesh has now come to occupy the Tora Bora caves in eastern Afghanistan on the Durand Line with Pakistan. This was once a hiding place for Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda followers.

Daesh itself made its entry in Afghanistan in 2014 under the nose of the US troops stationed in my country. It is far from certain that any efforts were made to check its arrival by those who should have been alert. Also, for 16 years the US has failed to check the spread of extremism and violence, and this arouses suspicions among the Afghan people.

My country is rocked by explosions and gunfire practically every day, thanks to the malignant forces that are able to conduct their activities unhindered.

Neighboring Pakistan, which remains a sanctuary has been, unfortunately, also suffering as a victim of terrorism. And now, terrorism has impacted Iran, our other close neighbor, as the recent attack by Daesh on its parliament and the Imam Khomeini shrine show. The tentacles of the disrupters of peace, and those
who pull the strings from the shadows, have grown. The three ‘isms’ that SCO hopes to check and roll back are a clear and present danger to our broader region.

This is a frightening scenario for a region in which nuclear weapons are not in short supply and one in which violent extremism comprehensively thwarts the development paradigm.

Concerns about irretrievable or long-term destabilization can indeed become real if we lower our guard. The fate of Syria, Iraq and Libya should be a warning to us. Meddling by powerful foreign elements, in order to advance their interests and to hurt those they view as rivals, cannot be allowed to succeed in our region.

It is my fervent hope that the new SCO- which has just added India and Pakistan as the newest permanent members - will play the role expected of it in bringing stability to our region, and help usher in peace.

It has the necessary resources. Together, SCO countries represent more than 40 percent of the world population and a significant part of its GDP, their peoples are in the forefront of striving for economic development for which peace is a necessary condition, they have command international respect.

It is important to note China’s and Russia’s unique and historic responsibilities within and outside the SCO framework towards peace, security, integration and economic development in our region. The ability of these two powers to work together and bring along the rest of the region with themselves around the joint program of action to this end can help cool many of
Asia’s hotspot and bring about a new era of common security and prosperity. I am confident that the rest of the region will be more than willing to work with these two countries to achieve this common goal.

It is also important to keep in mind that each one of the SCO members is threatened by violent extremism. Terrorism and radical extremism is no longer country-specific, although it may maraud some countries more than others. The stark truth is all countries of our region are at risk. Now Europe is at risk too. There are painful reminders all the time.

This is more the reason why regional and global players should cut through the thicket of their divergences and differences to arrive at a field of practical convergence with a view to rolling back the creeping spread of extremism and terrorist violence. They will be serving their self-interest in doing so, and doing no one any special favors.

Another area where the whole region must accelerate its collective and practical efforts is economic cooperation and integration. I am delighted to note that today we have a truly visionary framework for this purpose, the One Belt and One Road initiative. This Chinese-led, regionally-owned and globally-supported initiative can transform connectivity and economic ties among its participating countries.

This historic initiative, which aims to revive the glorious legacy of the ancient Silk Road, cannot ignore or bypass Afghanistan, a land that constituted a key artery and hub of the ancient Silk Road. It will be impossible to achieve this noble
21st century vision without acknowledging and realizing the essential role of Afghanistan as a key land bridge and round about in the One Belt and One Road Initiative. Afghanistan can easily reconnect the four key sub-regions of Asia with each other directly, namely China with West Asia and Central Asia with South Asia, thus unlocking tens of billions of dollars’ worth of win-win economic interactions in the region. The successful implementation of the BRI with lift up millions of people out of poverty, improve living standards, deepen positive-sum cooperation and directly impact cooperation on peace and security in a positive and constructive manner. I am happy to note recently that good progress has been made in this area and would like to underline the need for more energetic and active implementation of this initiative.

America, we may remember, came into Afghanistan to fight radical extremism. In the early part of its stay, as I said earlier, the USA’s efforts appeared to bear fruit. And, in furtherance of that mission, it chose to come into a relationship of positive engagement with China, Russia, India and Iran, although these countries were not necessarily on the same page in respect of other regional and international questions. The quality of their engagement mattered to the success of the enterprise.

The prolongation of the conflict in Afghanistan even as the US established military bases there, and the further spread of extremism and terrorism in spite of it, also caused the relationship of key SCO nations began to falter, and their cooperation gave way to mutual suspicion.

Sending more US troops to fight in Afghanistan at this
point in time without a clear strategy for bringing the war to a responsible end that has the endorsement of the Afghan people and the backing of the region will bring more sufferings to our people. When more American soldiers take part in operations, more innocent Afghans die in our villages and cities. That has been our experience.

Please allow me to say few words about our relationship with Pakistan and the key role it can – and must- play in ensuring peace and security in Afghanistan and the region. We in Afghanistan have always been clear about our desire for a close, strong and special relationship with Pakistan. We consider such a relationship between Afghanistan and Pakistan as vital to the legitimate interests of both countries. But such a relationship must be based in clear principles, including mutual respect and shared interests. The abandonment of the use of extremism as an instrument of policy is imperative. Unfortunately, Pakistan is also a victim of terrorism where the people of Pakistan have suffered almost as much as the people of Afghanistan have suffered, and we commiserate with our brothers and sisters in Pakistan.

In this connection, I am delighted about the recent farsighted initiative of President Xi Jinping to mediate between Afghanistan and Pakistan at the highest levels.

I have no doubt, given its all-weather relationship with Pakistan and deep traditional friendship with Afghanistan, China is the country best suited and able to handle this matter with the required wisdom, pragmatism and finesse. China also enjoys the trust of the people of both countries. I earnestly hope that this effort led to Foreign Minister Wang Yi on behalf of President Xi
Jinping will bear fruits.

In my view, our region will be calmed greatly if the earlier relationship between the US and our principal neighbors can be restored.

The US should also reassure the Afghan people that it is ready once again to play a constructive part in building bridges of common understanding with the regional powers. This by definition requires an urgent, serious, and sustained diplomatic effort with major countries in the region towards peace and stability in Afghanistan and the region. Going forward, the US must put the hard but necessary task of diplomacy firmly in place rather than detonating bombs. The US, which justifies its military presence in Afghanistan in the name of campaign against military extremism, should also take concrete and urgent steps to reach a new compact with the Afghan people. That is the way to work for peace and against conflict and instability in Afghanistan and the region. In the absence of such an approach on Washington’s part, it will not be serving its stated purpose.

As President Xi Jinping once pointed out, and I quote, “Security must be universal. We cannot just have the security of one or some countries while leaving the rest insecure, still less should one seek the so-called absolute security of itself at the expense of the security of others.”

When synergies are established among the leading powers, a bridgehead to peace will be established. Let us resolve to put an end to war and to war-mongering and extend the frontiers of peaceful cooperation.
The Future of Asia’s Regional Architecture
— Address at the 6th World Peace Forum
24 June 2017, Beijing
By Kevin Rudd*

I start with a basic but difficult question: in the first half of the twenty-first century, will the Asia-Pacific be able to maintain a further generation of economic growth and sustain peace in the face of unprecedented geopolitical change?

Until recently, the answer to this seemed to be an unequivocal yes. Conventional wisdom suggested that the forces of economic globalization were drawing the region together, and would in time overcome the political, security, and territorial tensions left over from history.

Underlying this view was the corresponding assumption that a robust U.S. security presence would continue to provide much-needed stability, allowing nations to focus more on their common economic interests than perceived security threats.

Neither of these assumptions can now be taken

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for granted.

Globalization and economic integration now face a less certain future. While this is more evident in the West than in the East, there are now new threats to global trade, investment, and capital flows that will challenge all countries, including those in Asia.

Similarly, the election of a U.S. President who has sought to reorient U.S. foreign policy toward an “America First” approach raises new questions about the future U.S. security role in the region. One view is towards a general American retrenchment, and a more ambiguous commitment to traditional allies. Another is that America may become more interventionist, as some would argue the Trump administration's rhetoric suggests. Either way, the region faces fresh strategic uncertainty.

Apart from the question of the future trajectory of U.S. power in the region, there is the new dynamic of growing Chinese military power, economic influence and foreign policy activism in the region.

Of course, these are not the only sources of strategic change for the region's future. The North Korean nuclear weapons program looms the largest of them all.

A range of other intra-regional tensions continue to ebb and flow, including the East China Sea, the South China Sea, cross-strait relations, India-Pakistan relations, as well as the unresolved questions of the Sino-Indian border.
On top of all these disputes also lies the uncertain trajectory of cyber-warfare in the region.

And then there is the overall ballooning of regional military expenditures, which in 2015 saw Asian military budgets for the first time exceed those of the Europeans in aggregate terms.

Strategic pessimists, often self-described as realists, argue that this cocktail of global and regional uncertainties will reach a dangerous critical mass, eroding the little remaining regional stocks of political and strategic trust, inevitably resulting in crisis, conflict, or even war.

But this reflects an excessively determinist view of history, and denies the power and impact of what the political scientists call "human agency."

My view is that Asia-Pacific governments have the ability, through the choices they make and the policies they pursue, to shape a different outcome for the region.

To achieve this outcome, therefore, in the midst of regional uncertainty, what difference can regional political institutions make? Are they sufficient in size and scope to make a material difference to the prevailing strategic culture of the region? If not, then how might they be reshaped?

Of course, long-standing strategic perceptions, often based on conflicting interests, values, and historical experience, cannot be wished away if we choose to bring a new regional institution into being, or breathe life into an old one.
The history of international relations tells us that will simply not be the case.

But it is equally true that it can become a dangerous, self-fulfilling prophecy to simply assume the worst about other states and to prepare ourselves accordingly.

But I believe there is a credible third way, one that recognizes geopolitical divides where they exist, but at the same time also acknowledges that strategic disagreements are often better managed, reduced or possibly resolved within the framework of regional institutions that are anchored in commonly-accepted norms, protocols, and procedures.

Over time, such regional institutions can also begin to change the way in which states think about each other, see each other and respond to one another.

Indeed the core logic of such an institutional approach is that common perceptions of many member states’ regional challenges and opportunities would become greater over time.

And furthermore, that this emerging institutional presence would slowly change the prevailing strategic culture, rather than have the strategic culture dominated exclusively by historical, territorial and bilateral tensions which have divided regional states over the decades and, in some cases, centuries.

THE CURRENT ORDER

So what does the current order look like? I see it defined by
five attributes.

• First, realpolitik is alive and well. The region’s security order remains primarily state-based, and shifting power dynamics have heightened geopolitical tensions. This has created a new sense of competition among leaders for political, economic and security influence.

• Second, tensions between the United States and China are also generating schisms in the regional order. Many nations feel increasingly torn between their reliance on the U.S. security umbrella and their dependence on China’s growing economic influence.

• Third, the post-war era has seen an accumulation of ASEAN-centric regional bodies. These have been good for Southeast Asian regional security. The large number of these institutions (ASEAN, ASEAN+3, East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum) have allowed states to navigate contentious issues more efficiently. However the parallel reality is that this ‘variable geometry’ approach has weakened the necessity of developing stronger pan-regional consensus around agreed norms and rules of the road.

• Fourth, while ASEAN is still central, its consensus-based approach is under strain. This year marks its 50th anniversary, and it has achieved much in that time. But the challenge for ASEAN will be how it manages to maintain its internal cohesion in order to play a more important leadership role in the wider region.
• And fifth, great powers and regional institutions can be fair-weather friends. Great powers have often been reluctant to tie themselves to too closely to regional groupings. Often they prefer to be able to act unilaterally. We see this in the relative weakness of the only pan-regional institution – the East Asia Summit – which has a regional security mandate but so far has not developed regional norms, practices and procedures to which the external great powers are prepared to tie themselves.

THE FUTURE OF REGIONAL ARCHITECTURE

Given this context, we must therefore ask what is possible for the future economic, political, and security architecture of the AsiaPacific region.

Put simply, it’s about how we can use effective regional institutions to take the regional temperature down over time, rather than just simply allowing it to spiral out of control.

I believe to fulfill this role, institutions need to do the following. They should:

• play a binding role, drawing states toward greater convergence around common security interests;

• mitigate against historic mistrust;

• facilitate better management of crises and disputes;

• rationalise and align the efforts of individual institutions and mechanisms;
• provide flexibility in setting an appropriate, forward-looking agenda.

The question is how to support these goals in order to develop a more effective regional security architecture for the long-term future.

A renewed regional architecture must include all the necessary participants to address the region’s most critical strategic concerns.

And ASEAN-based institutions must remain at the core, particularly the East Asia Summit, which is the only leaders-level forum with the mandate to discuss strategic, political and economic issues.

The challenge for regional governments is to commit to further strengthening the EAS to give it the mandate and resources necessary to build a stronger regional institution with a common set of security norms, values and cultures.

We must also promote open strategic dialogue alongside military cooperation. A central element of this is ensuring that regional institutions provide a forum to discuss the most important topics of the day, despite their sensitivity. Put simply, open dialogue is an essential part of crisis prevention.

Regional institutions must also develop practical mechanisms to manage risk and resolve disputes. The need for these has often been acknowledged, yet there has been little progress to date.
Indeed, the UN Charter itself acknowledges the critical role that regional institutions must play in resolving localised disputes.

Finally, in this model a central node might develop rules, provide guidance and ensure that sub-regional institutions are pursuing broadly compatible agendas. But it will require a degree of flexibility. It is a method by which we can allow institutions to keep pace with the region’s strategic realities, rather than stretch the existing institutions to breaking point.

I don’t propose to go into precise detail about the steps required to practically implement these goals.

These will be elaborated upon in a report to be released later this year by the Asia Society Policy Institute, of which I am President. I encourage you all to read it. But needless to say, how we progress this agenda will require hard thinking from all of us who have an interest in the institutions that underpin this region.

CONCLUSION

What I have discussed today is not glamorous. The process of institution building is not easy. But it is vitally important work. We must not stand by and allow regional security tensions and indeed global uncertainty to undermine the significant economic and political achievements of the past 50 years. Working together, committed to this common cause, we can develop a renewed security architecture that can preserve regional peace and prosperity for future generations.
There is a clear nexus between globalization and international security. This is because globalization came with a promise that it will bring development, and international security depends on development.

Logically then, anti-globalization is anti-development and anti-security.

Without development there can be no security. That is, without sustained economic growth that enables people to live with enough to eat, with adequate shelter, with job opportunities, with realistic hopes for the future, the necessary conditions for international peace and security will not be present.

Globalization in the past forty years indeed has had a remarkably positive impact on our lives and

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our peoples. It is sometimes easy to take it for granted, but the movement of people, the wealth and opportunities created, and the transfer of information, innovative ideas and culture, have moved the world forward at a speed not known before in the history of humanity.

Hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty and new opportunities for a brighter future have been opened up for countless more millions. Indeed, one of the epicenters of the latest wave of globalization has been the city of Beijing where we are meeting today, and the advances that have been made here are plain for all to see.

However, at the same time, we must confront the fact that there have been those who feel left behind because of rapid change and globalization.

Today there are people in both the developed and developing world, for whom looking forward into the future brings apprehension, a sense of foreboding. Globalization once brought jobs, it had promised that prosperity would trickle down to all. But today, for so many, globalization holds a very different meaning. People are nervous about the transformation of the economy and society, they are nervous about their jobs disappearing, either getting sent to another continent or being superseded by a robot. They are worried that they will not be able to keep up with others. They are angry that others seem to be getting ahead of them. People are concerned about loss of sovereignty. They are anxious that their cultures and communities are being consumed, transformed and forgotten in a colorless, uniform global world. Brexit and the most recent US presidential
elections bear testimony to this trend.

As long as there has been a phenomenon of globalization, there has been opposition to it. But what is of pressing concern today is that anti-globalization is no longer a fringe movement of ideological protesters or anarchists on the streets as it was in the past. Today, the anti-globalization movement is broad, it is mainstream, it is populist. Opposition to globalization is fueling anxiety about the future in the communities of both developed and developing countries.

This anti-globalization sentiment is being tapped into by leaders on both the left and right. On the left there are those who stand against the inequality and elitism. On the right, there is a belief that the clocks can be turned back to a simpler time, where decades of progress and openness are being turned back to an idealistic imagined past. In some parts of the world, this narrative is shifting into a more divisive, nationalist, protectionist rhetoric as well as actions. This is a situation that should concern all of us.

Anti-globalization sentiments and actions pose a challenge, and indeed in many instances, pose a threat to international security. A withdrawal from a global worldview leads to a "if you win, I lose" mentality, instead of a searching for win-win solutions. History shows that economic nationalism leads to a race to the bottom. History also shows that strategic ultra-nationalism always ends up in war.

How can we prevent the negative impacts that a trend towards anti-globalization can have on international security?
How can we reshape the globalization process to address legitimate popular concerns? How can we sustain an open world?

First, we must tackle head-on, and in a proactive manner, some of the key concerns about globalization.

The dividends of economic globalization have not always trickled down equally. Income inequality continues to rise; already it is at the highest rate in over a generation, and concerningly, the gap between rich and poor is growing most quickly in developing countries.

According to a Credit Suisse report, more than half the world’s wealth is now owned by the top 1% alone. We have to try to keep making the case about the great benefits of globalization, but we have to be more sensitive to the fact that we have a responsibility to ensure prosperity to the other 99% as well.

In ASEAN especially, we are hyper-aware of the dangers that inequality can bring, and we are trying to undo the deepening gaps between rich and poor in and between our member countries.

All our societies everywhere need to make sure that individuals, elites and businesses all pay their fair, honest share in a progressive tax system. We also need to make sure that the money is spent well, that it is redistributed back into where communities and families need it most – quality education and healthcare, social services and welfare, infrastructure and good governance.
Since assuming office, President Xi Jinping has made it a primary goal to try to make sure government spending is not diverted by corruption away from areas that need it most. He has said that he wants to eliminate both “tigers and flies — corrupt officials — irrespective of ranking”. Pervasive corruption perpetuates the gaps in power, opportunity, ingenuity and wealth between the rich and poor. It contributes to giving globalization a bad name. Eliminating corruption is an important element in making marginalized and disaffected people feel they are getting a fair chance in the system.

Contented people make for stable societies, which in turn make for a more secure international community.

**Second, we cannot allow vacuums to develop.**

Vacuums in international affairs are as dangerous as Black Holes in outer space. Vacuums can develop when a great power withdraws from its commitments. Vacuums can develop when international organizations can no longer perform their functions. Vacuums can develop when new structures are not in place to take over from decaying ones.

We are in the midst of an once-in-a-century power transition, which is being hastened by China’s growing leadership and responsibility, and by uncertainty surrounding the US commitments to internationalism.

But we should not think merely in terms of one great power replacing another. We must take this opportunity to move away from a hierarchical world order. We should not begin to look
for a new World Policeman. We must forge a modified set of principles and practices for a new Globalism.

After 150 years, Asia today has finally escaped the traps of colonialism and superpower hegemony. We have an opportunity to build a multilateral regional architecture which has Asian values at its core, and which can form the basis for a more stable and secure international order.

I find inspiration in the positive sides of the Chinese tradition of guanxi. I realize that there are negative aspects to guanxi, but if we have a strong programme to tackle corruption and inequalities, then we could draw upon some of the positive qualities of guanxi to help meet present and future challenges. The positive qualities I refer to are the core values of carefully cultivating and nurturing relationships. If we imagine ourselves as dots in an interconnected web, the fine silk threads of guanxi — kinship, mutual interest, loyalty, trust, reciprocity — connect us in an interdependent network that weaves across our region.

Such a network of connections, based on the traditions of guanxi, by its very nature would be non-ideological and secular. I believe that this is the type of connectivity that we must build in a new Globalism. Rather than asking it to be a new Global Policeman, a new Hegemon, the new Arbiter, or the new Rule-maker, we should look to China to be the Great Connector, the country that can connect all the dots.

Drawing on the positive elements in the traditions of guanxi, we can envisage a future with plural leadership and shared burdens, shared global rights and regional responsibilities, with
an emphasis on cultivating peaceful and trusting relationships.

Third, since Asia is the engine of world growth, we must ensure that the drive towards a more open regional economy and interconnectedness in the Asia-Pacific is not reversed.

The progress made in two short years by the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank or AIIB can serve as a model for future international organizations. Despite doubts from certain quarters, it has maintained its openness to new members, not competed aggressively with existing multilateral institutions in a race to the bottom, has emphasized partnering, complementarity and co-financing with other multilateral lenders, has kept its infrastructure focus, and most importantly, has maintained high standards of corporate governance.

With the credibility that it has acquired, the AIIB is thus in a position to back up the Belt and Road Initiative — the BRI — which has the potential to change the economic landscape of the Asia-Pacific and far beyond, and bring significant opportunities and dividends to our businesses, governments and citizens. Already nearly 80 countries have signed up for the AIIB, more than 40 have signed cooperation agreements under the BRI, undoubtedly buoyed by the great romanticism, not to mention tremendous opportunity, in reconnecting ancient land and sea routes between the great cities of Eurasia and the rest of the world through much needed road, rail, maritime, telecommunications, energy and digital links.

The BRI, in concert with existing schemes like the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity, promises to deliver significant
GDP gains, open-up a network of commercial activities and unimpeded trade covering two-thirds of the world population.

It offers a glimmer of hope of development in countries for whom infrastructure funding has been so hard to come by, even at the height of globalization.

Successful conclusion of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership or RCEP by the ASEAN+6 countries, which includes China, and President Xi’s suggestion to revive the Free Trade Agreement of Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) can help ensure the sustainability of the physical projects, and the economic networks and relationships in the Asia Pacific, which in turn will help to sustain open global and regional trade and economic systems that are the key underpinnings for a secure world.

For many, the idea of globalization evokes fear, competition, uncertainty.

But we can push back, and we must. We can proactively address the negative aspects of globalization, especially through a commitment to reducing inequality within and between countries. We can cultivate relationships based on long-term trust, mutual respect and reciprocity; we can strengthen cooperative regional networks, institutions and structures that would be conducive to a new kind of proactive, open and plural globalism for the 21st century.

If we allow anti-globalization in the economic sphere to expand not only into trade and investment protectionism and discrimination, but to also spill over into discrimination against
migrants and asylum-seekers, into restrictive immigration policies, indeed into religious hatred, misunderstanding and extremism, then international security will be severely undermined.

We are indeed living in times of uncertainty and unpredictable change. But I am confident that we can, together, face the challenges of the future and succeed. The present-day world now actually has the collective means and resources to ensure well-being for everyone. The present-day world now has the accumulated ancient and modern wisdom to sustain peace.

But we must turn negativity into positivity; we must make the best use of the present-day window of opportunity by properly connecting all the dots. For this, we perhaps could look to China, as the Great Connector, to assume the heavy mantle of responsibility.
On International Security in the Trend of Anti-Globalization
—Address at the 6th World Peace Forum
24 June 2017, Beijing

By Igor Ivanov*

It is my privilege and my pleasure to take part in the Sixth World Peace Forum here in Beijing. Over years, the Forum has evolved into a very prominent and distinguished location to discuss both Asian and global security matters. We should congratulate our hosts at the Tsinghua University for this remarkable accomplishment and wish them all possible success in future.

These days, a professional, candid and in-depth discussion of burning security problems is more important than ever before. The world is entering a very volatile period, and all of us should be interested in managing risks and in avoiding security related crises to the extent possible. The World Peace Forum offers an ideal opportunity for an innovative, out of the box thinking on how to deal with security challenges of today and tomorrow.

The topic of my presentation is International

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Security in the Trend of Anti-Globalization. Before approaching the anti-globalization trend, let me briefly approach the phenomenon of globalization itself.

Globalization is one of the most contradictory and ambiguous phenomena that characterize the world politics of the XXI century. Of course, globalization as such appeared much earlier, its roots lie deep in the past. However, it was not until fifteen – twenty years ago that the process of globalization became so visible, causing heated academic debates and no less passionate political battles.

It is understandable and natural that the process of globalization attracts so much attention all over the world. We all observe the growing unity of humankind in the economic, social, security and humanitarian spheres. Foreign trade and investments are actively developing. Almost all layers of society around the world instantly become more mobile. The internet has appeared in the lives of ordinary people, giving them unprecedented access to information and communications. The global digital revolution today affects each of us. At the same time, globalization affects security by merging local, regional and global security problems and shaping an entirely new global security agenda. For the first time in history, security becomes truly indivisible.

There never was, nor could there ever be, a consensus on globalization.

As Chairman of China Xi Jinping wisely remarked in his speech at the Davos Economic Forum in January of this year, “globalization was once viewed as the treasure cave found by Ali Baba in the Arabian Nights, but it has now become the Pandora’s
Box in the eyes of many”.

While the first decade of the XXI century was marked by the assertion and widespread dissemination of the ideology and practice of globalism, the second decade has seen an equally resolute and all-pervasive anti-globalization counter-offensive. Anti-globalism has appeared in all kinds of countries, from Russia to Brazil, from the United States to China. What is more, this counter-offensive against globalism is being carried out on a wide front – in economics and politics, sociology and cultural anthropology, through art and through religion.

As for Russia, criticism of globalization runs much deeper than it does in many other countries.

Some believe that it would be preferable for Russia to follow a strategy of economic, financial, political and cultural isolationism in the near and longer term. This approach implies that in order to reduce possible geopolitical and geo-economic risks, it is both possible and desirable to move towards a system of “self-reliance”. This “self-reliance” would reduce the number of foreign actors in the Russian economy, limit political, educational, scientific and technical and even humanitarian contacts with the outside world, or at least with Russia’s opponents.

The slogan of the Russian International Affairs Council, which I represent, is “Together into a Global World”. This does not mean that in our work we ignore real problems that are associated with globalization. However, we proceed from the fact that these processes are historically inevitable and irreversible. The experience of different countries – from Singapore to Finland,
from China to Chile – clearly indicates that national modernization projects can only be successful if they are accompanied by consistent and persistent efforts to integrate the country into the world economy and the international financial system, as well as global technological and educational cooperation. Despite all the potential risks and possible expenses associated with such integration, alternative development options in today’s global world simply do not exist.

Therefore, the task is not to “abolish” globalization, but rather to minimize the possible negative consequences of this phenomenon – both for Russia and for the rest of the world, as well as to make maximum use of new opportunities that may present themselves during the process of globalization.

Unfortunately, the current globalization process coincided in time with a profound restructuring of the international system at large that started after the end of the Cold War. This transformation turned out to be very painful and its final outcomes are not yet clear.

Western counties led by US considered themselves to be the winners in the Cold War and tried to impose on the rest of the world economic development and security models that served primarily their own interest.

The results of these attempts are well known by now.

In the economic domain, despite a huge grown potential unleashed by globalization, the gap between the rich and the poor people, counties and regions over last 25 years acquired an
unprecedented scale. The ever-growing inequality has become the main challenge to stability in the world. Former US President Barak Obama has to recognize this in his speech at the United Nations General Assembly last year, when he stated: “The world, where 1% of the population owns the same amount of wealth as the rest 99%, can never be stable”.

The colossal gap in development between various counties and regions leads to negative consequences in state-to-state relations, creates fertile soil for international terrorism, extremism, illegal migration.

Unilateral actions by Western countries have grave consequences for the whole system of international security. The US policy under President George W. Bush is a graphic example of such an approach. The concept of the “unipolar world”, which the United States tried to impose on everybody else at any costs, implied that in the age of globalization the only superpower could define the rules of the game for the rest of the humanity, without taking any responsibility for its actions. The US leadership considered globalization as a global extension of American led institutions, American interests and American values. No wonder, that this model met a universal resistance and rejection, and was ultimately rejected by the United States itself.

Unfortunately, the repercussions of this policy are still with us. We encounter new and new so called “alternative” concepts of world order based on religious fundamentalism, aggressive nationalism and primitive populism. We see a gradual erosion of the international public law, paralysis of major international organizations, failure of many integration projects, the rise of
mistrust and mutual suspicions and, in the end of the day – a decline of the global governance at large. Moreover, instead of focusing on common threats and challenges, many countries focus on confronting each other.

Let me refer, as an example, to the situation in the Middle East today. All major players operating in the region – Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Russia, United States, etc. – understand the danger of international terrorism and the need to fight against it. However, some of these players spend more energy and resources at competing with each other about influence in the region.

We cannot ignore some signals that we receive from the new US Administration. The slogan “America First!” can mean in reality that the United States will focus primarily on its immediate, short-term national interests, without paying much attention to global commons. If so, who is going to take care of the climate change, global trade, the future of the United Nations and other burning international problems? If the United States is no longer interested in managing globalization, other powers – big and small, Western and non-Western, developed and developing – should fill the vacuum left by Washington.

If this is the case, does it make any sense to continue talking about the US leadership in the world? Probably, not. What we see today, is an evident decline of the US authority, above all – the US moral authority even among the most loyal and committed American allies and partners. And moral authority is not a small thing in our world – it is directly related to political and security choices that nations make.
I am convinced that to counter resurgent nationalism, populism and xenophobia we need to come up with a new vision of globalization. This vision should take full account of the “dark side” of globalization, should not ignore or discard many negative side effects of this fundamental economic, social and political transformation of our world. Still, we should focus on the “light in the end of the tunnel” - on our common ability to overcome the current complications and to move ahead to a new system of global governance. This new system has to me more inclusive, more democratic than the one we had before; moreover, it has to be attractive to many various constituencies, which are now receptive to most archaic and disruptive ideas about the world. In a way, you can call this vision a new globalist ideology, but this ideology should be universal, not sectarian, it should be inclusive, not exclusive, constructive, and not destructive.

Is it a realistic goal to set for ourselves? I think that the answer to this question is “yes”. In the contemporary world, one can find samples of the new approach to globalization and multilateral cooperation. I have in mind such projects as One Belt, One Road, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the Eurasian Economic Union, BRICS and many others. These are the building blocks of the new globalized world. With all their imperfections and deficiencies notwithstanding, they offer more democratic, inclusive and pragmatic models for managing globalization. Even if not all of them succeed, their combined experience is of exceptional importance for all of us.

Let me end with another quote from Chairman Xi Jinping keynote at the World Economic Forum. He spoke of the global
economy, but the same approach, in my view, we should apply to global security: “World history shows that the road of human civilization has never been a smooth one, and that mankind has made progress by surmounting difficulties. No difficulty, however daunting, will stop mankind from advancing. When encountering difficulties, we should not complain about ourselves, blame others, lose confidence or run away from responsibilities. We should join hands and rise to the challenge. History is created by the brave. Let us boost confidence, take actions and march arm-in-arm toward a bright future”.
It is my pleasure to share my views in this important conference which addresses issues related to international security. I deem it necessary to thank the organizers of this forum for the hospitality extended to my delegation.

At the outset, I would like to refer to three post-World War II major developments in international security:

1- Independence of colonized states and their takeover by dictatorial regimes which enjoyed the support of western countries; besides, dissection of large countries into smaller ones with fabricated borders caused displacement of many people from their homelands and separated them from their history, culture and identity; This phenomenon, like fire under ash, prepared the grounds for ethnic clashes

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and constant instability in those countries which in some cases turned into regional and international conflicts, perpetuated to this date.

2- Annihilation of the bipolar world order; following the breakup of the Soviet Union, the United States unsuccessfully tried to establish a unipolar world, but instead, a number of regional powers were emerged which hold much power and influence in their own regions. In this new circumstances, in which both world and regional powers play roles, a new paradigm in international relations is imperative, in which all world and regional powers should cooperate.

3- The emergence of globalization which has been expedited by the development of information and communication technology in past decades, could be an opportunity for participation of all state-nations in advancement of global affairs in order to create synergy and bring benefits for all. Globalization could also help with trans-national and national transformations in cultural, economic, political, social and security domains.

Therefore, globalization could prove to be the desirable model for the post bipolar world system.

4- Unfortunately, despite the optimism which globalization created among nations, it turned to be a tool for acquisitiveness and cultural influence of big powers, and led to discontentment and frustration of small countries. In fact, globalization helped the powerful countries to have more resources at their disposal and small countries remained in their impoverishment and under-development. The contradiction between theory and practice of
globalization still exists in such a way that makes it a failure.

On the other hand, following the development of information and communication technologies and expansion of social networks, western powers tried to expand their cultural influence in other countries including Muslim world and sub-European Muslim communities which led to their humiliation. This disgruntlement helped the extremist groups to recruit the youth in those communities, and to consider globalization tantamount with the loss of their values, and identity as a result of cultural influence of those powers. Economic pressure and unemployment were among the other factors which facilitated the grounds for recruitment of the youth by those extremist groups.

In these circumstances, the agenda of international and regional cooperation organizations has been also changed. The regional alliances which could help the global economic development turned to be an instrument in serving the interests of big powers. This trend continued up to the recent US presidential election, when each power tried to secure its maximal interests. The rivalry between economic powers was in practice in favor of one, and to the loss of the other, in which the United States found itself to be at loss. Therefore, anti-globalization was used by Donald Trump, the US presidential candidate as a slogan, which helped him to win.

In the meantime, the breakout of Arab revolutions in the North-Africa and Middle East regions and its aftermath interference of some countries like Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar in Syria, Iraq, and Lebanon, in which their support for extremist groups, such as Al-
Qaeda (Jebhato-Nosrah) and ISIL (Daesh) could result in the ouster of the governments of those countries and their replacement with a Takfiri anti-human entity.

On the other hand, activities of terrorists and their recruitment from various countries including European ones, and the return of some of the trained members of the afore-mentioned groups to their homelands, in order to orchestrate terrorist acts, what sparked an anti-globalization wave, and led to the rise of ultra-nationalism and populism in countries such as the United States and some parts of Europe.

What needs to be stressed here is the role of some western countries in supporting or keeping silent against formation and activities of those terrorist groups in Middle East. In this encounter, European countries and the US extended their support for those countries which had created this mess and even provided those groups with intelligence, weapons, training, and helped them to topple the legal governments in Iraq and Syria.

However, the Islamic Republic of Iran upon the request of the governments of Iraq and Syria, did not hesitate to help them to prevent the overthrow of those governments. Of course, Iran took note of its own national security too, keeping terrorism away of its borders.

Consequently, globalization evolved into its antithesis, namely anti-globalization and entailed expansion of unemployment, terrorism and insecurity in real and cyber environments, which has turned to be a complicated trans-national phenomenon. Unlike governments which are confined to their borders, the world has
become so borderless that detection, monitoring and assessment of security threats have become impossible. Due to the countries’ interdependence, insecurity in one country may have impacts on others. Meanwhile, what impedes efforts in the fight against terrorism is the lack of collective endeavor.

Unfortunately, we are witnessing today that some countries take their economic interests over their national security. For instance, following the September 11th attack in 2001, the US congress in collaboration with the American intelligence and security apparatuses prepared a 28 page confidential report which corroborated the involvement of Saudi citizens in that horrific attack. However, as a result of the economic interests of the US and the slush funds paid by Saudi Arabia, the prosecution and penalization process of this culprit state has so far not come into realization.

Unfortunately, such cautionary behavior is observed from some European countries too. Despite the fact that they know that Saudi Arabia is the origin and breeding ground of Wahhabi Takfiri terrorism and that this country has played a key role in creating and supporting these terrorist groups, they have kept silent for the sake of their economic interests, and in spite of receiving blows from terrorists groups, they show no serious reaction against that country.

Anyway, opposition to globalization was well manifested in the recent US presidential election, in which Trump as an anti-structural candidate was able to win. Criticizing foreigners, blocking the travel of citizens from Islamic countries to the US,
building wall at the US-Mexico border to prevent illegal migration, threatening China for exporting its competitive commodities to the United States, unemployment of American workers were all items stressed in the presidential race by this candidate who considered all of those problems as the results of globalization.

The US economic problems, falling behind its new competitors like China, which had experienced double-digit growth, manifested itself in reduction of American exports and its declining share of world's production, causing massive discontentment within the United States. As a result, the United States found itself a loser in this competition and reacted by joining to the anti-globalization camp. Trump’s antagonism towards globalization was shown in his presidential slogans of withdrawing from regional and international agreements, such as Paris Agreement on climate change, as a symbol of globalization; what he fulfilled after winning the election.

Thus, globalization sparked the emergence of extremism and security troubles in other societies; caused economic powers like US to lag behind other economic powers and led to the rise of ultra-nationalism. Some of the European politicians in their electoral campaigns took advantage of terrorist incidents in their countries and unemployment, security and migration issues, in order to rally opposition to globalization and thereby provoked nationalism. The migration of refugees and job seekers from East Europe to the United Kingdom triggered a wave which led to Brexit referendum. Therefore, it can be said that anti-globalization has led to the expansion of extremism, terrorism, security fears, unemployment and migration of refugees.
Consequently, international security in 21st century is featured by close relationship between globalization and decline of economic growth, expansion of terrorism and rise of ultra-nationalism. Globalization through the expansion of its social networks, media, and financial institutions has strengthened terrorist organizations, and lack of international cooperation in fighting with terrorism has led to international insecurity.

At the end, it is necessary to emphasize the followings:

1- Globalization, if promoted the participation of all countries in global governance and if precluded the big powers' acquisitiveness and imposition of their influence on others, could culminate in the growth, development and prosperity of all parties. Iran welcomes such a multi-polar world which has to be founded based on democratic principles.

2- On the other hand, the anti-globalization phenomenon which is the fruit of western powers' acquisitiveness and imposition of their culture on others has led to the humiliation of Muslim communities, the rise of religious and national extremism, and the ominous phenomenon of terrorism which can engulf the whole world.

3- The West, for the sake of its national interests, should not condone Takfiri terrorism which is rooted in Wahhabism ideology, because the youth borne in western countries and joined the ranks of Takfiri terrorist groups in Iraq and Syria, would eventually return to their homelands and may perpetrate terrorist acts in those countries.
4- The Islamic Republic of Iran, which has been a major victim of terrorism and was recently subject to an attack by ISIL, is firm in its fight against terrorism and is prepared for cooperation with other parties to that effect.
Korean Delegation of Young Members of the National Assembly Visits China

At the invitation of CPIFA, a Korean delegation consisted of young members of the National Assembly led by Mr. Kim Han Kyu, President of the 21C Korea-China Leaders Society, visited Beijing from July 27th to 29th.

During their stay in China, Mr. Wang Chen, Vice-Chairmen and Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the Twelfth National People's Congress, and Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, Former State
President Wu Hailong Meets with Former Prime Minister of Greece Antonis Samaras

On 27 July, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Mr. Antonis Samaras, former Prime Minister of Greece. The two sides exchanged views on Sino-Greek relations, the current situation in Europe and other issues of common interest.

Councilor, met with the delegation. The two sides exchanged views on the China-Korea relations, the communication of young politicians and the regional situation. President Wu Hailong and Vice President Ou Boqian of CPIFA attended the meetings. The delegation also had a discussion on Belt and Road Initiative with Prof. Wang wen, Executive Dean of Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies, Renmin University of China.
On 26 July, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Dr. Danilo Türk, Former President of Slovenia and Chairman of the Global High-Level Panel on Water and Peace. The two sides exchanged views on the current situation in Europe, international cooperation on water, and other issues of common interest.

Former Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo
H. E. Mr. Matata Ponyo Mapon Visits China

At the invitation of CPIFA, Mr. Matata Ponyo Mapon, former Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Congo-Kinshasa) visited Beijing, Suzhou and Shanghai from August 1 to 7, 2017, accompanied by his family and assistant.
During the visit in Beijing, Mr. Qian Hongshan, Assistant Foreign Minister and Amb. Liu Yuhe, Vice President and Secretary General of CPIFA, met with or hosted banquet for him. The delegation also visited StarTimes. During the visit in Suzhou and Shanghai, Ms. Gu Yuehua, Deputy Chairwoman of the Standing Committee of People’s Congress of Suzhou and Mr. Sun Jiwei, Deputy Secretary General of the Shanghai Municipal Government hosted banquets separately. The delegation also visited the Suzhou Industrial Park Exhibition Center, Higer Bus Company, GCL-Poly Energy, China Molybdenum and Huawei Shanghai R&D Center. Mr. Matata also attended a colloquium on the economic and trade cooperation between China and Congo-Kinshasa, and delivered a speech on the finance and economy situation, investment environment and policy on attracting foreign investment of his country.

The two sides exchanged views on bilateral relations and economic and trade cooperation between China and Congo-Kinshasa.
At the invitation of CPIFA, the Canadian Parliamentary Delegation, headed by Hon. Rob Oliphant, Liberal Member of Parliament (MP) and Chairman of the Standing Committee on Public Safety and National Security, House of Commons of Canada, visited China from July 24th to 31st. During their visit to Beijing and Shandong Province, they met respectively with Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA and Amb. Chen Naiqing, Vice President of CPIFA, Mr. Cong Peiwu, Director-General of North American and Oceanian Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Wen Fujiang, Deputy Director-General of the Standing Committee of Shandong Provincial People’s Congress, and senior officials of Qingdao and Tai’an Municipal People’s Congress or Foreign Affairs Office. The two sides exchanged views on China-Canada foreign relations, trade relations, legislature exchanges, people-to-people relationship, etc.
Besides official meetings, the delegation held round-table discussions with Vice President of China Association of International Trade Studies Mr. Li Yong, Destination Canada, Canada Business Office in Shandong and Quebec Business Office in Shandong, tour of Mt. Tai, and paid visits to Bombardier Sifang Transportation Company (Qingdao), Zhangqiu High-tech Farm (Jinan).

“This trip is educational to all of us in terms of understanding China and the Chinese people. We will bring back the information about China we received in the trip and the friendly greetings of the Chinese people to the Canadian Parliament and Canadian people.” said Hon. Rob Oliphant, the head of the delegation.

The Maldives Senior Diplomats Delegation Visits China

The Maldives Senior Diplomats Delegation headed by Ms. Aminath Abdulla Didi, Permanent Secretary of Maldives Foreign Ministry, visited Beijing and Kunming from July 29 to
During their visit in Beijing, Ms. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, Ms. Hou Yanqi, Deputy Director General of the Asian Affairs Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs met with or held a banquet for the delegation respectively. The delegation had seminars with experts from the Chinese Institute of International Studies. In Kunming, Mr. Chen Shun, Vice governor of Yunnan Province met with and held a banquet for the delegation. The delegation also visited Solar Power Station, Ecological Agriculture Project, Flowers Market and Chenggong New District.

The delegation spoke highly of the friendly relation between Maldives and China, and was deeply impressed by China’s economic and social achievements. They wish to have more cooperation in all fields with China.

**Chinese-German Dialogue Forum Meeting 2017 Holds in Potsdam**

From 13 to 16 July 2017, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA headed a Chinese delegation to attend the Chinese-
German Dialogue Forum Meeting 2017 in Potsdam, Germany. President Wu Hailong and Mr. Martin Brudermüller, Vice Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors of BASF SE. and German Chairman of the Forum, co-chaired the meeting. More than 20 delegates from the political, cultural, academic, sports and media sectors of the two countries had in-depth discussions on topics of global governance, sharing economy, cyber security, culture, family, movies and sports, and put forward concrete proposals for further strengthening the All-round Strategic Partnership and friendly cooperation between China and Germany.

Delegation of Swiss Federal Assembly Members and Entrepreneurs Visits China

At the invitation of CPIFA, the delegation of Swiss Federal Assembly members and entrepreneurs, headed by Jean-François Rime, Member of the National Council, visited Beijing,
Zhejiang, Shaanxi and Gansu from 3rd to 12th August. During their visit in Beijing, Mr. Wang Yongqing, Vice Chairman of All China Federation of Industry and Commerce, and Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, met them respectively. The two sides exchanged views on China-Switzerland relations, bilateral economic and commercial cooperation, China-Europe relations and European situation.

**Amb. Wu Hailong Attended the Sixth Kubuqi International Desert Forum**

From 28 to 30 July 2017, the sixth Kubuqi International Desert Forum was successfully held in the Kubuqi Desert in Ordos, Inner Mongolia. This year’s forum, hosted by the Ministry of Science and Technology, the State Forestry Administration and the People’s Government of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and co-organized by CPIFA, was themed as “Greening the Belt and
Road and Sharing the Desert Eco-Economy.”

Chinese President Xi Jinping sent a congratulatory letter to the Forum. Vice Premier Ma Kai attended the opening ceremony and gave a keynote speech. Mr. Wan Gang, Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the CPPCC and Minister of Science and Technology, Mr. Li Jiheng, the Secretary of the Party Committee of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, addressed the opening ceremony. At the invitation of the CPIFA, Mr. Danilo Türk, Former President of Slovenia, Mr. Bronislaw Komorowski, Former President of Poland and Mr. Antonis Samaras, Former Prime Minister of Greece, also attended the Forum and made speech respectively during the opening ceremony. Mr. António Guterres, Secretary General of the UN, congratulated the successful convening via the Secretariat of the UN Convention to Combat Desertification. About 250 foreign guests and representatives from 35 countries, UNEP and other international organizations shared the Chinese experiences on curbing desertification and constructing the Belt and Road during the Forum.

President Wu Hailong Attends the IMTA Inauguration Ceremony and the International Conference of Mountain Tourism and Outdoor Sports 2017

From 14 to 16 August, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, was invited to attend the Inauguration Ceremony of the International Mountain Tourism Alliance (IMTA) and deliver a keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the International Conference of Mountain Tourism and Outdoor Sports 2017, both in
Xingyi, Qianxinan Prefecture, Guizhou Province. He also joined the meetings between Mr. Luo Fuhe, Vice Chairman of the CPPCC National Committee, and Mr. Sun Zhigang, Secretary of the CPC Guizhou Committee and Governor of Guizhou Province, and some eminent delegates respectively during the conference.

The IMTA is a non-profit international organization voluntarily established by civil tourist agencies, communities, enterprises and individuals from major mountain countries and regions worldwide. Mr. Dominique de Villepin, Former French Prime Minister, serves as its chairman.

The International Conference of Mountain Tourism and Outdoor Sports has been co-sponsored by the China National Tourism Administration, the General Administration of Sport of China and the People’s Government of Guizhou Province. Themed as “Promoting Harmony between Man and Nature as Well as Healthy Lifestyles”, the conference this year comprises of main events, supporting activities and mountain outdoor sports.
合力应对国际安全挑战，携手共建人类命运共同体
——在第六届世界和平论坛开幕式上的致辞
2017年6月24日，北京

艾力更·依明巴海 全国人大常委会副委员长

很高兴在“夏木阴阴正可人”的时节来到清华大学，出席第六届世界和平论坛。首先，我对论坛的开幕表示热烈祝贺！向各位嘉宾和专家学者致以诚挚问候！

“天下之势，以渐而成；天下之事，因积而固。”世界和平论坛作为中国举办的第一个高级别非官方的国际安全论坛，经过6年发展，从无到有，由小变大，在亚洲乃至世界的影响力越来越大。论坛的发展离不开在座各位嘉宾的关注和支持，希望各位继续关注支持世界和平论坛的发展，积极建言献策，为共同应对国际安全挑战贡献智慧！

本届论坛的主题是“应对国际安全挑战：合力 担当 变革”。这个主题契合当前形势需要，顺应时代发展潮流，具有很强的现实意义。

就如英国作家狄更斯所言，这是最好的时代，也是最坏的时代。当今世界正处于大发展大变革大调整时期。世界多极化、经济全球化、社会信息化、文化多样化深入发展，和平、发展、合作、共赢成为不可逆转的时代潮流。各国之间的联系空前紧密，人类利用科学技术战胜困难的手段空前丰富，各国人民对未来美好生活的向往空前强烈。

与此同时，人类也面临着层出不穷的挑战。世界经济增长乏力，贫富差距扩大，地区热点动荡，恐怖主义蔓延，气候变化、传染性疾病等全球性挑战突出，冷战思维和强权政治阴魂不散。面对日益增多的国际安全风险，我们应对风险挑战的手段和理念也需要调整。具体而言：

第一，安全理念有待创新。当今世界，冷战思维依然存在，
“零和”博弈思路仍有市场。近年来，反全球化、反自由贸易主张在一些国家大行其道，保守主义、孤立主义、保护主义、民粹主义思潮甚嚣尘上，各种保守、狭隘的安全观也随之抬头。历史反复告诉我们，以邻为壑、唯我独尊的做法，只会加剧紧张和冲突，带来更多矛盾。我们不能身体进入21世纪，脑袋还停留在旧时代。我们必须面对国际安全挑战的现实，创新安全理念，跟上时代的步伐。

第二，安全治理有待完善。当前，传统和非传统安全挑战层出不穷，对全球安全治理提出了更高要求。联合国及其安理会是国际安全治理框架的核心和支柱。当今世界上发生的各种对抗和不公，不是因为《联合国宪章》的宗旨和原则过时了，恰恰是由于这些宗旨和原则未能得到有效履行。我们要完善全球治理体系，就必须坚定维护《联合国宪章》的宗旨和原则，更好发挥《联合国宪章》确立的集体安全机制作用，进一步提升联合国的治理能力和效率。

第三，安全热点有待解决。中东、叙利亚等国际和地区热点问题持续动荡，数以百万计的民众颠沛流离。欧洲恐怖袭击事件层出不穷，英、法、德等国接连遭遇恐怖袭击，恐怖主义不断蔓延。朝鲜半岛局势依然较为严峻，当务之急是避免形势进一步紧张，坚持以和平方式解决问题。

世界这么乱，我们怎么办？我们认为，要应对复杂严峻的国际安全挑战，必须坚持以下三点原则：

一靠合力。经济全球化已经把世界各国利益和命运紧密联系在一起，形成了你中有我，我中有你的利益共同体。应对全球性安全挑战需要各国通力合作。正如中国民谣所言，“莫学蜘蛛各结网，要学蜜蜂共酿蜜。莫学篾箩千只眼，要学蜡烛一条心。”国际社会只有同舟共济、守望相助，才能赢得更持久稳定的和平局面。

二靠担当。每一代人有每一代人的使命。我们的先辈以远见卓识建立了以《联合国宪章》宗旨和原则为核心的国际秩序和国际体系，为世界赢得了70多年的相对和平。让和平的薪火代代相传，这是各国人民的共同期待，也是各国领导者以及我们在座每一位有识之士的应有担当。阿富汗谚语说，“决心攀登高山的人，总能找到通往山顶的路”。我们要勇敢接过历史的接力棒，直面问题和挑战，一起来战胜困难。大国拥有更多资源，具备更强能力，力量越大，责任越大。大国有责任也有义务为维护国际和平与安全发挥更大作用。

三靠变革。老路子解决不了新问题、老办法难以应对新挑战。中国古语讲：“穷则变，变则通。”我们必须摒弃落后的安全思想理念和陈旧的处理方式，以创新的精神、变革的勇气推动实现共同、综合、合作、可持续的国际安全。要推动全球治理体系特别是经济治理体制切实反映国际力量对比的变化，增加新兴市
场国家和发展中国家的代表性和发言权。要推动各国在国际合作中权利平等、机会平等、规则平等，努力使国际治理机制更加平衡地反映大多数人的意愿和利益。

中国始终是维护世界和平发展的坚定力量。党的十八大以来，习近平主席提出了推动建立以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观和构建人类命运共同体等一系列具有中国特色的国际关系新思想、新理念、新倡议，国际社会产生热烈反响。在习总书记外交思想指引下，中国不仅自身发展创造和平稳定的外部环境，更努力为维护世界和平与安全作出贡献。中国愿在积极承担自己应尽的国际责任，推动构建同舟共济、守望相助、休戚与共的人类命运共同体，为合力应对安全挑战提供根本解决之道。为此，我们主张：

第一，以发展保安全。习近平主席强调“发展是解决一切问题的总钥匙”。很多地区的动荡，根源出在发展，出路也离不开发展。发展事关人民生活和尊严。只有让大家在发展中获得生活的尊严，才能让他们心中的希望跑赢失望。中国提出的“一带一路”倡议，不仅是发展之路，也是和平之路，不仅为各国经济发展带来机遇，也为各国安全问题提供思路和方案。我们要推动人与生态环境的可持续发展。大力发展绿色、低碳、循环经济，积极落实气候变化《巴黎协定》，最大限度减少因为生态系统引发的冲突风险。

第二，以合作求安全。习主席引用过一句谚语，叫“力量不在胳膊上，而在团结上”。积极参与国际安全合作，打造结伴而不结盟的伙伴关系是中国维护国际和地区和安全稳定的重要途径。截至2016年底，中国已同97个国家和国际组织建立了不同形式的伙伴关系，实现对大国、周边和发展中国家伙伴关系的全覆盖。中国将继续积极参与上海合作组织、亚洲相互协作与信任措施会议等多边安全合作机制，扩大合作领域，创新合作方式，共同探讨安全新理念，共同搭建快速有效的安全协调机制，共同推动国际秩序和国际体系朝着更加公正合理的方向发展。

第三，以对话谋安全。习近平主席讲过，“志同道合是朋友，求同存异也是朋友”。对话是约束战争、保障和平的重要手段。人类过去百年的惨痛历史让越来越多人清楚认识到，对抗没有出路。穷兵黩武、弱肉强食只会加剧安全困境。我们要坚持以和平方式解决争端，通过坦诚深入的对话沟通，增进互信，减少猜疑，求同化异。无论是朝鲜半岛核问题，还是伊拉克、阿富汗、叙利亚问题，政治对话始终是解决问题的根本之道。我们反对动辄使用武力或以武力相威胁，反对为一己之私挑起事端，激化矛盾。
第四，以文化促安全。习近平主席指出，“文明差异不应该成为世界冲突的根源，而应该成为人类文明进步的动力”。文化多样性是人类社会的基本特征，文化交流是最深层次的交流。人心通则纷争止。文明交流互鉴可以让各国人民增进相互了解，产生共同语言，是化解矛盾与分歧的“润滑剂”，是增进理解与友谊的“助推器”。我们应该多修交流的桥，增长友谊的路，而不是墙。我们应该不断深化人文领域交流合作，加强国家间人员往来，用好官方民间各类对话交流机制，以人民之间的友谊为种子，结出各国和平发展、合作共赢的果实。

当前，中国发展正站在新的起点上。我们将贯彻创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享的发展理念，不断适应、把握、引领经济发展新常态，积极推动供给侧结构性改革，实现持续均衡发展。今年第一季度，中国国内生产总值增长6.9%，延续稳中向好态势，实现了“开门红”！这充分显示出供给侧结构性改革的效果正在不断显现。

我们有句谚语，“事成于和睦，力生于团结”。我们应该更加紧密地团结起来，合力应对国际安全挑战，同心打造人类命运共同体，为子孙后代建设一个持久和平、普遍安全的新世界！
在第六届世界和平论坛午餐会上的演讲

2017年6月24日，北京

张业遂 外交部副部长

很高兴再次应邀出席第六届世界和平论坛。世界和平论坛创立以来，影响力不断扩大，为促进人类和平事业提供了智慧源泉，为应对国际地区安全挑战作出了积极贡献。

当前，世界正迎来前所未有的发展机遇，也面临数百年未有

的格局性调整。从历史维度看，我们身处一个科技进步日新月异的时代，一个物质文明极大丰富的时代，一个人类文明空前繁荣的时代，一个各国相互依存日益紧密的时代，和平与发展的潮流从来没有像今天这样强劲。从现实维度看，人类社会面临的新挑战层出不穷，地区冲突此起彼伏，各领域风险交织叠加，不确定不稳定因素日益增多。

近年来，恐怖主义威胁明显上升，仅2016年就导致约2万人死

亡。据统计，今年一季度全球发生700多起恐怖袭击事件，给各国安全蒙上阴影。我们生活的这个星球还远不是一个和平安宁的家园，人类社会的安全赤字依然突出。

国际金融危机阴霾未散，全球经济复苏基础仍不稳固，发展失
衡现象依然严重，保护主义抬头。2009年至2016年全球贸易增速仅为1980年至2008年的一半。多边贸易谈判进程停滞，经济全球化和区域一体化受挫，人类社会的发展赤字日益凸显。

气候变化、网络安全、公共卫生安全等全球性问题突出，全

球难民数量已创下二战结束以来的历史记录，给国际社会带来巨大压力。全球治理体系亟待变革与完善，人类社会的治理赤字需要弥补。

理念引导实践，解决新问题需要新理念。当今世界，冷战思

维、霸权主义、零和博弈的陈旧信条已不合时宜。中国国家主席习
习近平多次倡议，各方应该强化人类命运共同体意识，构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系，树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，为维护世界和平与安全探索新路径。

国家体量有大小，国力有强弱，但都是国际社会平等的成员。要切实尊重各国主权和领土完整，尊重各国人民自主选择发展道路的权利，尊重各国正当合理的安全关切。涉及大家的事情要各国商量着办，遇到争端分歧要对话协商解决。

一国的安全不能建立在别国的动荡之上，全球性挑战面前谁都无法独善其身。要在寻求自身发展时促进共同发展，在追求本国安全时兼顾他国安全，走出一条共建、共享、共赢的安全之路。

多样性是人类文明的基本特征，也是社会进步的内在动力。封闭加剧隔阂，沟通激发活力。要在交流互鉴、取长补短中增进互信，在求同存异、聚同化异中和睦相处，夯实各国和平共处、融合并进的深厚根基。

中国始终奉行独立自主的和平外交政策，坚定不移走和平发展道路，始终是维护国际和地区安全的积极力量。

我们坚持睦邻友好的周边外交政策，促进亚洲繁荣与稳定。作为亚洲大家庭的一员，中国始终将自身命运与亚洲兴衰紧密相连。我们践行亲诚惠容的周边外交理念，坚持与邻为善、以邻为伴的方针，推进睦邻安邻富邻政策，着力打造周边命运共同体。中方积极倡导和推动亚洲区域合作，主张保持具有亚洲特色、照顾各方舒适度的区域合作模式，尊重东盟在东亚合作中的中心地位，坚持现有区域合作机制协调推进，坚持开放的区域主义，不断扩大区域合作受益面。中方积极参与中国—东盟合作、东亚合作、中日韩合作、亚欧会议、泛亚洲合作、孟中印缅经济走廊等区域和次区域合作机制，主张加快区域全面经济伙伴关系谈判，促进亚洲经济一体化进程。我们致力于维护亚洲和平与安全，主张循序渐进地建设符合地区实际、满足各方需求的区域安全架构。

我们努力构建新型大国关系，维护均衡稳定的全球战略环境。中美关系是世界上最重要的双边关系之一。中美建交近40年的历程表明，只有秉持不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的原则，两国关系才能不惧风雨、不断前行。美国新政府就职以来，在双方共同努力下，习近平主席同特朗普总统举行了历史性的海湖庄园会晤，为新时期中美关系指明方向，作出规划。双方商定建立的外交安全对话、全面经济对话、执法及网络安全对话、社会和人文对话4个高级别对话机制已经或将于2018年陆续启动。经济合作百日计划早已经落实，双方并就重大国际和地区及全球性问题保持有效沟通与协调。中美关系未来发展可能会遇到各种困难和挑战，但合作是两国唯一正确的选择，不仅符合两国和两国人民的根本利
益，也是对世界和平与发展的重要贡献。

中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系经历了国际风云变幻的考验，日益成为全球战略稳定的重要支柱。我们将继续同俄方在重大国际和地区问题上保持密切协调，不断深化各领域务实合作，推进“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟对接，推动中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系迈向更高水平。

中欧共同建设和平、增长、改革、文明四大伙伴关系取得丰硕成果。我们愿与欧方一道推动经济全球化再平衡，推动加强全球治理。中方将一如既往坚定支持欧洲自主选择的一体化发展道路，支持欧盟团结、稳定和繁荣。

我们积极支持国际合作，推进全球治理体系变革。今年年初，习近平主席在达沃斯世界经济论坛年会发表重要讲话，提出要适应和引导好经济全球化，让不同国家、不同阶层、不同人群共享经济全球化的好处，实现经济全球化进程再平衡。习近平主席强调，要坚定不移发展开放型世界经济，推动贸易和投资自由化便利化，旗帜鲜明反对保护主义。

多边主义是维护世界和平、促进全球发展的有效路径。中方坚定维护以联合国为核心的国际多边体制，坚定维护以《联合国宪章》宗旨和原则为基石的国际关系基本准则，主张赋予新兴市场国家和发展中国家更多代表性和发言权，推动全球治理体系完善和变革。

恐怖主义是人类公敌，对全球和平与安全构成严重威胁。中方强烈谴责一切形式的恐怖主义，一贯主张加强国际反恐合作。中方愿同各方积极推进双多边反恐务实合作，支持建立联合国主导的全球反恐统一战线，支持充分发挥联合国及安理会的核心作用，支持制定《联合国全面反恐公约》，支持探讨建立网络反恐国际合作治理机制。国际社会必须坚持综合施策、标本兼治的反恐理念，注重从根源上遏制恐怖主义的滋生蔓延。打击“三股势力”特别是“东伊运”等“东突”势力是中方反恐核心关切，也是国际反恐斗争重要组成部分。中方愿本着相互尊重、平等合作原则，继续与国际社会携手努力，共同应对恐怖主义威胁，维护国际和地区安全。

气候变化是人类面临的共同挑战。中方将认真履行《巴黎协定》，切实采取措施加强应对气候变化行动。我们将加快落实绿色发展理念，这既是可持续发展的内在需要，也是负责任大国的担当。我们将继续按照共同但有区别的责任原则、公平原则、各自能力原则，积极参与全球气候治理进程。

联合国维和行动是维护世界和平的重要手段。中国是联合国安理会常任理事国中派出维和人员最多的国家，也是联合国维和行动预算第二大出资国。目前共有2500余名中国维和人员在马里、南苏丹等9个任务区执行维和任务。
主张并支持提高联合国维和行动的效率与能力。

我们努力发挥建设性作用，推动解决地区热点问题。当前朝鲜半岛紧张局势令人关注。维护朝鲜半岛和平稳定符合有关各方共同利益。中方坚持朝鲜半岛无核化，坚持维护半岛和平稳定，坚持通过对话协商解决问题。中国将继续认真执行安理会有关涉朝决议。同时，中方坚决反对半岛生战生乱，不希望半岛出现新的紧张。近来，有关国家释放了一些通过对话协商解决问题的信号，半岛核问题面临重回对话协商解决新的窗口期。为缓和紧张，找到重启对话的突破口，我们提出朝鲜暂停核导活动、美韩暂停大规模军演的“双暂停”倡议，在此基础上，推进实现半岛无核化和建立半岛和平机制的“双轨并行”思路，平衡解决各方安全关切，实现半岛长治久安。中方也愿以开放态度，听取各方的有益建议。

关于美国在韩国部署“萨德”反导系统，中方已多次表明坚决反对的严正立场。中方再次敦促有关方面立即停止部署进程。

阿富汗局势关乎国际和地区安全。中方支持“阿人主导，阿人所有”的包容性和解进程，将继续与国际社会一道，为阿富汗早日实现民族和政治和解以及国家重建发挥建设性作用。

中东形势持续动荡，外溢影响令人忧虑。中方呼吁国际社会和巴以双方共同努力，早日解决巴勒斯坦问题，从根子上推动中东实现长治久安。叙利亚的前途和命运只能由叙利亚人民自己决定。中方愿为推动叙利亚问题全面政治解决发挥积极作用，希望有关各方保持政治解决势头，通过政治对话，不断积累互信，达成兼顾各方合理关切的解决方案。中国同海湾各国都是友好伙伴，希望海湾国家通过协商妥善解决最近出现的分歧。

当前，在地区国家共同努力下，南海局势逐渐趋稳降温，这对各方都是好事。长期以来，南海局势总体上和平、稳定，南海航行自由不存在任何问题。中国一贯尊重和维护各国依国际法在南海享有的航行和飞越自由，但坚决反对有关国家打着维护“航行和飞越自由”的旗号在南海地区炫耀武力，挑战和威胁中国的主权和安全。中国和东盟国家已就“南海行为准则”框架达成一致，为下一步“准则”磋商奠定了坚实基础。中方愿与东盟国家共同努力，继续在全面有效落实《南海各方行为宣言》基础上，秉持相互尊重、协商一致的原则推进磋商，力争在不受外界干扰的前提下早日达成“准则”，共同把南海建设成和平之海、友谊之海、合作之海。

上个月，“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛在北京成功举办，习近平主席在论坛上发表重要演讲，指出要将“一带一路”建成和平、繁荣、开放、创新、文明之路，表示中国愿同世界各国分享发展经验，但不会干涉他国内政，不会输出社
会制度和发展模式，更不会强加于人，“一带一路”建设不会重复地缘博弈的老套路，不会形成破坏稳定的小集团。习主席强调，要牢牢坚持共商、共建、共享原则，让政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通、民心相通成为共同努力的目标。习主席宣布中国将加大对“一带一路”建设的资金支持。习主席的讲话从战略和长远视角为“一带一路”建设国际合作指明了方向。

同世界上许多伟大的事业一样，“一带一路”建设肯定会遇到这样或那样的困难和挑战，但我相信，“一带一路”这一重要国际公共产品的作用，将会随着时间的推移进一步显现。
今年是世界和平论坛的第六个年头。清华大学和阎学通教授以及论坛的团队可谓呕心沥血，为增进中外了解取得好的效果，在此向你们致敬。

今年5月下旬，中美智库联合研究的中方报告在北京发布的时候，同步举行了以“超越分歧，合作共赢”为主题的研讨。当时学者们对海湖庄园之后中美关系的发展有很多期待，同时，大家对当今世界前景的不确定性感到担忧。美方学者对中国的国际意图提出很多疑问。我观察，国际战略学界有的专家看问题比较固化，有一种“国之交，你赢就是我输”的思维方式。这样的研讨很磨人。

为给讨论带进一些新鲜空气，我们邀请了几位新经济企业人做午餐演讲，包括的有腾讯、京东、摩拜单车和快手。他们的讲话展示了中国移动互联网络应用技术发展速度之快、创新力量之巨大，不仅给美国学者，也给中国学者带来了新鲜的感受，向我们提示了观察世界的新视角。我概括一下他们的观点就是：追求自己快乐，与他人分享快乐。

研究国际关系的学者压力感无时不在，容易陷入分析和预测的困境。我在想，如果国际行为体少考虑如何打击或者防范对方，多考虑如何创造和分享机会与快乐，世界岂不更好？这个想法也许过于理想化，但毋庸置疑的是，中国新经济人的成功反映了改革开放在新时期取得的成功，其中一个重要条件是，中国成功保障了一个和平稳定的环境。很难想象在一个战乱或者是动荡的环境中，能诞生这么多充满活力的创新成果。因此，和平最符合人民的利益，也最有利于人类的发展。
在今天的世界和平论坛上，围绕中国如何在世界上扮演更重要的角色有丰富的研讨。确实，中国这样一个大规模国家实现工业化和现代化，在人类历史上是前所未有的，对世界带来的影响和冲击也是难以完全预料的。现有的国际利益结构将如何调整？全球市场和资源格局将如何支撑？中国会是什么样的力量、发挥什么作用？全世界都很关心。

这样的讨论对中国人来说是比较陌生，但我们已经不能回避。世界正在重新审视中国，中国也需要确定新的历史方位，正如习近平主席讲的，我们前所未有地靠近世界舞台中心，前所未有地接近实现中华民族伟大复兴的目标，前所未有地具有实现这个目标的能力和信心。这三个“前所未有”正是当代中国的新坐标。

今天给了我一个很宽泛的话题，让我讲“任何愿意与大家分享的想法”。我想讲的第一点是：对于中国人来说，眼下最重要的还是走好自己的路，实现党的十八大提出的改革发展目标，落实好“十三五”规划，保持社会稳定和经济持续发展，不断完善法治建设、提高综合治理能力，实现“两个一百年”的奋斗目标。

一直以来，中国人以发展为“硬道理”，现在和将来都是如此，但是，“发展”的成功也推动着发展的内涵升级，不再是单纯地追求GDP增长，而是有质量的发展，绿色和均衡的发展。同时，随着财富的增加，社会对公平分配和从严治理的要求也提升了。总之，中国的发展并不均衡，还有短板，路上的陷阱和坎坷也不少。因此，集中力量发展好自己、解决好人民群众关心的各种难题始终是中国党和政府的重中之重。

外交是内政的延伸，对外政策必然要反映国家最根本的利益，放在现在具体地讲，就是要为实现国家的发展目标构建一个有利的外部环境，并且确保中国的成长和人民实现富强梦想的进程，不被干扰和中断。

我想讲的第二点是：中国要准备好为世界的和平与发展做更大贡献，为人类的未来承担更多责任，我们的社会需要培育这方面的意识和能力。

当今世界，和平与发展仍然是时代的主题，对时代主题的正确判断和顺势而为是中国成功的重要经验之一。同时也必须看到，维系和平、促进发展的因素和挑战和平、阻碍发展的因素都在增加。当前和平面临的主要挑战不再是大规模战争，至少大国之间的战争因为核武器的存在而继续得到制约。但是恐怖主义、混合战争、“凉战”等新型或新旧形态混杂的挑战越来越复杂。

然而，国际安全的机制并不健全，难以形成合力，如何构建全球安全管控是一个大难题。联合国维和机制是最能代表共同安全利益的，但不足以防范和应对
所有挑战。而美国作为世界军备最强的国家，坚持以军事同盟体系作为全球安全支柱，但这个同盟体系是排他性的小圈子，不仅不能包容和关注非同盟的安全利益，也无法解决当今世界的许多安全难题。事实上，恰恰是美国一些战略失误加剧了安全挑战。

面对新的安全环境，无论是美国还是中国这样的新兴大国，都应探索新路径。刚刚举行的首轮中美外交安全对话涉及到许多重要的安全问题，这样的对话体现了两国在国际安全问题上寻求协调与合作的努力。

人类历史上，新兴大国崛起的过程，也是世界利益结构调整的过程，中国的成长与世界现存结构体系之间不可避免的会形成某种“张力”。历史的教训是，大国在处理这类矛盾时容易出现冲突。中国要避免这种结局，就必须探索能协调彼此利益的新范式。正像人们能从共享单车中获益，国家也应能从共享和平、合作共赢中获益。

习近平主席提出了构建以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系和人类命运共同体，呼吁国际社会携手迈向共同发展的新阶段。中国提出了“一带一路”和亚洲基础设施投资银行等倡议，主动向国际社会提供新型公共产品。这些主张和倡议突出共商、共建、共赢的理念，形成一整套新的思想体系，是对世界变革的积极回应，堪称这个时代最重要的理论创新。这些倡议在实践中被证明是符合现实和国际社会需求的，当然也会遇到新的问题，需要在解决和克服困难的过程中不断完善。

我想讲的第三点是，中国要不断提高与世界打交道的能力。李光耀可能是对中国的成长最有前瞻性预见的人。他曾谈到，中小国家将面对一个“人类历史上前所未有的巨人”。这些年，周边和其他国家对中国的政策和外交行为非常关注，我们需要对外界的反应保持敏感，及时回应，更好地增信释疑。

大国需要有比较好的舆论动员能力，需要与国际社会保持多层次和有说服力的沟通。为此，我们需要不断提升和更新参与国际事务和全球治理所需要的外交、国际法、舆论和经济等各方面的手段和能力。我想，在这样一个快速变化的时代，中国人保持谦虚谨慎的学习精神是很有必要的。例如，当中国的利益与他国利益发生矛盾的时候，应该如何选择？如何向国际社会做说明？大国不难使用强制力解决分歧，但如何管理后果却是无法逃避的难题。历史评价一个大国是否成功，不光看它如何施展实力，也要看它如何促进人类的共同进步。

我们在践行习主席提出的理念和主张上，需要脚踏实地地不断探索和积累经验。今天谈的，是我对中国成长的一些粗浅看法。愿意与大家一起继续思考。