It gives me great pleasure to join you at the opening ceremony of the Seventh World Peace Forum in this beautiful campus of Tsinghua University. I want to thank Tsinghua University and the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs for their exceptional organization of this forum, which is now in its seventh year. My warmest congratulations on the opening of this year’s forum and best regards to participants from around the world.

As the Chinese saying goes, “With strong roots, plants will grow; with right approach, people will succeed.” Since its inception seven years ago, the World Peace Forum has brought together the great minds of the world to examine the root causes of major international security issues and to explore ways to address them through cooperation. This is no small

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contribution to world peace and development. When I look around this hall, I can see many veteran statesmen and leading scholars. We have before us a highly pertinent topic, that is “Constructing a Security Community: Equality, Equity and Justice”. It is therefore most important that we put our heads together, think out of the box, and share new perspectives on achieving world peace and security.

A few weeks ago, the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs established “Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy” as the fundamental guideline for conducting China’s external work in the new era. Since the 18th Party Congress, the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has shown great foresight and strong leadership. Taking a hard look at the destiny and future of mankind as well as the development trajectories of China and the world, it has broken new ground in both theory and practice, and put forward a whole set of new, forward-looking ideas and proposals that are embedded in China’s reality and reflect the trend of the times. This new thinking and approach has crystallized into Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy, which will guide China to make even greater contribution to both national rejuvenation and progress of all humankind.

The world is experiencing significant changes unseen in a century. We live in an increasingly multi-polar and globalized world. The IT revolution and cultural diversity are facts of life. Interconnection and interdependence between countries have become an inescapable reality. In such a world, all countries rise and fall together. With the forces for peace outpacing the factors of war, the call for peace, development and win-win cooperation has become the order of the day. This year marks the centenary of the end of World War I. Looking back, we have painful and profound
lessons to draw from our experience of two world wars and more than four decades of Cold War. Today more than ever, all nations prefer peace to war, and cooperation to confrontation.

On the other hand, it is also true that the international situation has become more unstable, uncertain and unpredictable. The world is caught in a historical process of increasingly fast evolution. The Cold War mentality, power politics, unilateralism and protectionism still manifest themselves. Regional turbulence, terrorism, climate change and refugee flows remain unresolved challenges. Problems of economic and financial risks and the worsening development gap have become more acute. All of this presents global security challenges that are more complicated than ever before.

To sum up, the ever-changing international environment is reshaping the security landscape in profound ways:

First, security issues have become more interconnected. Security issues have increasingly taken on political, economic, cultural, ethnic and religious dimensions. Problems in one field now have repercussions in other fields more quickly. This new dynamic makes them more complicated than what meets the eye. A simplistic, palliative approach may lead to more problems than it attempts to solve. The spread of terrorism, a product of interwoven political, economic, religious and cultural factors, is a case in point, and must be tackled with a multi-pronged approach.

Second, security issues have become more contagious. In a world that is rapidly becoming a “global village”, security issues respect no national borders. The vulnerability of any one
country may create a security “swamp” attracting multiple risks from outside. The insecurity of one country may build up and spill over to the region and beyond. In this day and age, no one can stay unscathed from external risks or achieve so-called “absolute security” on its own. Hence, we must stick together.

Third, security issues have become more perilous. With economic globalization and the IT revolution gathering pace, security issues may wreak havoc in unprecedented ways, affecting not only ordinary citizens but also the elite, not only one but multiple domains and locations - indeed, the entire world. Take the seven-year-long Syrian conflict for example. It has driven millions from their homes and inflicted huge economic losses. The quest for security is also moving into new frontiers such as cyberspace, deep sea, the polar regions and outer space. At stake is not only the development and prosperity of this generation, but also that of our children and children’s children.

To ensure lasting peace amidst these profound security shifts, many new and different solutions have come up. We owe it to our people to pass on the torch of peace, to create sustained impetus for development and to rekindle the light of civilization. Here is what China proposes. We believe that countries should dedicate themselves to global peace and common development, realize a world of lasting peace and universal security, and build a community with a shared future for all mankind. To this end, we call for a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security. To be more specific, we suggest the following principles to be followed in handling international security issues:

First, equality and mutual trust. These are the prerequisite
of security. As China sees it, all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, are equal members of the international community. No country has the right to “monopolize” international and regional security affairs or erode the legitimate interests of other countries. The right approach is to treat each other as equals and with respect, be sensitive to each other’s interests and concerns, reject hegemony and power politics, and never impose one’s will on others. It is important to foster friendship, uphold justice and pursue shared interests, instead of seeking to advance one’s own interests at the expense of others. It is also important to enhance strategic trust through sincere dialogue, which will reduce suspicion, expand common ground and increase harmony in the world.

Second, cooperation for mutual benefit. This is the surest path to security. “Absolute security” is an illusion. Just as the security of one country can never be built on the turbulence of others, threats confronting another country may very likely become one’s own challenges. Therefore, a win-win outcome must be sought if everyone is to enjoy lasting peace and security. When problems first emerge, we must look for proper solutions rather than threatening the use of force, magnify the problems out of selfish interests, or adopt a beggar-thy-neighbor approach. Guided by a new vision of comprehensive and common security, we must take holistic and integrated steps to both address the immediate problems and contain potential risks. Countries must step up coordination and cooperation on such non-traditional security issues as fighting terrorism and extremist ideologies.

Third, equity and justice. These are both very important values, yet our world today is still far from being a place of equity
and justice. Their deficit should remind us of the need to build a better world and reinforce the foundation of peace. This would require rejecting the outdated Cold-War mentality and zero-sum mindset, settling international disputes by peaceful means and forging a collective response to security challenges. We must honor our international obligations, safeguard the international system centered around the United Nations, and make the international order more just and equitable.

**Fourth, reform and innovation.** These are crucial if we are to meet the plethora of new security challenges. In many ways, the existing architecture of global security governance system requires improvement. We should keep abreast of the changing times, think outside the box and develop new ways of cooperation so as to find new solutions to old problems and good solutions to new problems, with a view to breaking the security dilemma facing the international community. Such an innovative approach will help us make global security governance fairer, more reasonable and effective.

**Fifth, sustainable development.** To build lasting security, development and prosperity must be inclusive. A tree cannot grow tall or bear fruit in a barren land torn apart by the flames of war. Many of you would agree that fundamentally speaking, much of the conflict and turbulence we see around the world stems from the lack of development. More people have come to the realization that only with development can we remove the breeding ground of global challenges, secure the basic rights of the people, and propel the progress of human society. The right to development must be shared by all. Delivering this right is not just the responsibility of national governments, but also the shared obligation of the
international community. Now, more than 80 percent of the global population live in developing countries. Their right to more development and a better life must be upheld. Development issues should not be politicized. We must implement the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, raise living standards, close the wealth gap and promote common prosperity. All these efforts will put our shared security on a stronger footing.

We in China always believe that one should practice what he advocates. In this spirit, China is not only advocating world peace and security, but also taking concrete actions toward these goals. China has long been a staunch force for global peace and prosperity. With further development, China will be able to do more for global peace and prosperity.

**China is a key anchor and engine of global economic growth.** China’s development has lent a strong momentum to global recovery and growth, contributing nearly 30 percent of world economic growth on average since 2002. Consumer spending and investment opportunities in China have created more jobs worldwide. Last year, China accounted for 10.2 percent of global imports and 12.8 percent of global exports, and was the leading trade partner of over 120 countries and regions. The Chinese government has been able to provide adequate food and clothing for its over 1.3 billion people and lifted over 700 million Chinese out of poverty according to current UN standards, which accounts for over 70 percent of poverty reduction worldwide. This is a very important contribution to the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals.

**China’s Belt and Road Initiative creates immense**
opportunities for its win-win cooperation with the rest of the world. After President Xi Jinping first proposed it in 2013, the initiative has elicited warm response and wide support from the world. The first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, hosted by President Xi in May last year, attracted more than 1,600 participants from over 140 countries and over 80 international organizations. Five years on, the initiative is becoming an unfolding reality: more than 100 countries and international organizations are now on board, a great many projects have kicked off, transnational infrastructure connectivity is taking shape, manufacturing cooperation is gaining momentum, governments are doing more to coordinate development policies, and people in the participating countries are benefiting from the Belt and Road cooperation. Five years on, trade between China and other participating countries has exceeded 5 trillion US dollars in cumulative terms, Chinese investment in these countries has exceeded 70 billion US dollars and more than 200,000 local jobs have been created. These are clear proof that all relevant countries have benefited from their participation in the Belt and Road Initiative. The initiative is proving to be an enabler of economic growth for many countries, especially developing ones, and it is bringing a new hope for their people. All this is a vivid demonstration of China’s efforts toward building a community with a shared future for mankind.

China has provided a vast amount of assistance to other developing countries, especially the less developed ones. Through concessional loans, through technical, personnel and intellectual support, and through projects directly benefiting local communities, China is helping other developing countries to become better-off through development. As an active participant in international disaster relief and humanitarian operations, China is
among the first to rush to the aid of Ebola-affected areas in Africa and their neighboring countries, providing them with much-needed assistance at a most trying time. Recently, China International Development Cooperation Agency was set up for the very purpose of further improving China’s foreign aid and enabling it to contribute more to the international development efforts. As we speak, tens of thousands of Chinese engineers, entrepreneurs and technicians are working in various parts of the world, helping other developing countries on their way to prosperity and a better future.

**China has taken an active part in seeking political settlement of international and regional hotspots.** It has played a constructive role in addressing issues like the Korean nuclear issue, the Iranian nuclear issue, Syria, Afghanistan and the Middle East.

On the Korean nuclear issue, the situation on the Peninsula has eased in recent months, and things are moving in the right direction of a political settlement. The hard-won developments must be cherished by all parties. Given the complex and unique nature of the issue, all parties must move in the same direction and stay the course. China is committed to the denuclearization, peace and stability of the Peninsula and to a negotiated solution through dialogue and consultation. China will continue to work with other parties for denuclearization, for a peace mechanism and for lasting peace on the Peninsula.

On the Iranian nuclear issue, China maintains that all parties should have the bigger, long-term picture in mind, stick to a political and diplomatic settlement, properly manage differences, uphold the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action and return as soon as possible to the right track of its full implementation.
On Syria, China holds the view that Syria’s sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity should be upheld and respected. It is up to the Syrian people to decide for themselves the future of their nation. Political settlement is the only realistic answer to this question.

On Afghanistan, China supports its peace and reconstruction efforts, and backs an inclusive political reconciliation process that is Afghan-led and Afghan-owned.

On the Middle East, China wishes the region an early restoration of peace and stability and every success in finding a political solution that accommodates the regional realities and the interests of various parties. The sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries concerned must be preserved, the role of the United Nations as the main channel upheld, and the legitimate aspirations of countries in the region respected.

**China has firmly supported and actively participated in UN peacekeeping and other major operations.** China is the largest contributor of peacekeepers among the P5, having dispatched more than 37,000 peacekeepers to 24 UN peacekeeping missions. China has also taken an active part in international cooperation against terrorism and piracy. For one thing, Chinese navy ships have conducted escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and off the Somali coast for ten years running, ensuring safe passage for over 6,000 ships. China has been deeply involved in international cooperation in such non-traditional security areas as counter-terrorism, anti-narcotics, cyber security and climate change. China’s success in hosting the Shanghai Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia and the Qingdao Summit
of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization represents a major contribution from China to the regional security architecture. Facts have proven that China is a force for peace, development and world order.

China has taken on a historic responsibility to pursue happiness for its people, rejuvenation for the nation, and for the common good of the world. In this new era of socialism with Chinese characteristics, the over 1.3 billion Chinese people are working tirelessly for a dream of great national renewal. The Chinese dream is closely linked to the dreams of other people around the world. China is committed to building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind, thereby contributing even more to the development and prosperity of mankind, an aspiration shared world over.

**China will stay true to the mission of upholding world peace and to the path of peaceful development.** The pursuit of harmonious coexistence is in the DNA of the Chinese nation. Peaceful development is a strategic choice made by China in light of its national conditions and fundamental interests. It is a basic principle that must be followed in China’s diplomacy in the long run. It is peaceful development, not predatory expansion, that has enabled China, a country once mired in poverty and backwardness, to grow into the world’s second largest economy. For this reason, we will continue to uphold peaceful development and cooperation for win-win results, and stick to an independent foreign policy. No matter how advanced it may become, China will never seek hegemony, nor will it seek expansion or spheres of influence.

Pursuing peaceful development, however, doesn’t mean
China will ever give up its legitimate rights and interests. China is committed to peaceful development, and we also expect others to do likewise. China will safeguard its sovereignty, security and development interests and uphold its core interests as a red line that cannot be crossed. China will not cause trouble to others. That said, China won’t flinch from facing up to trouble that comes its way. No country should have any illusions that it can undermine China’s interests at will.

For some time now, unilateralism and protectionism have jeopardized global growth, prompting concerns and opposition around the globe. China has always opposed unilateralism and protectionism in trade and investment. We advocate a sensible approach to any dispute or problem in trade relations. There will be no winner from a trade war, only a lose-lose outcome. China doesn’t want a trade war, but China is not afraid of it. When its legitimate rights and interests are treated unfairly, China has every reason to take necessary countermeasures. China will work with all parties to uphold free trade and the multilateral trading regime, which we believe serve the shared interests of all countries in the world.

China, together with other countries, will push forward the Belt and Road cooperation under the commitment to achieving shared benefits through extensive consultation and joint contribution. As an old Chinese saying goes, “When you eat fruits, forget not the tree they grew on; when you drink water, forget not the source it came from.” In the case of China, its development would not have been possible without the outside world, so in return, China will contribute more to global development. At the second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation
that China will host in 2019, China will work with other interested countries to ensure sustained progress in Belt and Road cooperation, and to translate the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits into concrete win-win outcomes. China will integrate the Belt and Road cooperation with its reform and opening-up efforts. Our approach is to drive reform and development through opening-up in all respects. China will never shut its doors. If anything, it will only open wider to the outside world. In the coming 15 years, the China market will further grow and expand, with an estimated import of 24 trillion US dollars worth of goods, and inbound and outbound investment of 2 trillion US dollars respectively. The first China International Import Expo, scheduled for November in Shanghai, will serve as a new platform for such cooperation.

**China will take an active part in the reform of the global governance system with a commitment to equity and justice.** A Chinese adage has it that “a just world should be pursued for the common good”. China maintains that global affairs should be run together by countries in the world, and that all people, irrespective of their nationality, social stratum, and walk of life, should be able to benefit from global governance. The global governance reform that China takes part in is not about overturning the current system and starting all over again. Instead, it is about improving the system so that it can better reflect the changing realities, increase the representation and say of developing countries, and bring greater democracy in international relations.

China is a staunch supporter of the basic norms governing international relations underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter. China supports the multilateral trading regime
and a more open, inclusive, balanced economic globalization that delivers benefits to all. China stands firmly against trade and investment protectionism. On frontier areas such as cyberspace, deep sea, polar regions and outer space, countries should work together to develop new institutions and new rules, and build new platforms of win-win cooperation. China will continue to contribute its wisdom and proposals to help settle international and regional hotspots and issues of a global nature.

China will stay committed to building partnerships around the world. We Chinese often say, “Those who share the same ideal and follow the same path can be partners; those who seek common ground while setting aside differences can also be partners.” China pursues friendship and cooperation with all other countries based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence. We have made the forging of partnerships a golden rule in our relations with other countries, and have established partnerships of various forms with over 100 countries and regional organizations. China will continue to expand this network of global partnerships and make more friends all over the world.

Major countries have a responsibility and obligation to play a bigger role in upholding world peace and security. China will continue to work for a framework of major-country relations featuring overall stability and balanced development. We will increase dialogue and seek closer cooperation with other major countries to enhance mutual trust and keep differences under control. This will be a significant contribution to peace, security, development and prosperity of the world.

China sees in its neighbors good partners in pursuing common
development and true friends in maintaining regional peace and stability. China will continue to deepen good-neighborly ties in line with the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendship and partnership in its neighborhood with a view to building a community with a shared future in our neighborhood.

China regards other developing countries as trustworthy partners in its peaceful development. In its relations with other developing countries, China will continue to follow the approach of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests and the principles of sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith. China will work to upgrade cooperation with them and cement our good relations featuring solidarity, mutual trust, common development and affinity.

**China will promote exchange and mutual learning among different civilizations with an open and inclusive mind.** We Chinese people often say, “Delicious soup is made by combining different ingredients.” There are more than 200 countries and regions, over 2,500 ethnic groups and multiple religions in our world. Diversity not only defines our world, but also drives progress of mankind. Interactions between different civilizations should be guided by the vision of harmony without uniformity, mutual respect and mutual learning, as that’s exactly what makes our world colorful and vibrant. It is important that we promote exchanges and mutual learning between civilizations as a bridge of friendship, a driving force for human progress, and a bond for world peace. The wisdom and nourishment thus drawn from different civilizations can be a source of mighty strength for mankind as we tackle the myriad challenges in the world today.
The youth are the hope and future of a nation. Tsinghua University, staying true to its motto of “self-discipline and social commitment”, has dedicated itself to the well-being of Chinese society and to world development through robust international exchanges and cooperation. I was told that Tsinghua, the alma mater of a large number of movers and shakers with a global vision and a pioneering spirit, has cooperation agreements with 280 universities and research institutes in 50 countries, and hosts over 3,500 international students from 128 countries. Let me commend Tsinghua for what it has done to facilitate mutual understanding and friendship among young people from around the world and to promote friendship and cooperation between China and the rest of the world.

We in China often say, “It takes not just one tree to build a mansion and not just one river to make an ocean.” While the prospects for a peaceful and secure world are bright, the road ahead will not be a smooth one. It will take the concerted efforts of all countries to make the bright prospects a reality. Let me say that we will work with all other countries, for a world of lasting peace and universal security, for a community with a shared future for mankind, and for greater progress in the lofty cause of world peace.
It gives me great pleasure to join so many friends, old and new, at the seventh World Peace Forum to discuss the way forward for the noble cause of global peace and development. With your experience, knowledge and wisdom as visionary statesmen, strategists and leading academics on international studies, I have full confidence that we will have a highly productive forum this year.

As a diplomat, I often discuss international issues with visiting political figures and academics, and find such exchanges of ideas informing and inspiring.

My recent discovery is that as “black swan” and “gray rhino” incidents happen all too often, words like “uncertain”, “unstable” and “unpredictable” have become most used in characterizing our world today. It feels like we do not know the planet where we live any more, when populism, protectionism and unilateralism

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resurge worldwide, when free trade and economic globalization encounter strong headwinds, and when regional flashpoints, terrorism and issues like refugees and migration flare up one after another. Living in such a world, people cannot help but feel worried and disoriented, at a loss about where the future lies.

We have once again come to a crossroads of history. In the sweeping arc of human history, the critical moments of choice are but a few. Now is a moment of truth: do we raise or lower the drawbridge, do we walk alone or join hands, do we take a “beggar-thy-neighbor” or win-win approach? When facing a fluid situation, it is all the more imperative that we stay clear-eyed about the underlying trend, maintain strategic focus and resist misguided policies. In a word, we must make the right choice that meets the call of our times.

The truth is, amidst the shifting dynamics in the international landscape, peace, development and win-win cooperation remain the growing call of the times, and the trend toward a multipolar world and economic globalization is unstoppable. Our world has become a global village where our interests and futures are closely entwined. Protectionism could not protect and unilateralism would lead to nowhere. In a globalized economy, no one can break apart the global industrial chain or the closely linked interests among countries. In a world of growing interdependence, the practice of hegemony or pursuit of one’s interests at the expense of others’ would not succeed but boomerang on oneself.

Where is the world heading? What kind of world should we shape? In answering these questions, Chinese President Xi Jinping put forward the initiative of jointly building a community with
a shared future for mankind and an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security and common prosperity.

This initiative is not an empty slogan, nor an illusionary utopia. It is a blueprint President Xi drew up for mankind’s future based on a keen understanding of history and the trend of times, in line with the long-term and shared interests of mankind. It is China’s proposal to the international community in response to the major changes in today’s world.

This proposal is inspired by the global vision and the commitment to peace and harmony inherent in Chinese civilization. It builds on China’s philosophies of peace emphasizing peaceful coexistence, peaceful development and a harmonious world. It meets the need of our times and the trend of the world, and responds to the common aspiration for peace and development of people worldwide. The proposal has hence received high recognition and acclaim from the international community, and shown strong vigor and vitality. We are confident that with the concerted efforts of the global community, the vision of building such a community for mankind will be translated into reality.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of China’s reform and opening-up policy. Time is the ultimate arbiter of any endeavor. The transformative change and tremendous progress taking place in this country in the past four decades show that China has stood this ultimate test. I see no need to enumerate China’s achievements here. I just wish to emphasize that these achievements are neither stolen from others nor bestowed upon us. Instead, they are created by our hard-working people with their own hands. China’s
opening-up is no “joke” but a miracle in the modern world.

In its forty years of reform and opening-up, China has not only achieved its own development, but also contributed to global wellbeing to the best of its ability. You may recall how hard China worked to shore up its currency in the raging times of the Asian financial crisis, and how China stuck together with its neighbors in face of the difficulties, making a major contribution to easing the crisis.

In the aftermath of the global financial crisis, China scaled up its financial contributions to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and extended a helping hand to countries in distress. With its solid and stable growth, China, together with other emerging market economies, bolstered the hope of a global economic recovery. Since then, China has contributed no less than 30 percent to global growth on average each year.

As an active participant in international humanitarian assistance, China does its best to help whenever and wherever needed. When the Ebola epidemic hit West Africa in 2015, the Chinese government initiated a massive program of humanitarian assistance, the largest of its kind in the history of New China.

Hence came what was seen in the affected region: when others scrambled to leave, Chinese medical workers numbering over 1,000 rushed to help at the risk of their own lives.

Among the foreign ministers of major countries, Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi was the first to visit the region.
Emergency humanitarian aid worth 750 million RMB yuan was provided and much needed medical supplies were flown in from China.

In fact, the last Ebola patient in Liberia was saved and cured in the local Chinese treatment center.

Today’s China is the largest trading partner of over 130 countries, the fastest growing major export market and one of the most popular investment destinations.

Estimates suggest that in the coming five years, China will import US$8 trillion of goods, attract US$600 billion of foreign investment and invest US$750 billion overseas.

China now has a 300-million-strong middle income group. The figure may well surge to 400 million, 500 million and even more in just a few years. That will undoubtedly make China the biggest market in the world, a market with better access, greater capacity and stronger consumer demand.

Some of the major opening-up steps President Xi Jinping announced at the Boao Forum for Asia have already been delivered; the rest are in the pipeline. Tariffs on 1,500 types of consumer goods have been lowered considerably. The import tariff on automobiles has been cut from 25 percent to 15 percent. And the tariff on 28 types of anti-cancer drugs were eliminated starting from last May.

The revised negative list for foreign investment released late last month substantially eased market access restrictions for foreign
investors. The foreign ownership limits in 22 sectors including automobiles, shipping and aircraft have been lifted. I have read in the news that some world-class companies are planning to act quickly to reap the benefit. I wish to encourage the business community to seize the opportunity and invest more in China.

A few numbers about China I saw yesterday may be of interest to you. On an average day in this country, some 80,000 automobiles are sold; over 80 million packages are handled and delivered; movies are shown on 220,000 cinema screens, 4,200 high-speed trains are running, and more than 400,000 tons of grains are consumed.

These figures are what happens in just one day, yet they speak volumes for the enormous business opportunities in China. With such a huge market, China will remain a source of growth, stability and vitality for the global economy.

I recognize that not everyone is happy with China’s investment environment and some may be quite critical about it. To them I wish to say that the Chinese government is committed to improving the investment environment and has undertaken tremendous efforts in the past forty years of reform and opening-up toward better market access, administrative streamlining and clean governance.

Yes, there is still room for improvement, but it should also be noted that China has been the largest recipient of foreign investment among developing countries, with more FDI inflow than any other country but the US last year. In the first half of this year, foreign investors registered nearly 30,000 new companies in
China, showing a 96.6 percent increase year on year. Capital won’t flow to a market with an unattractive investment environment and poor profit prospects.

Some complain that they have been shortchanged by China’s unfair trading practices. To these people, I wish to point out that China was a latecomer to global trade: we did not make the rules, RMB is not the main settlement currency for transactions, and we were obliged to accept the WTO accession terms. If anybody is to be accused of unfair trading practices, China should be the last one.

Forty years ago, China’s foreign trade was merely US$20.6 billion. In 2017, trade in goods alone amounted to US$4.1 trillion. It is mutual benefit, not hard selling that has made such an enormous surge possible. No businessmen are foolish enough to have lived with loss-making deals for forty years.

Still some accuse China of so-called “intellectual property theft” through multiple means. This accusation too has no leg to stand on. To these people, let me say China is rock-firm in protecting intellectual property rights (IPR) and has been strengthening IPR enforcement.

China paid US$28.6 billion for intellectual property use last year and recently revised the Trademark Law and Law Against Unfair Competition to further strengthen IPR protection.

In China’s foreign investment regulations, there is no mandatory requirement on technology transfer. Those who repeatedly accuse the Chinese government of forced technology
transfer have never presented a specific case, not even one, to substantiate their allegation. As for the technologies obtained through commercial cooperation, they are the outcome of voluntary deals between market entities, and have nothing to do with forced technology transfer.

Here I wish to draw your attention to the fact that despite its growing economy, China remains the world’s largest developing country, and still lags notably behind the advanced Western countries.

China’s economy may have become the second largest in the world, yet its per capita GDP still ranks the 71st globally. Some 30 million people still live below the poverty line, 15 million urban jobs need to be added every year, and there are 87 million people with disabilities.

These are the basic conditions in China. China’s status as a developing country is something one cannot ignore before one makes demands on China. For instance, it would be unrealistic to demand absolute reciprocity in market access between China and developed countries, just as it would be most unfair to put boxers of separate weight classes in the same game or cars of different engine power in the same race.

The past four decades of reform and opening-up has been an extraordinary journey of advancing with the rest of the world. China achieved its development by opening-up and with the support of the world, and China has been taking concrete steps to give back by sharing its development opportunities. People from all countries are welcome to get on board the express train of
China’s development. The first China International Import Expo to be held this November will once again demonstrate China’s resolve to further open up. President Xi Jinping emphasized that China’s door will not be closed and will only open even wider. This is our solemn commitment to the international community, and we Chinese believe in keeping one’s word with results-oriented actions.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a concrete and momentous step by China to expand opening-up and external cooperation. With the launch of a large number of cooperation projects in less than five years, the BRI is being turned from vision into reality through concrete actions. A strong momentum of global collaboration for BRI development is emerging. We have signed BRI cooperation agreements with over ninety countries and organizations, institutionalized our industrial cooperation with more than thirty countries, and a new landscape of China’s opening-up led by the BRI is taking shape.

The BRI is a great undertaking that inspires great actions. The Initiative has produced bumper “early harvests”. Here let me share with you several examples.

The first example happened in the central Asian country of Uzbekistan. Out of its 30 million people, one third live in the Andijan region. Travel to Tashkent, its capital, had long been a headache for the government and local people as one had to either drive four or five days across mountain passes or transit through a third country by train. This longstanding problem was resolved when Chinese construction workers came and helped build a railway tunnel in just 900 days despite the hostile natural
conditions. It is the first and so far the longest rail tunnel in central Asia. Now people in Andijan can get to Tashkent in just two hours. They hailed the Belt and Road Initiative and applauded the Chinese workers for making the journey so much easier for them.

The second example happened in Kenya, Africa. A journey from its biggest port city Mombasa to its capital Nairobi used to take over ten hours. Yet since the opening of a railway line China helped build in May 2017, the trip has been cut to five hours. The railway has carried 1.3 million passengers, and has so far this year transported 600,000 tons of cargo, equivalent to 45,000 TEUs. As an important “early-harvest” deliverable under the BRI, the railway has brought convenience to the lives of the Kenyan people and added impetus to the local economic development.

The third example is about another central Asian country, Tajikistan. Despite being a large cotton producer, the country could only process 10 percent of its output. Yet thanks to a textile joint venture it set up with China several years ago, which is the largest enterprise of its kind in central Asia, Tajikistan’s cotton processing rate rose to 40 percent. The joint venture sells over nine tenths of the 100 percent cotton yarn it produces to foreign markets, becomes the country’s biggest source of foreign currency earnings, and creates some 4,000 jobs. It now provides a reliable driving force for local economic growth.

Just as there are a thousand Hamlets in a thousand people’s eyes, it is only natural that people may have different views about the Belt and Road Initiative. Yet more and more people have come to the view that the BRI is not a debt trap, nor a predatory quest for resources. Still less is it designed to create a closed bloc or sphere
of influence. Instead, it is an initiative for peace, cooperation and openness, a platform for China to work with other countries to promote development, meet challenges and advance prosperity under the principle of pursuing friendship and upholding justice.

Many of you have been following China’s development and know China’s foreign policy well. As a career diplomat born in the 1960s who served in Russia, the United States, Kazakhstan and India, I have experienced many significant developments in China’s diplomacy since the 80s. I witnessed the historic shifts in China’s relations with the rest of the world and the growth of China’s friendship and cooperation with other countries. The Chinese diplomats of my generation have direct and strong feelings about the momentous journey of China’s engagement with the world in these tumultuous three decades.

In my posting in Moscow between the late 80s and early 90s, I witnessed the breakup of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and the smooth transition of China’s relations with Russia. China successfully resolved the boundary issues left from history with Russia and several other former Soviet Union countries, making the 7,600-kilometer boundary a bond of peace and cooperation. China-Russia relations have enjoyed steady growth and developed into a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination, contributing significantly to global peace and strategic stability. President Putin’s visit to China last month, the first after his re-election, marked a new start for China-Russia relations in the new era. Under the guidance of the Presidents of the two countries, the China-Russia relationship is at its best in history, and sets a fine example for developing a new type of relations between major countries.
Twenty years ago at the turn of the century, I was sent to work at our permanent mission to the UN in New York, and had the opportunity to observe close-up China’s relations with the United States and major European countries.

China believes that as permanent members of the UN Security Council and the world’s two largest economies, China and the United States have broad and important common interests. Both countries stand to gain from cooperation and lose from confrontation. Regrettably, the United States recently went ahead to start a trade war, which has harmed Chinese interests, undermined the global economy and created obstacles for China-US cooperation. China was forced to take countermeasures to safeguard its national interests and the multilateral trading regime. We hate to see such a situation, and we urge the US side to come back to reason and stop acting in a way that hurts others and brings no good to itself. President Xi Jinping has time and again stressed that for China and the US, cooperation is the only right choice, and the pursuit of win-win outcomes is the only path to a better future. This points the right direction for China-US relations, and we must stay firmly on this right course.

There are broad common interests between China and European countries. I have just returned from Premier Li Keqiang’s visit to Europe and was deeply impressed by the strong wish China and Europe share for enhancing cooperation to meet common challenges.

China attaches high importance to the EU’s strategic status and role, and firmly supports the European integration process. It has been suggested that China has shown more support for the
integration process than some European countries. The 20th China-EU Summit will be held in Beijing on Monday. I believe it will bring new impetus and vitality for China-Europe cooperation.

As Chinese Ambassador to Kazakhstan and India in the past five years, I witnessed the remarkable progress in China’s neighborhood diplomacy, and have some observations about it.

In a spirit of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, China has followed the principle of building friendships and partnerships with neighboring countries, and become a good neighbor, friend and partner that the neighboring countries feel they can trust.

Over the past twenty-six years since China established diplomatic ties with the central Asian countries, the two sides have lived side by side in harmony and jointly tackled difficulties like close brothers. In the early days after independence, the central Asian countries suffered hard from terrorism and extremism and were deeply troubled by conflicts, turmoil and poverty. As I remember, the first Chinese Ambassador to Tajikistan had to travel in an armored vehicle across battlefields to present his credentials. When I talked about this with former US Deputy Secretary of State Bill Burns recently, he said the then US Ambassador may have traveled in the same vehicle to present his credentials. Now conflicts have become history in the central Asian countries, and their people enjoy social stability and a happy life. One certain thing is that China played its positive part in helping make this happen.

Based on the settlement of the boundary issues and
confidence-building measures along border areas, China, Russia and relevant central Asian countries established the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Seventeen years since its birth, the SCO has grown into a model for regional cooperation with rising international influence. Cooperation under the SCO, which used to focus on the security and economic fields, has now expanded to cover people-to-people exchange and external engagement. At the recent Qingdao Summit, President Xi Jinping called for joint efforts to uphold the Shanghai Spirit and build an SCO community with a shared future. This call, warmly welcomed and endorsed by all participants, became the key political consensus of the summit and provides fresh impetus to the sustained growth of the SCO.

China and India are each other’s biggest neighbors and the world’s two largest developing countries. A friendly and cooperative China-India relationship is a major contribution to global stability. Despite our differences over the boundary question, not a single shot was fired at the border for over half a century. During my ambassadorship in India, China opened a new border port, through which Indian pilgrims can visit Mount Kailash and Lake Mansarover in China’s Tibet Autonomous Region by air-conditioned coaches traveling at 100 kilometers per hour. Leaders of the two countries held an informal summit in Wuhan this year, marking a new starting point for the relationship. The two sides agreed to advance all-round cooperation, forge a closer partnership for development, and properly handle and manage differences. The sound interaction between the “dragon” and the “elephant” has shown the world the new prospects in China-India relations.

In my diplomatic career stretching thirty-plus years, I have
visited many developing countries across Asia, Africa and Latin America. Relations with other developing countries have been the foundation of China’s overall diplomacy. Guided by the principle of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests and the principle of sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith put forward by President Xi Jinping, China has been committed to strengthening unity and cooperation with other developing countries. As the largest developing country, China never fails to speak up for fellow developing countries and is always their reliable and true friend. A ministerial meeting of the China-CELAC Forum was successfully held early this year. Just a few days ago, a ministerial meeting of the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum was concluded. This September, we will hold the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. All these mechanisms have strongly boosted the friendship and cooperation between China and other developing countries.

Multilateralism should be upheld and upgraded and global governance improved. The high need of doing so was impressed upon me from my experience at the UN and from attending major multilateral events in recent years like the G20 Summit, the APEC Economic Leaders’ Meeting and the BRICS Summit.

On 11 September 2001, I witnessed in New York the massive havoc and untold grief terrorism brought on the American people. That memory is still fresh today. If there is any silver lining in this tragic event, it is that it led to stronger international cooperation against terrorism. China has been an active supporter and participant in this global effort and stands firmly against terrorism in all forms.

On global economic governance, the G20, from its
Washington Summit to the Hangzhou Summit, has evolved into the widely-recognized premier platform for global economic governance. Following the principle of pursuing shared benefits through consultation and collaboration, China has played an active part in the reform and development of the global governance system, and worked to contribute Chinese ideas and resources to its reform and improvement.

China is steadfast in opposing any form of protectionism and unilateralism and in upholding multilateralism, free trade and the rules-based multilateral trading regime, and has worked toward a more open, inclusive, balanced economic globalization that benefits all.

China has been actively involved in the efforts to resolve such hotspots as the Korean nuclear issue, the Iranian nuclear issue, the Syrian issue and the Afghanistan issue, exploring solutions with Chinese characteristics. China has become a major contributor to UN peacekeeping missions.

The Korean Peninsula is now seeing a positive momentum with lowered tensions and significant progress in the denuclearization process. All parties concerned need to seize this opportunity and work toward the same goal. Positive steps are called for to meet the DPRK’s legitimate security concerns and establish a peace mechanism on the peninsula.

The Iranian nuclear issue is now at a crossroads after American withdrawal. At the just-concluded Foreign Ministers’ Meeting in Vienna, State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi called for unity and cooperation among the parties concerned
to safeguard the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and the rights and interests the parties enjoy under the agreement. China is ready to work with all parties concerned to move the situation in a positive direction.

An old Chinese adage says, one could get an idea of a leopard from seeing a spot on its body. As a diplomat born in the 1960s, I have outlined in broad strokes China’s foreign policy and diplomatic endeavors in recent decades based on my limited experiences.

A strong thread weaving through it all is China’s commitment to peaceful development and win-win cooperation. This is our unwavering principle and pursuit. Whatever progress it makes in its development, China will always strive to maintain world peace, promote global development and uphold the international order.

In his recent book Hit Fresh, Microsoft CEO Satya Nadella calls for an open, pioneering and forward-looking mindset. His ideas gave me much food for thought. Our world is going through unprecedented changes and adjustments, and today’s China is at a historical stage where the timeframes of its two centenary goals converge. In such an age of opportunities and challenges, we cannot afford to be stuck with outdated mentalities, attempt to reverse the wheel of history, or to relapse into the jungle rule whereby the strong prey upon the weak. Therefore, guided by the vision of building a community with a shared future, we must “hit refresh” and constantly upgrade the “operating system” of global governance to jointly usher in a brighter future for mankind.
Academics are currently debating about the future course of the world order. Will the world head toward a new Cold War? What path will China take? As we reach the end of the second decade of the 21st century, the so-called trade war between China and the US and its overall impact is mirroring the ups and downs in the international situation, and the anxieties brought about by the behavior of the only world superpower, the United States.

However, humanity has developed into such a civilized state that common sense tells us we should not be pessimistic about the future. At the 7th World Peace Forum hosted by Tsinghua University, talk turned to the current and future international situation and some of the views are worth noting.

* Fu Ying is China’s former Vice Foreign Minister, Vice Chairperson of the NPC Foreign Affairs Committee, and Chairperson of the Academic Committee of National Institute of International Strategy at the CASS.
First, that global political power is more fragmented than ever before. It is widely acknowledged that in the future no one major power can dominate the world and that even the most powerful country would need to cooperate with other nations in order to deal with international affairs. At the same time, national power is being eroded by the emergence of international organizations and other non-state entities. The international order, with the United Nations and its related institutions at the center, while flawed, is still widely supported by the international community.

Second, economic globalization is unlikely to reverse. Although anti-globalization and protectionism are on the rise, it is undeniable that globalization has benefited most countries by boosting the world economy and advancing technology and civilization. Since the 1980s, the size of the world economy has tripled, allowing billions of people to improve their conditions and is why most economies prefer the direction of free trade.

What comes with this process is the expansion of people-to-people exchanges. According to OECD statistics, five million students are studying outside of their own countries. They and the majority of young people will not support dividing the world again.

Third, world peace is likely to be sustained. Despite the complex international security situation, that encompasses inter-country disputes, the threat of nuclear proliferation and the many new challenges in the areas of space science and cyber security, no country wants to settle problems with a full-scale war.
Diplomacy continues to play the central role in addressing differences, as countries choose negotiation and restraint when resolving disputes. As Chinese President Xi Jinping said at the Boao Forum for Asia in April, “The trend of peaceful cooperation is rolling forward. Peace and development are the common aspirations of the people of all countries in the world.”

Observers are thinking about what the next world order might be. The current order cannot cope with all the problems the world is now facing, and the new order is not yet in sight. The reality is that many countries, including the US, China, Russia and some European nations, are all facing internal challenges to different degrees and need to concentrate on solving their own problems. However, some international issues have also resulted from the spillover of domestic problems.

We are also seeing contradictions and differences among major powers becoming more prominent as the US now emphasizes competition and downplays cooperation.

In such a situation, which path should China take? China’s foreign policies serve the country’s development strategies and aim at maintaining world peace while promoting international cooperation. It could be predicted that China would not change its basic foreign policies, nor its US policy, as it is an important part of its overall foreign policy.

It looks like the US is half way through adjusting its China policies. Although the consensus seems to have been reached over the need to change their policy towards China, it is not clear in which direction it would go. The US’s formulation of its
future policy towards China will, to some extent, be influenced by the interactions between Beijing and Washington. It will also be affected by the general developments across the world and the US’s interactions with other countries. If China sticks to its principles and meets challenges and solves problems in a constructive manner, it may have a positive effect on the US’ China policy direction.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of China’s reform and opening-up. The country’s rapidly growing economy has benefited greatly from its consistent reform and improvements to the domestic market environment, as well as continuing its efforts to open China even more to the outside world. As a matter of fact, some of the requirements recently proposed by the US and the EU about China’s trade and economy also match Beijing’s goal of reform. One requirement relates to intellectual property protection, which the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC) has also had concerns and has repeatedly revised and improved the Copyright, Trademark and Patent Laws. The State Council and the Supreme People’s Court have also issued corresponding regulations, laws and judicial interpretation, which now form a legal system for intellectual property protection. In 2014, the NPC Standing Committee also decided to establish three separate intellectual property courts in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou.

International security extends from the internal security of countries. China’s continuous improvements in governance will also provide a solid foundation for cooperation with the US and other nations. China will continue to support and participate in globalization, promote reform of the current order and improve
global governance in a candid, pragmatic and open manner.

The concept of building a community of shared future for mankind, as proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping, embodies the great wisdom that is deeply rooted in Chinese culture and demonstrates our clear political stance. The essence of the proposition is that challenges around the world should be discussed and resolved by countries working together, and that common interests should be maintained by all. It will require countries to work together to achieve this goal, but as the saying goes, a journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step.

On global security governance, academics at the forum believed that the role of the UN and the Security Council should be respected, but they are insufficient when dealing with all the security issues in today’s world. The US-led security alliance by its nature is exclusive. This results in countries outside the alliance having to consider how to safeguard their own security interests. Take North Korea as an example. When Washington persisted in strengthening the measures to guarantee its alliances security by holding large scale joint military exercises and slapping economic sanctions on Pyongyang, North Korea went further along the path of nuclear and missile development. But when the US expressed a willingness to talk to Pyongyang and seriously considered their security concerns, a silver lining emerged. Although it is difficult to predict how the dialogues between Washington and Pyongyang may go, it is obvious that only a solution that takes the security interests of all sides into account will last.

Whether to seek common security or to pursue your own
absolute security by jeopardizing other’s, is an important choice to make when handling the many kinds of security concerns in the world today. If all parties acknowledge that they need peaceful coexistence, they should look beyond their own interests and build an inclusive security framework for the future.

The US is increasingly worried that China will threaten its dominance. Beijing is concerned that Washington is trying to contain China’s development. Such misunderstandings are reflected in many issues, including trade. The Chinese people have seen that US companies are making huge profits from China. But Americans believe that they are being taken advantage of when trading with China. The White House has raised tariffs on Chinese products, which is seen by the Chinese as bullying. We need to pay attention to why the two sides are seeing the same issue so differently. It is not only with the US where we see these twisted perceptions. It is important that China examines carefully such issues and address them quickly to avoid a new accumulation of misunderstanding which can only hamper our relationships.

The world is expecting China to contribute more but is apprehensive. This is made more difficult as the Chinese people are unaccustomed to explaining themselves and information about China in international databases is limited. For example, in overseas schools, libraries and bookstores, there are very few publications from the Chinese mainland.

The Chinese are increasingly aware of their country’s emergence and their growing international responsibilities. They need to learn and raise awareness by improving their capability to
communicate with the outside world. Without prompt explanation using effective methods and techniques, misunderstandings will prevail. As one expert said at the Tsinghua forum; the Chinese must learn to persuade others.
Some observers of the current global situation are of the view that we live in a dangerous world. Others speak about “the case of global optimism”.

1. What is the state of the world?

We have less extreme poverty than ever, more prosperity, more functioning democracies, fewer local conflicts and almost no global threat of war, such as we had during the Cold War, much more interdependency - including in many domains going beyond just the economy, such as tourism, culture, entertainment, communication, etc. Colonialism and imperialism have disappeared. All this pleads in favour of optimism. The anxiety comes from the prospects. This feeling is much more present in the Western world. We are facing a demographic and migratory explosion, especially in Africa.

* Herman Van Rompuy is Former President of the European Council, Former Prime Minister of Belgium and President of European Policy Centre.
Climate change is the biggest challenge for mankind. The Paris Agreement - even implemented as convened - will by no means be sufficient to bring global warming under the needed 2°Celsius. Our multilateral framework is under pressure due to growing nationalism and protectionism, of all kinds and by several global actors. The Middle East still has the potential for a major war between Israel and many in the Arab world, which is, in its turn, divided alongside religious lines. The Korean Peninsula nowadays is less toxic - but for how long? A financial crisis is bound to happen due to the very high level of both private and public debt worldwide, which is now even higher than ten years ago.

But people are not grateful; they live from perspective. The current facts are positive, but the future looks less bright. In Europe we have these mixed feelings as well. To call these trends dangerous is sometimes based on objective facts, but it is also enhanced by emotions which bring a loss of any sense of proportion.

Europe is called “the continent of fear” whilst Asia is labeled “the continent of hope”. Some speak about sunset and sunrise. But is this analysis correct? The facts are that Europe has lost completely the fear of war on its territory. There is no nostalgia to a past of world dominance, which is new in our history and an exception in today’s world. The economic and political recovery after such a devastating war was spectacular, and social inequality is the lowest in the world due to the welfare state. Totalitarian regimes in Europe evaporated and were followed up by political democracies, without bloodshed.
All this pleads in favour of optimism. But many European citizens fear that we can lose what was built up. Most European societies are open and transparent, which makes comparisons with others about the mood in a society difficult.

2. What can we do in order to strengthen the forces of optimism and of hope? I will discuss five axes.

First. Interdependency has to be an objective not only for economic growth but, in the first place, for peace. Trade, not war. This has been the recipe of the EU. It has to continue to be the aim in the future. We shouldn’t pay mere lip-service to it, because it is so crucial. The ideal is not only a European one, but entails the worldwide free movement of goods, services, capital and people. But these freedoms have to be framed so that the stability of economies and societies are not jeopardized. They are never and nowhere completely free. But still this has to be the objective. Autarchy is a signal of distrust. Negatively because some have no confidence in the intentions of other nations and because they want to be independent in terms of energy, technology and agriculture. Positively, another reason for promoting independency is inspired by the ambition to dominate, whether regionally or globally. But globalisation has already reached a level such that no country can survive without the rest.

To secure the global system, we need rules and the compliance with those rules. We need a level playing field among national economies. We need accords based on mutual benefit and reciprocity. The privileged way to obtain results is through negotiation. Not under threat but in good faith. In the long term, this is the only way to have lasting solutions. The multilateral
system was created by the West after 1945. The EU is a strong defender of multilateralism, like China is. It has to be adapted to the changed economic weight of nations and it should be preserved. The founders were at that time considered “naïve” by those who only believe in the “rapport de forces”, the balance of power. All power plays of today lead to global negative outcomes and to policies of revenge. It is inspired by short-termism and it is not productive in the long term.

Second. Interdependency is the royal way to prosperity. The experience of the emerging economies and of the EU has given evidence to this statement. But we have to look at the distribution of this economic growth. Those working in a successful export sector are benefiting from new wealth and higher productivity. The others are lagging. This put social cohesion under strain, and in the end also political stability. Inequalities have narrowed among countries, but have often risen inside them. The Arab Spring was deeply rooted in this evolution. Apparently stable societies turn rapidly into chaos. Lasting political stability needs social cohesion. Even without revolutions, inequality leads to polarisation and confrontation. It is the root cause of populism and nationalism. It undermines the support for interdependency and globalisation. The aim should be: prosperity for all. This is ultimately a task for the nation-states. They have the tools to correct the negative aspects of globalisation. It is their responsibility.

Third axes. Inequalities lead to migration. Movements of people have taken place since the beginning of mankind. We all are the descendants of migrants. In my definition, migration is a long-distance movement.
All our nations and its boundaries were created by men. There are no eternal borders. But we live in today’s world with national borders, symbols of national sovereignty. Migrants are people who refuse to stay within those borders, looking for a better life. Sometimes fleeing war and/or poverty. Sometimes they are welcome in their host country, sometimes not. If the migration is massive, generosity turns rapidly into fear in the receiving countries. The established population fears that their own welfare and their identity will disappear. Often these anxieties are disproportionate. Building walls then becomes a widely accepted practice.

More than 60 million people are currently living or trying to live outside their home country. Internally displaced persons not included. Rising inequalities, climate change and remaining poverty will only enhance those numbers. Africa is the continent with the biggest migratory potential due to its demographic explosion, which can make it the most populous continent in the next century. Africa is Europe’s neighbour.

Development aid and open and fair trade stimulate prosperity. This is the right long-term remedy, but we have to be fully aware that asylum seekers are not coming from the poorest states but from those on route to becoming middle-income countries, where a growing number have the financial means to pay human traffickers!

Tolerance and generosity are not increasing at the same pace as migration. The problem is even more complicated because once established in a country, migrants have to adapt to the culture, the values and the language of the host country.
If migrants refuse or if they are discriminated against, a new source of conflict or even violence arises within the countries of destination. This evolution enhances fear and polarisation.

The unequal demographic evolution in the world and income inequalities make migration inevitable. How to turn illegal migration into legal and ordered migration? That’s the question. It is one of the big challenges of the upcoming decades. The European experience shows that this goes beyond the capacities of nation-states. If not, it can end in a beggar-my-neighbour policy. For many migrants, the end result is even more misery than the reality they tried to escape. By the way, protectionism is also a kind of beggar-my-neighbour behaviour. Problems are simply transmitted from one country to another as so many “hot potatoes”.

**Fourth axes.** Combating local and regional conflicts is a global responsibility. The Korean peninsula and the Middle East are the most dangerous places on earth. Denuclearisation is a key issue in both areas. It is very unfortunate that we couldn’t keep the international consensus on how to react. It is not in the interest of peace. In Syria, Yemen and other places, some nations are fueling, instead of trying to stop, wars. Without consent amongst the members of the UN Security Council, and without understanding between the main Arab actors, the bloodshed will continue in the Middle East. We need a Westphalian agreement in the Middle East. We got in Europe in 1648 after the thirty-year war.

**Fifth axes.** Climate change is the biggest challenge of all. Catastrophes are already happening today, especially in the
Caribbean and in South Asia in the form of floods and tsunamis. Islands in the Pacific will just disappear if things continue. But as long as large parts of the population don’t feel the effects of climate change close to them, it is not their direct concern. Air and water pollution beyond a certain level create societal pressure. Governments have to act then. Short-termism is no longer an option. Awareness campaigns also can help and bring leaders to action. In the COP 21 in Paris, all global actors finally agreed to tackle this threat to mankind. The implementation of the accord depends on the nation-states. Only the overall objective is binding. This agreement was possible because national interests finally coincided with global interests. Without this convergence, nothing happens. This is the hard lesson of the seventy-year’s work of European unification. Implementation of the Paris agreement is key. Scientists tell us that the objectives of this accord are not sufficient. One day, we have to be more ambitious. It is a race against time. “Too little and too late” is not an option. If the time is not ripe, we have to make it ripe. In general, I’m a defender of gradualism: not the speed but the direction is of most importance. This is not true as far as climate change is concerned.

The UNFCCC is one of the good examples of world governance. Even after the retreat of a global actor from the Paris agreement. This is a rear-guard action. The work of the G20 right after the eruption of the banking crisis was also an appropriate expression of global governance. The world financial system was on the brink of implosion.

Globalisation of economies, capital, human flows, the internet, etc. needs a global response, a form of global governance. The answer to world wars was world peace, an
objective enshrined in the charter of the United Nations, created in 1945. It has not really been a success story, but we have avoided the worst. This is already an achievement in itself. There will never be a world government, but we can agree on world governance, embodied in separate organisations. I can add to the two already mentioned: the WTO, the ICJ, the UN of course, the IMF. Each of them has its own history and decision-making processes. Some of them have to be reformed against vested interests. For some of them, we have to fight for their survival. Global sustainability is a new common purpose translated in the SDG. Here too, lip service is often practiced. These global goals have to become national objectives.

These endeavours are not “naïve” or idealistic, as if the real world were the world of geopolitics with its balance or its imbalance of power. We all are in the same boat. Real leadership is the recognition of this 21st-century reality. It needs no courage to be a nationalist. The opposite, rather, is true. We love our own country, and leaders have to defend the legitimate interests of their own people; but this task is no longer enough to protect in the long term the interests of their people. A people without vision perishes. This is also true for mankind. We have to add a new global dimension to our vision. We shouldn’t give up our national identities but complement them. That is what we try to do in the EU. It is not always easy, but the support for EU membership is still very high - even bigger now than ten years ago. Despite the challenges, a large majority of Europeans know that in today’s world, there is no alternative to cooperation and integration. This doesn’t prevent Europeans from being less happy about current policies at European and at national levels. They know, nevertheless, intuitively that trade, currency, climate,
migration all necessitate policies at a higher level than that of the nation-state. I’m convinced that this is now also the opinion of the majority of the British people.

Peace was, and to some extent remains, a major responsibility of the global actors. The balance of power shifted dramatically after the end of the Cold War and following the economic rise of China and other emerging nations. “It’s the economy, stupid” is true on a global scale. But in the West migration has become more important than the economy.

We aren’t living any more in a bipolar world, nor in a unipolar world, nor even in a multipolar world - but in an a-polar world. Nobody rules the world. Nobody wants to rule the world due to a lack of financial and economic means or to a lack of societal support internally, or due to a main focus on national priorities. The most worrying tendency is nationalism, inspired again by a so-called glorious past. Nostalgia never is a good adviser. The past never comes back, at least not in the way it once was. The Cold War didn’t create lasting stability, either internally or externally. Our time is much less ideological than before 1989. And even if some think that their system is superior, they don’t have the ambition to impose it on others. A peaceful rivalry between competing systems is not dangerous in itself. History will show which one is the most sustainable and the most humane. Too soon to judge paraphrasing Zhou Enlai.

This absence of polars and the global challenges to an interdependent world make cooperation more necessary and more possible. It requires a sense of compromise. There is no life without compromise. Even in every political system. The EU is
more than others a living example of a continuous conversation between 28 member states. Ending disputes, conflicts, wars can only be achieved via negotiation and diplomacy. Multilateral organisations (f.i. the WTO) have structures and procedures to settle differences. Conflicts of interests are not unusual, but we should solve them via the usual channels. Otherwise stability is lost. Military interventions by global actors in recent decades brought no solution to conflicts — nor do they now in the Middle East. The only successes of the most recent period have been the elimination of ISIS and the rollback of Al Qaeda in northern Africa. Annexation of territories of another state is a violation of international law. Dialogue in multilateral institutions is key for creating and maintaining a minimum of trust among global actors. Unfortunately, today we miss that level of trust. Military build-up leads nowhere. All this is contributing to a general feeling of uneasiness and of anxiety among citizens all over the world. The responsibility of leaders is key. Conversation leads to moderation. This is precisely what we need.

Finally, let me make a few remarks about the relationship between China and the EU.

A new China and a new Europe were created after 1945, of course with different origins but each of them building on an ancient civilisation. Our partnership is a mature one with convergences and divergences, on values as well as on interests. But we try each time to find solutions via dialogue, even if it takes time. We share a key common value: peace. That’s why we work together on the denuclearisation of the Korean peninsula and Iran. Sanctions are not an aim in itself. The objective is to bring the parties to the negotiating table and to find peaceful
and effective solutions. The EU and China share an unwavering commitment to combat climate change, the biggest issue for mankind. We are not engaged in a rearguard action about the man-made origins of climate change and we don’t see a contradiction between economy and ecology. On the contrary, renewable energies are a sector of the future, even already of today. But the EU and China have different political systems based on different values. We have a common interest in a rules-based trade system, especially those rules agreed in the WTO. But we have differences on our mutual trade and investment relations. The problems are known for some time. It’s about time to solve them. Reciprocity is a key word. An agreement on investments would be a major achievement, giving a strong signal to the world community in the midst of very serious trade tensions. Creating a level playing field for investment has to be a top priority. There are encouraging signals noticed the last days. The EU speaks in those matters with one voice via the European Commission. It speaks on behalf of the 27 in the Brexit negotiations and in our trade disputes with the USA.

The EU wants a positive agenda with China about what we can do together to our bilateral relationship. China and the EU would then stand stronger in our endeavours for keeping the world economy as open as possible. The upcoming China-EU summit will hopefully mark a turning point. China and the EU have to show that there are alternatives to trade wars for settling differences.

The EU and China promote people-to-people exchanges, especially amongst young people and students, also via tourism. They are the world citizens of tomorrow. They are attached to
their country and their culture but in a spirit of openness and respect. Those youngsters are the hope for a more peaceful and a more prosperous world.
We meet at a time when many key countries are struggling to adapt a new world order - and to each other.

Many countries appear to be at an inflexible point. The old order, established after the Second World War, has been eroding - but a new structure for the maintenance of peace and security among nations has yet to emerge. As a result, we rely on lots of working and institutions which are clearly outdated.

At the same time, we are riding the tide of an even more fundamental global transformation. In the past century our world changed more fundamentally than it did over the history of mankind. The pace of change is accelerating at a record speed.

This is our modern paradox. How we respond to it will affect the course of history.

* Shaukat Aziz is former Prime Minister of Pakistan.
Today we have the ability- and the tools- to build a prosperous and equitable world - or risk falling behind, being stuck in the past - and failing to change with the times.

Let me begin by first outlining three key trends in the global security order- geopolitical changes which will determine the nature of human condition and the emerging security order.

Firstly, we have seen the economic, political, military and technological emergence of China as a world power. At no time in history has a nation brought so many people out of poverty in such a short time.

We are now seeing another shift towards the world’s increasing acceptance of China’s emergence on the world stage.

This is to be expected for the following reasons:

• As a permanent member of the Security Council, a country of its size and historical importance, it is natural that China should play an increasingly active role in the world.

• China already has economic clout - and it is also transforming the economies of its neighbors. President Xi’s Belt and Road initiative is an ambitious initiative which will change the landscape in the region. This bold initiative will allow China much more reach in the World.

• China has driven the establishment and success of the AIIB, which has already shown it is a world-class
institution. It runs on modern management principles – it focuses on meritocracy and efficiency, and it reflects the global landscape today, not that of decades ago. In my view, the Bretton Woods institutions need to reform themselves. Those who preach reform must reform themselves.

We must welcome China sharing its success with the developing world. This will help global stability and touch the minds and hearts of millions of people, be win-win for all. All countries would benefit from making the relationship with China more holistic - expand to include security defense and economic growth.

Pakistan has been a major beneficiary of its rich and deep relationship with China. In recent years, the work being carried out under the BRI will be a game changer for Pakistan. Key infrastructure developments will help connect the country and help spread growth more equitably among the people.

In the wider world of diplomacy, China has always set an example of how to conduct world affairs. Never in my experience with Chinese people did I see it seek to interfere in the domestic affairs of the country - or use bilateral relations to pressure another power.

The second key global trend is – the global centers of influence are evolving.

We are seeing an America which is increasing withdrawing from the world stage - whether in the role it plays in the Middle
East or by calls for other nations to play a larger role within NATO. The current administration’s pursuit of more protectionist trade policies further reinforces this trend.

Moreover – the global financial and economic crisis has contributed to the erosion of the economic leadership of past centers of power. It has had a lasting effect. The clock cannot be turned back by reversion to the politics or economics of a bygone era; by protectionism, military alliances, and more.

At the time, Russia has been playing an increasingly assertive role - both in the way it conducts diplomacy and through its involvement, for the first time in decades, in the Middle East.

In addition, Russia has spent years investing in upgrading its military capability. It has forged a strategic partnership with China and with members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

Whatever your view on Russia’s resurgence, it is hard to imagine sustaining emerging security order without engaging Russia. In my experience, it is important to keep channels of communication open - even with the most difficult circumstances. Dialogue and diplomacy are key.

A new security order will need to find a peaceful adjustment between the old and new centers of power, in particular between China and the US. It goes without saying that a confrontation between them would be disastrous for global peace, security and prosperity. Every effort must be made in avoiding the so-called “Thucydides Trap”. This is a theory that when new powers rise -
the risk of conflict increases.

On the contrary:

- A multipolar world is better than a unipolar world.

- I firmly believe the emergence of new powers should not be a reason for people to fear for global stability - instead, it can be a source of strength for the world.

- We need to put our heads together - a number of issues will not be solved unilaterally.

- These include: terrorism, climate change, global poverty and rising inequality, natural disasters, the threat of cyber-attacks.

- Helping your neighbor develop and prosper will help you in the long run, too. It is in the interest of every country to have prospering, stable neighbors at their borders.

And you do not need to look far for proof of this.

The recent historic softening in relations with North Korea is an important step in solving one of the security challenges faced by the world.

It was a good example of major powers working together. China’s role in mediating in the talks between the US and North Korea is significant and demonstrates that- together, we can achieve a level of dialogue which can be a step in a longer journey of peace and harmony.
It was also an example of proactive diplomacy. This is important to note, since we have seen years of reactive action-and intervention - in countries and regions.

The major powers should build on these successes of cooperation and work together in solving global challenges.

In some ways, our world is becoming less stable - events move at a faster pace. Governments struggle to respond quickly enough.

We are seeing the gradual dissipation of the “European Project”. The global financial crisis raised questions about wider and more intensive European integration and the role of the Euro in exacerbating the debt crises in Greece and some other Southern EU members.

The subsequent mass migrations - caused by the conflict of Syria and other turmoil and economic disruptions across the Middle East and Africa - have eroded Europe’s liberal values and contributed to the rise of the far right in several European countries.

Simultaneously, NATO’s credibility is under challenge due to divergent strategic perceptions and the differences with Turkey. Brexit is further eroding European unity.

Solutions to these issues will only be possible with good quality of governance and - above all - effective leadership.
- However - the world today has a leadership deficit.

- We need more powers to come to the table, to boost their influence and contribute to global affairs - and the challenges we collectively face.

There have been several serious repercussions.

One of the most serious is the failure to curtain crises in the Middle East.

The decade has been traumatized by decades of conflict, and the wounds of unsettled long-standing disputes. Recent military interventions and external regime change have only escalated this.

First we saw the emergence of old and new terrorist groups, including the violent growth of Islamic State. While IS appears to be defeated in Iraq and Syria, it has not been eliminated. Its ideology and affiliates are spreading to other countries and regions by design or circumstance.

All in all - the Middle East matrix of crises has become vastly more complex. There is as yet no overarching design to restore peace and stability in the region. Instead, we see major powers withdrawing from a mediating role.

Instead, if withdrawing, we need to develop a sense of collective responsibility. The globalized nature of the world means instability in the Middle East has wide ranging effects. Terrorism knows no borders, it does not recognize formal treaties.
or boundaries. This is why we must put our heads together and develop a new strategy. Its objective must be two-fold.

One: to start a serious dialogue with key stakeholders while boosting security cooperation to contain non-state actors.

Two: to boost prosperity - and clearly demonstrate the peace dividend of the population - which is predominantly young and has grown up knowing only war. A serious, Marshall-plan style commitment is needed. It may cost more in the short term but the benefits of achieving a more stable region would be priceless.

The world’s population is growing rapidly. Where the states invest in the education and health of their peoples, growing populations can contribute to more rapid economic growth and development. Where they do not, growing legions of the poor and jobless can fuel conflict, terrorism and turmoil. It has become essential to plan and execute programs for the inclusive and equal development of all the peoples of the world, with a clear priority for the poor.

Technology is developing at an unprecedented pace. The nature of human existence has been transformed completely by scientific and technological developments over the past century. Aircrafts, television, and the internet have shrunk the planet. Technology has expanded production, trade and prosperity to previously unimaginable levels. It can answer the world’s essential needs for food, energy and shelter.

Yet, technology is a double-edged sword. It has enabled the development of new weapons and new concepts of warfare, such
as cyber and drone attacks and mini-“usable” nuclear weapons. Technology can disrupt economic, social and political models and traditional ways of life and work. Closer interaction between diverse and unequal nations and communities, enabled by technology, can accentuate competing nationalism and identities and encourage populism, racism, and fascism.

The threats to international security inherent in the geopolitical trends I have mentioned – the global challenges we face today - cannot be addressed by any one nation, no matter how great and powerful.

They require global cooperation of all major countries, working together through effective and empowered institutions.

A vision for such international cooperation has been offered by President Xi Jinping in the concept of “Community of Shared Destiny for All Mankind”. This conference, and other such assemblies, should promote specific steps to realize this enlightened vision.

All policy makers can benefit from being exposed to a wider exchange of ideas and shared practice - there are not many benefits to be had from trying to hold onto an exclusive on wisdom.

- We should reaffirm or endorsement for essential international agreements - such as on non-proliferation, counter terrorism, and climate change.

- We should renew our efforts to improve the work of
international organizations - such as the United Nations, the IMF, the World Bank, WTO, and other agencies. Institutions which were built more than 50 years ago need urgent reform to be able to move with the time. Because - how can we play an influential role in the world when your very essence is stuck in the past?

- And if those institutions continue to resist reform, we should increase efforts to build a new architecture for global cooperation.

- We should openly and honestly address the principle areas of divergence and discord - in North Asia, South Asia, South East Asia, the Middle East and Europe.

- We should seek solutions that adhere to the principles of justice, which are common interests of all and produce “win-win” outcomes.

In almost all instances, economic cooperation is the key to conflict resolution.

China’s Belt and Road Initiative offers the prospect of enlarged trade, production, and prosperity not only for its more than 60 participating states but also for the entire global community. This bold initiative sets an example for the world on how to bring about growth and prosperity through international development cooperation.

I will conclude by pointing out - the world should learn a lesson from the Chinese symbol for “challenge” - it also means
“opportunity”.

That is how I view many of the hurdles we face today, from the technological revolution to the changing world order.

Some of the greatest challenges we face could also be opportunities to build a better, more stable world. No change is easy of painless. It requires a lot of political will, buy-in from the important stakeholders in any country - and, above all, strategic leadership.

Unlocking these opportunities will not only help us on our path to a new global order - it will ensure it brings us peace, stability and progress - for all Mankind in this new Millennium.
I am very happy to be here amongst such a distinguished gathering organized by the venerable Tsinghua University. Indeed, I can think of no better symbolism than this: to discuss a subject as serious and deserving of high-level attention as the Trends in Global Order which also relates closely to peace in the region that I come from, in an institution renowned for excellence in critical academic enquiry. Thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts, and thank you for the warm traditional Chinese hospitality.

Since the Cold War, we have borne witness, for many decades, to the reorienting of the world order. At the time, we didn’t know precisely the kind of new world this geopolitical churning would leave us with, although the hope was that it would lead to one that was inclusive, rules-based, and just – certainly more so than it was then.

* Hamid Karzai is former President of Afghanistan.
We now see the slow but definitive shifting of the balance of power from the West to the East.

Regrettably, however, the multipolar jostling for supremacy by certain big powers that this shift has resulted in, beholden as such a struggle is to narrow national interests, continues to compromise the constructive, multilateral contribution that these powers could make to global peace and security.

Many believed that the tension between America’s pivot to Asia policy under the previous administration and China’s rise would lead to a severe challenge from a rising China to the established power of the United States, leading to conflict. This has not happened. And as we all know, with the advent of the new administration under President Donald Trump, unprecedented developments have since characterised American politics, with ramifications for not just the country, but also the world.

Some in the West, including through the course of several American administrations, have weakened countries they thought they would altruistically set out to fix. As a result of yet another misguided policy, governments that were functioning well despite all their faults were overthrown on exaggerated – sometimes fabricated - charges; capable and qualified professionals were ejected onto the streets and left without careers and resources; countries were left in a far worse state than they were in before the interventions.

These formerly stable countries became cesspools of sectarianism and extremism, giving rise to dangerous entities like Daesh. This template has borne out everywhere I look from my
vantage point in the Middle East and broader West Asia whether it is Iraq, or Syria, or Libya.

A more recent negative example of attempts to weaken rules-based international order and diplomacy is the unilateral abrogation of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) by the United States administration. We don’t want our good neighbourly relations with Iran to be impacted by such decisions. Instead, it is my firm conviction that the only way to resolve any differences between these two countries is through peaceful means.

There is thus no better example of misguided Western interventionism than our own broader region, and west Asia. If the same errors are repeated over and over again, it is no longer simply a strategic mistake. No one can be let off that easily; or a mistake absolved so quickly. This is in actual fact decades of ill-advised bad policy, and it has come together in a toxic mix of support to violent extremism that has unleashed ruin and havoc across many countries including my own country, Afghanistan.

I submit that this is precisely where the emerging new powers can play a critical role and design a new compact for peace. For me, personally, and given my own investment in securing peace, nowhere is constructive engagement more relevant than in my own country, Afghanistan, which continues with the hope of one day, once again, becoming a place of international and regional cooperation rather than confrontation. In a world characterized by multilateralism, after all, it is in the interest of all to reach out across political divides for the sake of peace and stability.
Having been a witness of international politics, I say with a degree of certitude that in international relations, it is possible to have real politik and rationality side-by-side with ethics and idealism. As much as the rise of different centres of power can lead to conflict, it can be similarly argued that the same set of circumstances could also lead to concerted, affirmative action for the common good of all.

In this regard, the rise of China is a critical and instructive development that can, by facilitating multilateralism, fundamentally and positively contribute to a better world order.

My country, in the process of what is often referred to as the great game, has been, through the circumstance of its location, both a victim and a player.

The tragedy of September 11 brought a sudden and massive change to Afghanistan. The US and its allies, backed by the UN and major world powers, arrived in Afghanistan and were welcomed by the Afghan people in the hope of peace and a normal life. This cooperation between the international community and the people of Afghanistan brought many achievements, as well as hope for an even better future. During my own time in office, my government promoted and implemented - under difficult circumstances - a policy of friendship and partnership with all countries, including all our neighbours. This brought us considerable stability in our relations as well as considerable reconstruction assistance.

Since then, however, the prolongation of war in Afghanistan, alarming spikes in violence across the country, the absence of
results, and lack of clarity of purpose have only added to the suffering of the Afghan people. In addition, the ambiguous and equally misguided relationship that certain countries in this region have had with violent extremism has also contributed to the worsening of security and stability in Afghanistan and the region.

Despite early positive achievements, mistakes by Western powers and the wholesale use of violent extremism as an instrument of policy in our region have resulted in this: furthering of Afghanistan’s spiraling descent into insecurity and suffering, and the expansion of the menace of terrorism to the entire region, which can cause much further chaos still. Just as much as America and its allies must hold up a mirror to themselves, it is equally important to remind our neighbors in Pakistan that the path they have taken with regards to extremism is the road to ruin as proven by the suffering of our brothers and sisters in Pakistan itself. The despicable terrorist attack in Mastung, Baluchistan yesterday which caused massive casualties to innocent people in Pakistan underlines the urgency for all of us to work together in sincerity and good intentions.

I submit that China, together with Russia and India, which are in the region of the conflict, can, in a proactive engagement, make a long-term contribution to the search for peace. These major powers must act together to deal with the transnational violence that threatens our common stability, and work towards the development of a collaborative security mechanism.

The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, where Afghanistan is an active Observer State, can be an effective framework for
this, where these countries can enhance their cooperative efforts to finally create a strategy of collective and effective engagement with us, the Afghan people, and the international community. Critical to this enterprise, of course, is the recognition that success will not come if the compact for peace does not have, above all, Pakistan’s sincere and unequivocal cooperation. And the US, we hope, will begin to act in tandem with other stakeholders to craft a genuine design for peace.

In this connection, it is very clear by now that the resolution of the conflict cannot come through the use of violence, or the bombardment of Afghan homes and villages. The idea of a military solution is now more unthinkable than ever before. Peace will only come when the Afghans are truly in charge of the entire Afghan peace process.

Afghanistan and China are historic friends, close neighbours and strategic partners. We in Afghanistan have always steadfastly stood by our One China policy, and we appreciate China’s generous support to the development of Afghanistan. Afghanistan and China also share close economic ties; China is one of our most important trading partners.

What for years was a relationship based on development assistance is transforming into comprehensive ties covering the gamut of economic and strategic cooperation. An expanding sphere of mutual interests brings us ever closer together. China’s contribution to our reconstruction and its efforts for bringing peace to our country are highly appreciated by the people of Afghanistan.
Specifically, we in Afghanistan have made our best efforts to expand and deepen our ties and cooperation with China in a comprehensive manner. For example, following the steady growth of our relations since 2001, our two countries upgraded our bilateral relationship to a strategic level through a declaration of strategic cooperation in 2012. At the same time, we awarded the two largest natural resources contracts in Afghanistan – in the copper and oil sectors – to Chinese companies. In addition, Afghanistan has done far more than any other country in the region to combat international terrorism that poses a threat to China as well, including the East Turkistan Islamic Movement terrorist group.

In my opinion, and building upon the significant progress we have achieved in relations between the two countries, there are three areas common - and critical - to Afghan and Chinese interests and cooperation going forward:

One, Chinese support to peace efforts in Afghanistan. Chinese facilitation and support to efforts to help ensure lasting peace and stability in Afghanistan is instrumental. In other words, in addition to what China has already done in the form of the Quadrilateral Coordination Group and other mechanisms, we believe more active engagement and concrete measures by China will ensure ongoing peace efforts are successful. This can best be achieved in collaboration with the major powers of the region, something that I have already referred to.

Two, Counter-terrorism and security cooperation. There is much overlap in what China deems the “Three Evils” – terrorism, separatism, and violent extremism – and the problems that the
wider region and my own country are confronted with. We all recognise the transnational nature of the problem. In fact, our insecure regional environment, marred by terrorism, which poses a great threat to all of us in the wider region must provide an urgent ground for China, together with India and Russia to act to address those that wield violent extremism as an instrument of policy.

**Three**, economic and connectivity cooperation. It is important to leverage Afghanistan’s critical geographic location as the crossroads of the Heart of Asia region to enhance connectivity and economic integration between China, South, Central and West Asia.

Several major powers in the region have their own ambitious plans in this sector in order to expand their reach and grow their economies through trade and connectivity enterprises. Of course, no initiative in this regard has commanded as much attention as China’s Belt and Road Initiative, in which Afghanistan as a partner and land bridge in the Heart of Asia region wishes to see its place in the realization of the common objectives. A peaceful, prosperous and stable Afghanistan is thus as much in the interest of China and the region as it is in the interest of the Afghan people.

We therefore wish to see the stepping up of practical steps in the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative with regards to Afghanistan, especially in the areas of railway and road infrastructure, energy and trade facilitation. Such concrete cooperation at the very least can do two things: bring about positive change to help secure a future truly worth looking
forward to for Afghans, and at the same time help achieve an external environment that is beneficial to the economic and security interests of China and the region. Indeed, what has so far been viewed as competing interests can instead become the first step towards instilling *trustpolitik* in the region.

The time has come, therefore, for a compact that brings us all together with the resolve to demonstrate cooperation in dealing with common challenges. As the new international order evolves, it is my hope the new rules of engagement will enable countries like mine to take charge of their own destinies, and the shifting of the balance of power and emergence of a multipolar world order will lead to more cohesion, cooperation and concord – which President Xi Jinping has termed as a community of shared destiny for mankind.
Visits & Events

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former President of the European Council Mr. Herman Van Rompuy

On July 15, President Wu Hailong met with Mr. Herman Van Rompuy, former President of the European Council. The two sides exchanged views on China-EU relations and issues of common interest.
President Wu Hailong Meets with Former President of Iceland Mr. Olafur Grímsson

On 10 July, President Wu Hailong met with Mr. Olafur Grímsson, former President of Iceland. The two sides exchanged views on China-Iceland relations, Arctic issues, eco civilization and other issues of common interest.

Mr. Grímsson visited China at the invitation of CPIFA. He also attended the Eco Forum Global Annual Conference Guiyang 2018.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former Foreign Minister of Iran Mr. Kharrazi

On July 16th, H.E. Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs met with
President Wu Hailong Heading CPIFA Delegation Visits Poland

At the invitation of the Polish-Chinese Cooperation Forum, President Wu Hailong heading the CPIFA delegation paid a friendly visit to Poland from 1st to 3rd August 2018. During the visit, President Wu Hailong met respectively with Mr. Marek Suski, Head of the Prime Minister’s political cabinet, Mr. Bartosz Józwiak, Vice Chairman of the Administration and Internal Affairs Committee of the Parliament, and Mr. Bronislaw Komorowski, former President of Poland, and representatives of the young H.E. Kamal Kharrazi, President of Strategic Council on Foreign Relations and former Foreign Minister of Iran. The two sides exchanged views on JCPOA, Middle East Situation and China-Iran relations as well as other issues of common interest. Ambassador Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, was present at the meeting.
At the invitation of Ms. Mihaylova, Director of the Diplomatic Institute of Bulgaria, President Wu Hailong heading the CPIFA delegation paid a friendly visit to Bulgaria from 31st July to 1st August 2018. During the visit, President Wu Hailong met respectively with Mr. Georg Georgiev, Vice Foreign Minister of
Bulgaria, Ms. Grozdanova, Chairwoman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly of Bulgaria, and Mr. Valentin Katrandjiev, Deputy Director of the Diplomatic Institute of Bulgaria. The two sides exchanged views on China-Bulgaria relations, China-Europe relations, “16+1” Cooperation, and other issues of common concern.

Mr. Zhang Haizhou, Chinese Ambassador to Bulgaria, and Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA were also present at the meetings.

**President Wu Hailong Heading CPIFA Delegation Visits Hungary**

At the invitation of H.E. Mr. Semjén Zsolt, Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary, President Wu Hailong heading the CPIFA delegation paid a friendly visit to Hungary from 29th
to 31st July 2018. During the visit, President Wu Hailong met respectively with Mr. Semjen Zsolt, Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary and Mr. Latorcai János, Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Hungary, Mr. Németh Zsolt, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly of Hungary, Mr. Tamas Menczer, State Secretary for Information and the Image of Hungary Abroad. The two sides exchanged views on China-Hungary relations, China-Europe relations, “16+1” Cooperation, and other issues of common concern.

Mr. Duan Jielong, Chinese Ambassador to Hungary, and Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA were also present at the meetings.
At the invitation of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), Belgian Delegation of NVA Parliament Members visited Beijing, Lhasa and Shanghai from 5 to 11 August. The delegates include Mr. Karl Vanlouwe, Vice President of the Belgian Senate and Mr. Brecht Vermeulen, Chair of the Home Affairs Committee of the Parliament. Mr. Luosang Jiangcun, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People’s Congress of TAR, and Mr. Xiao Guiyu, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the People’s Congress of Shanghai, met with the delegation respectively. They introduced the successful practices of the system of People’s Congress and the regional autonomy of ethnic minorities in Tibet, as well as social and economic developments in each place. The delegation also met with officials of Development and Reform Commission of TAR and Ethnic and Religious Affairs Commission of TAR. Additionally, they
visited the Potala Palace, the Jokang Temple, the Barkhor Street, the Norbulingka in Lhasa and Yangshan Port, Free Trade Zone in Shanghai. Mr. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, accompanied the delegation to visit Tibet.

On August 16, Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs met with Mr. Lubos Blaha, Chairman of the EU Affairs Committee of the Slovak National Council. Both sides exchanged views on China-Slovak relations, current international situation and other issues.
Vice President Zhao Weiping Meets with US Congressional Staff Delegations

On August 6, Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs, met with the US Congressional Staff Delegations organized by the US-China Policy Foundation and the US-China Trans-Pacific Foundation respectively, and exchanged views with them on China-US relations and other issues.

China Youth Delegation Visits Lesotho and South Africa

From August 5th to 12th, 2018, the China Youth Delegation led by Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) visited Lesotho and South Africa. The delegation consisted of 50 young delegates from 30
government organizations, local offices of foreign affairs, think tanks and media agencies.

In Lesotho, the delegation paid a courtesy call on Hon. Halebonoe Sets'abi, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Relations, and attended discussions with young representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Relations, Ministry of Youth and Sports, Ministry of Development and Planning, and from the Chinese Embassy and Chinese enterprises respectively, on the topics of China-Lesotho relations, China-Africa relations and youth exchanges. The delegation also visited Lesotho Parliament Building constructed by Chinese company and aided by Chinese government, as well as Maseru Children Village, a local charity institute, and donated some daily necessities to the village. H.E. Amb. Sun Xianghua, Ambassador of China to Lesotho was present at relevant events.

In South Africa, the delegation had warm discussions with Amb. Genge, Chief Director for East Asian and Oceanaian Affairs
and young diplomats from the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, as well as with the Chinese Embassy and Chinese enterprises respectively, on the topics of China-South Africa relations and China-Africa cooperation. The delegation also visited the HUAWEI Innovation Center in South Africa and a poverty alleviation and ability training program launched by the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League in local community. H.E. Amb. Lin Songtian, Ambassador of China to South Africa was present at relevant events.

This visit is a project under the China-Africa Youth Exchange Mechanism launched by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and one of the supporting and warm-up activities for the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.
携手建设持久和平、普遍安全的世界
推动构建人类命运共同体
——在第七届世界和平论坛开幕式上的致辞
2018年7月14日 清华大学

杨洁篪 中共中央政治局委员、中央外事工作委员会办公室主任

很高兴来到水清木华、钟灵毓秀的清华大学出席第七届世界和平论坛开幕式。感谢清华大学和中国人民外交学会为成功举办前六届论坛和顺利召开本届论坛所作努力。首先，我对本届论坛的开幕表示热烈祝贺，向来自世界各地的各位嘉宾和朋友们致以诚挚问候。

“万物得其本者生，百事得其道者成。”世界和平论坛创立7年来，中外各界人士围绕重大国际安全议题深入研讨，共商合作大计，为人类和平与发展事业贡献了宝贵智慧和力量。本届论坛以“构建安全共同体：平等、公平、正义”为主题，符合世界大势和各国共同期待。众多世界知名的政要精英和专家学者会聚一堂，围绕这一主题展开交流探讨，将为促进世界和平与安全寻找新思路、探索新办法、作出新贡献。

最近召开的中央外事工作会议确立了习近平外交思想作为新时代中国对外工作的根本遵循和行动指南。中国共产党十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央高瞻远瞩，总揽全局，深刻思考人类前途命运、中国和世界发展大势，积极推进外交理论和实践创新，提出了一系列富有中国特色、体现时代精神、引领人类发展进步潮流的新理念新主张，形成了习近平外交思想。中国外交将在习近平外交思想指引下，为中华民族伟大复兴和人类进步事业作出新的更大贡献。

当今世界面临百年未有之大变局。世界多极化、经济全球化深入发展，社会信息化、文化多样化持续推进。各国相互联系、相互依存，全球命运与共、休戚相关，和平力量的上升远远超过战争因
素的增长，和平、发展、合作、共赢成为不可阻挡的时代潮流。今年是第一次世界大战结束100周年，回望沧桑历史，人类经历两次世界大战和延续40余年的冷战，教训惨痛而深刻。要和平不要战争、要合作不要对抗更加成为国之所向，民之所归。

另一方面，国际形势中不稳定、不确定、不可测的因素在增多，世界格局正处于一个加快演变的历史性进程之中。冷战思维、强权政治、单边主义、保护主义等阴霾不散，地区动荡、恐怖主义、气候变化、难民潮等风险挑战层出不穷，经济金融和发展鸿沟问题日益突出，世界范围内安全挑战更加复杂严峻。

在世界处于大发展大变革大调整的新形势下，国际安全问题的内涵和外延都出现新变化：

一是安全问题的联动性更加突出。安全问题同政治、经济、文化、民族、宗教等问题联系更加紧密，相互传导更加迅速。一个看似简单的安全问题，往往并不能简单对待，各种因素“剪不断，理还乱”，“按下葫芦浮起瓢”，单纯靠一种手段无法从根本上解决问题，否则就可能陷入头痛医头、脚痛医脚的困境。恐怖主义的滋生蔓延就是政治、经济、宗教、文化等多重因素影响的典型例子。

二是安全问题的跨国性更加突出。世界日益成为“你中有我、我中有你”的地球村，安全问题已经远远超越一国一域。任何一个国家的安全短板都可能导致外部风险大量涌入，形成安全风险洼地；任何一个国家的安全问题积累到一定程度又可能外溢成为区域甚至全球性安全问题。各国可谓安危与共，没有哪个国家能够置身事外而独善其身，也没有哪个国家可以包打天下来实现所谓的绝对安全。

三是安全问题的危害性更加突出。在经济全球化和社会信息化背景下，安全问题的破坏性被催化放大，波及范围从草根到精英，从单领域到多领域，从一地到全球，深刻影响世界的方方面面。延宕7年的叙利亚战争已造成数百万人流离失所和巨额经济损失。网络、深海、极地、外空等新疆域安全问题日益突出，不仅影响当今发展与繁荣，还影响人类子孙后代的福祉。

面对风云变幻的国际形势，各方都在苦苦思索维护世界持久和平的良方，提供了各自不同的解决方案。让和平的薪火代代相传、让发展的动力源源不断、让文明的光芒熠熠生辉，是各国人民的共同期待，也是我们这一代人应有的担当。

中国主张，各国应该坚持以维护世界和平、促进共同发展为宗旨，携手建设持久和平、普遍安全的世界，推动构建人类命运共同体。为此，我们应该秉持共同、合作、可持续的安全观，在处理国际安全问题时坚持以下原则：

第一，以平等互信促安全。平等相待、增进互信是基本前提。国家不分大
小、强弱、贫富，都是国际社会平等成员。任何国家都不应该谋求垄断国际和地区安全事务，侵害他国正当权益。要坚持平等相待，相互尊重，照顾彼此利益关切，反对霸权主义和强权政治，反对把自己的意志强加于人。坚持正确义利观，义利相兼、以义为先，不搞我赢你输、我多你少。坚持坦诚沟通，增进战略互信，减少相互猜疑，求同化异、和睦相处。

第二，以合作共赢促安全。友好合作、互利共赢是根本途径。世上没有绝对安全的世外桃源。一国的自身安全不能建立在别国的动荡之上，他国面临的威胁也可能成为本国的挑战。要坚定奉行双赢、多赢、共赢理念，以合作谋和平、促安全，努力走出一条合作共赢的安全之路。妥善解决矛盾分歧，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，反对以邻为壑、损人利己。要树立综合安全、共同安全新理念，多管齐下，综合施策，既解决当前问题，又统筹应对潜在风险。各国要进一步加强在反对恐怖主义和极端思潮等非传统安全问题上的协调和合作。

第三，以公平正义促安全。公平合理、公道正义是重要的价值准则。当今世界，公平赤字依然存在，公道正义远未实现。要坚持以公道为念、以正义为基，致力于建设公平公正的美好世界，为世界和平注入更多正能量。坚决摒弃冷战思维、零和博弈的旧观念，和平解决国际争端，共同应对各类安全挑战。积极履行国际责任，坚定维护以联合国为核心的国际体系，推动国际秩序朝着更加公正合理的方向发展。

第四，以改革创新促安全。勇于变革、开拓创新是关键手段。当前，全球各类安全问题新情况新挑战层出不穷，现行全球安全治理体系有很多需改善的地方。要坚持与时俱进，不断创新安全理念与合作方式，努力为解决老问题寻找新答案，为解决新问题寻找好答案，不断破解人类面临的安全困境。坚持开拓创新，推动全球安全治理体系朝着更加公平、更加合理、更加有效的方向发展。

第五，以可持续发展促安全。共同发展、共享繁荣是重要保障。贫瘠的土地上长不成和平的大树，连天的烽火中结不出发展的硕果。当今世界的许多冲突和动荡，究其根源都与发展问题密切相关。唯有发展，才能消除全球性挑战的根源；唯有发展，才能保障人民的基本权利；唯有发展，才能推动人类社会进步。发展权应由各国人民共有共享，实现发展权既是各国的责任，也是国际社会的共同义务。当今世界，发展中国家人口占80%以上，要坚持发展中国家实现自身发展和追求美好生活权利，不要把发展问题政治化。要落实联合国2030年可持续发展议程，积极改善民生，缩小贫富差距，促进共同繁荣，不断夯实安全的根基。
中国人讲求“知行合一”。中国不仅是世界和平与安全理念的倡导者和提供者，也是积极的践行者和建设者。中国始终是维护世界和平发展的坚定力量。随着中国不断发展，中国已经并将继续尽己所能，为世界和平与发展作出重要贡献。

中国是全球经济增长的主要稳定器和动力源。中国的发展有力拉动了世界经济复苏和增长，自2002年以来，中国对世界经济增长的平均贡献率接近30%。中国巨大的消费和投资空间为全球创造了更多就业。2017年，中国在全球货物贸易进口和出口总额中所占比重分别达到10.2%和12.8%，是120多个国家和地区的主要贸易伙伴，为世界各国提供源源不断的发展机遇。中国稳步解决13亿多人口的温饱问题，让现行联合国标准下的7亿多贫困人口成功脱贫，占同期全球减贫人口总数70%以上，为实现联合国千年发展目标和推进2030可持续发展议程发挥了十分重要的作用。

中国通过“一带一路”倡议开创了与世界合作共赢的广阔前景。2013年习近平主席提出“一带一路”倡议，得到国际社会积极响应和广泛支持。2017年5月，习近平主席在北京主持召开了首届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，来自140多个国家和80多个国际组织的1600多名代表与会，盛况空前。5年来，“一带一路”已经日益从愿景变成现实，100多个国家和国际组织参与其中，一大批合作项目落地生根，基础设施联通网络初步成型，沿线产业合作形成势头，各国政策协调日益增强，沿线民众不断从合作中得到实惠。5年来，中国与沿线国家贸易总额超过5万亿美元，投资累计超过700亿美元，为当地创造了20多万个就业岗位。事实证明，“一带一路”为沿线国家共享发展成果提供了新机遇，为各国特别是发展中国家经济增长创造了新条件，为地区人民谋福祉带来了新希望，成为中国推动构建人类命运共同体的生动实践。

中国向广大发展中国家特别是欠发达国家提供了大量无私援助。中国通过优惠贷款、技术支持、人员支持、智力支持、建立民生改善项目等形式，帮助发展中国家实现发展致富。积极参加各种国际灾难救援和人道主义援助。中国率先驰援非洲埃博拉疫区及周边国家，关键时刻为非洲国家雪中送炭，帮助他们渡过难关。中国成立了国际发展合作署，有利于进一步优化援外工作，更好地为国际发展事业作贡献。今天，成千上万的中国工程师、企业家和技术人员正奋斗在众多发展中国家广阔的土地上，帮助他们勤劳致富、改变命运。

中国积极参与国际和地区热点问题的政治解决。中国在朝核、伊朗核、叙利亚、阿富汗、中东等热点问题解决中发挥建设性作用。近来，朝鲜半岛形势出现缓和，半岛核问题正在朝着政治解决的方向前进。这一局面来之不易，需要各方
倍加珍惜。同时，半岛核问题有其复杂性和特殊性，需要各方相向而行，坚持不懈作出努力。中国坚持半岛无核化、坚持半岛和平稳定、坚持对话协商解决半岛核问题，愿同有关各方一道，继续致力于推进半岛无核化和建立半岛和平机制，为早日实现半岛持久和平作出努力和贡献。在伊朗核问题上，中方主张所有各方从长远和大局出发，坚持伊朗核问题政治外交解决方向，妥善管控分歧，共同维护伊朗核问题全面协议，尽快回到继续执行全面协议的正确轨道上来。在叙利亚问题上，中方主张叙利亚主权独立、领土完整应当得到维护和尊重，叙利亚未来应该由叙利亚人民自主决定，政治解决是叙利亚问题的唯一现实出路。在阿富汗问题上，中国积极支持阿富汗和平重建，支持“阿人主导，阿人所有”的包容性政治和解进程。在中东问题上，中方衷心希望中东尽快恢复和平稳定，通过政治途径找到符合地区实际、兼顾各方利益的解决方案，维护当事国的主权和领土完整，坚持联合国主渠道作用，尊重地区国家的正当诉求。

中国坚定支持和积极参与联合国维和等重大行动。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，累计派出维和人员3.7万余人次，先后参加24项联合国维和行动。中国积极参与反恐、打击海盗等国际合作，中国军舰连续10年在亚丁湾、索马里海域执行护航任务，先后为6000多艘船舶安全护航。中国深入参与反恐禁毒、网络安全、气候变化等非传统安全领域国际合作。中国成功举办亚信上海峰会和上海合作组织青岛峰会，为地区安全机制建设作出重要贡献。实践证明，中国始终是世界和平的建设者、全球发展的贡献者、国际秩序的维护者。

为人民谋幸福、为民族谋复兴、为世界谋大同是中国的历史责任和担当。中国特色社会主义进入新时代，13亿多中国人民正在为实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦而不懈奋斗。中国人民的梦想同各国人民的梦想息息相通。中国将致力于推动建设新型国际关系，推动构建人类命运共同体，为实现人类共同发展繁荣的世界梦作出更大贡献。

中国将始终以维护世界和平为使命，坚持走和平发展道路。和衷共济、和合共生是中华民族的历史基因。坚持走和平发展道路，是中国根据自身国情和根本利益作出的战略抉择，是中国外交必须长期坚持的基本原则。中国从一个积贫积弱的国家发展成为世界第二大经济体，靠的是和平发展而不是扩张掠夺。我们将继续高举和平发展、合作共赢的旗帜，坚定奉行独立自主的外交政策。无论发展到哪一步，中国永不称霸、永不扩张、永不谋求势力范围。中国坚持走和平发展道路，决不会放弃自身正当权益。中国走和平发展道路，其他国家也要一起走和平发展道路。中国坚持以国家核心利益为底线维护国家主权、安全、发展利益。中
国不惹事也不怕事，任何国家都不要幻想可以随意损害中国利益。

近来，单边主义、保护主义威胁全球经济增长，已经在世界范围内引起广泛担忧，遭到普遍反对。中方一贯反对单边主义，反对贸易投资保护主义，主张理性处理贸易关系中出现的分歧和问题。贸易战不会有赢家，只会给大家造成损失。我们不希望打贸易战，但也不怕打贸易战。在自身合法权益受到不公平对待的情况下，中方理所当然作出必要反击。中方愿与各方一道，共同维护自由贸易和多边贸易体制，坚定维护世界各国的共同利益。

中国将始终以共商共建共享为原则，和其他国家共同扎实推进“一带一路”建设。“落其实思其树，饮其流怀其源。”中国发展得益于国际社会，也将为全球发展作出更大贡献。明年中国将举办第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，我们将同各国一道，推动“一带一路”建设走实走深、行稳致远，使共商共建共享原则转化为双赢多赢共赢的成果。中国将把“一带一路”建设同改革开放紧密结合起来，以开放促改革，以开放促发展，深化全面对外开放格局。中国开放的大门不会关闭，只会越开越大。未来15年，中国市场将进一步扩大，发展将更加全面，预计将进口24万亿美元商品，吸收2万亿美元境外直接投资，对外投资总额将达到2万亿美元。今年11月，中国将在上海举办首届中国国际进口博览会，这将为各方开展合作搭建新平台。

中国将始终以公平正义为理念，积极参与全球治理体系改革和建设。“大道之行也，天下为公。”中国主张世界上的事情由各国人民商量着办，倡导让不同国家、不同阶层、不同人群共享全球治理的好处。中国参与全球治理改革并不是推倒重来，也不是另起炉灶，而是与时俱进、改革完善，增加发展中国家的代表性和发言权，推动国际关系民主化。中国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。中国支持多边贸易体制，推动经济全球化朝着更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢方向发展，坚决反对贸易和投资保护主义。对网络、深海、极地、外空等新兴领域，我们主张各国共同建立新机制、制定新规则，打造合作共赢的新平台。中国将继续为解决国际地区热点问题和全球性问题贡献中国智慧和中国方案。

中国将始终致力于发展全球伙伴关系。志同道合是伙伴，求同存异也是伙伴。中国主张在和平共处五项原则基础上同所有国家发展友好合作，率先把建立伙伴关系确定为国家间交往的指导原则，已同100多个国家和地区组织建立了不同形式的伙伴关系。中国将继续扩大全球伙伴关系网络，使我们的朋友遍天下。

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。中国将继续推动构建总体稳定、均衡发展的大国关系框架，愿与其他大国加强对话、增进互信、
发展合作、管控分歧，维护全球和平与安全，促进世界发展与繁荣。

中国始终把周边国家视作促进共同发展的合作伙伴、维护和平稳定的真诚朋友。我们将继续按照亲诚惠容理念和与邻为善、以邻为伴周边外交方针，发展同周边国家睦邻友好关系，共同打造周边命运共同体。

发展中国家是中国走和平发展道路的真诚伙伴。中国将继续秉持正确义利观和真实亲诚理念，推动与发展中国家合作提质升级，不断深化团结互信、共同发展、亲近交融的良好关系。

中国将始终以开放包容为遵循，促进不同文明交流互鉴。“和羹之美，在于合异。”世界有200多个国家和地区，2500多个民族和多种宗教，文明多样性是世界的基本特征，也是人类进步的源泉。文明相处需要和而不同的精神。只有在多样中相互尊重、彼此借鉴、和谐共存，这个世界才能丰富多彩、欣欣向荣。我们要推动不同文明相互尊重、和谐共处，让文明交流互鉴成为增进各国人民友谊的桥梁，推动人类社会进步的动力、维护世界和平的纽带，从不同文明中寻求智慧、汲取营养，为人们提供强大动力，携手解决人类共同面临的各种挑战。

青年承载着国家的希望和民族的未来。清华大学秉承“自强不息，厚德载物”的理念，立足中国、面向世界，积极开展国际交流合作，与全球50个国家的280所大学和研究机构签署了合作协议，培养了一大批具有全球视野和创新精神的领军人才。目前，来自128个国家的3500多名国际学生在清华大学学习。清华大学为增进各国青年相互理解和友谊、促进中国与世界友好合作作出了积极贡献。

“大厦之成，非一木之材也；大海之阔，非一流之归也。”人类社会和平安全的未来无比光明，但前方的道路不会平坦，美好的前景需要各国齐心协力去开拓。中国愿与世界各国携手努力，建设持久和平、普遍安全的世界，推动构建人类命运共同体，为促进人类和平的崇高事业作出新的更大贡献。
共应世界大变局  共建命运共同体
——在第七届世界和平论坛午餐会上的演讲
2018年7月14日，清华大学

乐玉成  中国外交部副部长

很高兴应邀出席第七届世界和平论坛，同各位新老朋友共商世界和平发展大业。在座各位都是富有卓识远见的政治家、战略家和国际问题专家，相信有你们贡献经验、学识和智慧，本届论坛一定会收获丰硕成果！

作为外交官，我经常同来访的政要学者就国际问题讨论交流，相互启发。最近我发现，大家谈及国际局势使用最多的词就是不确定、不稳定、不可预测，形象一点说，就是“黑天鹅”满天飞、“灰犀牛”遍地跑。大家有一个共同的感觉：那个熟悉的地球村正离我们远去，民粹主义、保护主义、单边主义在全球范围内沉渣泛起，自由贸易和经济全球化逆风劲吹，地区热点、恐怖主义、难民移民等问题和挑战此起彼伏。人们无所适从，忧心忡忡，对未来更感迷茫。

我们又一次站在了历史的十字路口。人类历史潜流深沉，关键的转折却往往只有几步。升起“吊桥”还是放下“吊桥”？单打独斗还是携手合作？以邻为壑还是互利共赢？我想，面对乱云飞渡的世界，我们尤其需要保持定力，把握潮流，看清主流，抵制逆流，做出符合时代要求的选择。

透过世界乱象，我们不难发现，和平、发展、合作、共赢的时代潮流更加强劲，世界多极化、经济全球化的世界大势不可阻挡。世界已经形成你中有我、我中有你的地球村，各国利益交融，命运与共，保护主义保护不了自己，单边主义更是缘木求鱼。全球产业链断不开，各国利益关联分不开，经济全球化进程挡不住。在各国相互依存不断加深的今天，谁搞霸权主义、损人利己，终将不会得逞，只会搬起石头砸自己脚。
世界向何处去？我们应该建设一个什么样的世界？中国国家主席习近平多次提出要推动构建人类命运共同体，携手建设持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界。这不是空泛的口号，不是虚无飘渺的乌托邦，这是习近平主席把握历史规律和时代潮流，着眼人类共同和长远利益，为人类未来擘画的美好蓝图，是中国面对世界大变局，向国际社会提出的中国方案。人类命运共同体思想植根于中华文明基因中的“天下观”与“和文化”，继承并发展了和平共处、和平发展、和谐世界等中国和平外交理念，顺应时代要求与世界发展大势，契合各国人民对和平发展的共同诉求，受到国际社会高度重视和广泛赞誉，显现出强大生命力。我们有信心同国际社会齐心协力，将人类命运共同体宏伟目标变成现实。

今年是中国改革开放40周年。时间是最伟大的检验者。经过40年的砥砺奋进，中国发生了翻天覆地的变化，书写了国家和民族发展的壮丽史诗。40年改革开放的成就举世瞩目，无需我在这里赘述，但我要强调的是，这些伟大成就绝不是窃取来的，更不是别人赐予的，而是中国人民用自己的双手创造出来的，是中华人民含辛茹苦干出来的。中国的开放也绝不是什么笑话，而是一个现实的神话，是当代的人间奇迹！

40年改革开放，中国不仅自己发展了进步了，而且也为世界带来福祉，作出力所能及的贡献。大家应该记得，在亚洲金融危机横行时，中国坚持人民币不贬值，与周边国家同舟共济，为缓解危机作出了重要贡献。国际金融危机爆发以来，中国不仅向国际货币基金组织投入资金，向面临困难的国家伸出援手，还以自己坚实稳定的增长，与新兴市场国家一道，支撑起全球经济复苏的希望。过去近10年，中国对世界经济增长的贡献率年均在30%以上。

中国积极参与国际人道主义救助，哪里有危难，哪里就有中国。2015年西非埃博拉疫情爆发，中国政府启动了建国以来最大规模对外人道主义救援行动。于是出现了这样一幕：当人们都急切逃离西非疫区时，中国医护人员却冒着生命危险义无反顾奔赴疫区，先后有1000多人次。中国外长王毅也是第一个赶赴疫区的大国外长。我们向疫区国家提供了7.5亿元人民币紧急人道主义援助和大批急需医疗物资。利比里亚的最后一例埃博拉患者就是从中国的诊疗中心走出来的。

今天的中国，已经成为130多个国家的最大贸易伙伴，还是世界上增长最快的市场，最被看好的主要投资目的地之一。未来5年，中国将进口8万亿美元商品，吸收6000亿美元外资，中国对外投资总额将达到7500亿美元。中国中等收入群体已经有3亿多人，过几年就可能达到4亿、5亿甚至更多。中国毫无疑问将成为世界上最大的市场，而且这个市场的门槛越来越低，容量越来越大，需
求越来越强劲。习近平主席在今年博鳌亚洲论坛上宣布的中国主动扩大开放的一系列重大举措已经或即将落地。1500种消费品关税大幅下调，进口汽车的关税已从25%降到15%，28种抗癌药从5月1日起实施零关税。就在上月底，中国政府发布了外商投资准入新的负面清单，市场准入大幅放宽，在汽车、船舶、飞机等22个领域推出取消外资股比限制等进一步的重大开放措施。我这两天从新闻里看到，一些世界级的大公司已经跃跃欲试、捷足先登。希望全球商界抓住机遇，更多投资中国。

我昨天还碰巧看到几个有意思的数字，愿同大家分享。中国一天有8万多辆汽车销售一空，8000多万个快递包裹流动传递，全国各地放映22万场电影，4200列高速列车奔驰在中国大地上，40多万吨粮食被消费。这仅仅是关于中国一天的数字，大家不难发现其中蕴含的巨大商机。中国这样一个大市场，必将是世界经济增长的动力所在、稳定所在、活力所在！

我知道有些人对中国的投资环境还不太满意，甚至有不少非议。我想指出，改革开放40年，中国政府持续下功夫改善投资环境，在市场准入、简政放权、反腐倡廉等方面做了大量工作。虽然还有不尽人意之处，但要看到，中国一直是全球吸引外资最多的发展中国家，去年吸引外资世界第二，仅次于美国。今年上半年新设外资企业近3万家，同比增长96.6%。如果投资环境不好，没有钱赚，投资是不会来的。

有人抱怨同中国贸易一直不公平，做了亏本的买卖。我想指出，中国做国际贸易是后来者，贸易规则不是我们定，交易结算用的不是中国货币，加入WTO的条件也是被要求的。所以不公平的帽子无论如何扣不到中国头上。40年前，中国对外贸易总额是206亿美元，2017年仅货物贸易就达4.1万亿美元，靠的不是强买强卖，而是互利共赢。做生意的人都不傻，不会甘做40年亏本的买卖。

还有人指责中国用多种手段“窃取知识产权”，这也是毫无依据的。中国对知识产权保护立场十分坚定，措施也在不断完善。去年中国对外支付知识产权使用费已达到286亿美元。最近我们又修订了《商标法》和《反不正当竞争法》，进一步加大知识产权保护力度。在中国外资管理相关规定里，不存在强制转让技术的要求。一些人不断指责中国政府强制外方企业向中方转让技术，可是却没有提供哪怕一个具体案例。至于企业通过商业合作获得技术，这是市场主体自愿交易的结果，与强制无关。

在这里，我想提醒大家的是，中国的块头虽然变大了，但作为世界上最大的发展中国家这个国际地位没有变，我们同西方发达国家的差距依然很明显。中国经济总量上升到世界第二，但人均国内生产总值仅排在世界第71位，我们尚待
脱贫的人口还有3000多万，每年需要解决1500万人就业，还有8700万残疾人。基于中国的基本国情，外界向中国提要求时，一定要考虑到中国的发展中国家属性。要求我们的对外开放与发达国家完全对等也是不现实的，这就如同不能要求两个不同重量级的拳击手同台竞技，不能要求两辆不同排量的汽车在同一赛道比赛，否则就会导致最大的不公平。

中国40年的改革开放是和世界共同进步的伟大历程。中国的发展是在开放的条件下取得的，离不开世界的支持，中国也在以实际行动回馈世界，同世界各国分享中国的发展机遇。我们欢迎世界各国人民搭乘中国发展的快车。今年11月，我们将举办首届中国国际进口博览会，这次向世界表明了中国推进开放的决心。习近平主席强调，中国开放的大门不会关闭，只会越开越大。这是对我们国际社会的庄严承诺，中国人言必信、行必果。

“一带一路”倡议就是中国扩大对外开放与合作的一项具体而重要的举措。在不到5年的时间里，“一带一路”建设已从理念转化为行动，从愿景转变为现实，一大批重大合作项目落地，形成全球共建“一带一路”的强劲势头。我们已同90多个国家和组织签署“一带一路”合作协议，同30多个国家开展机制化产能合作，推动形成以“一带一路”为统领的对外开放新格局。

“一带一路”建设是一项伟大的事业，激发着伟大的实践。“一带一路”的早期收获不胜枚举，今天我想同大家分享几个典型事例。

一个是关于中亚国家乌兹别克斯坦。该国有三千万人口，其中三分之一住在安集延地区，以往当地人去首都塔什干，要么翻山越岭开上四五天车，要么坐火车绕道第三国，这成了该国政府和人民的一个心结。是中国工人，冒着生命危险，用900天时间帮助打通了中亚第一条也是迄今为止中亚最长的一条铁路隧道。现在，安集延地区人民仅用两个小时就能抵达首都。他们欢呼“一带一路”，欢呼中国工人帮助他们解决了行路难这个千年难题。

另一个是关于非洲国家肯尼亚。从该国最大港口蒙巴萨到首都内罗毕原来要用十几个小时，自从2017年5月中国帮助肯尼亚修建的铁路通车后仅需5小时，目前已运送乘客130万人次。今年初至今，这条铁路运送货物60万吨，等于4.5万个集装箱。这条铁路为肯尼亚人民提供了便利，为当地经济发展增加了动力，是落实“一带一路”倡议的重要早期收获。

再一个是关于中亚国家塔吉克斯坦。塔吉克斯坦盛产棉花，但棉花加工能力仅占全国棉花产量的10%。几年前，中塔两国共建中亚最大纺织企业，将这一数字提升到40%。这些加工出来的纯棉纱线90%以上销往海外市场，成为塔吉克斯坦出口创汇第一大户，解决了4000人的就业，为当地经济发展提供了动力和保障。
一千个人心中有一千个哈姆雷特。围绕“一带一路”也不可能没有不同意见，但有一个共识越来越突出，那就是：“一带一路”绝不是什么债务陷阱、资源掠夺，更不是搞封闭集团、谋求势力范围，而是和平之路、合作之路、开放之路，是中国践行正确义利观，同世界共谋发展、共迎挑战、共享繁荣的合作平台。

在座的有很多长期关注中国、熟悉中国外交的朋友。我是一名60后的外交官，曾先后在俄罗斯、美国、哈萨克斯坦和印度常驻，亲历了从上个世纪80年代迄今30多年中国外交风云，目睹了中国同世界关系的历史性变化，见证了中国同各国友好合作的不断加强。中国外交这一段不平凡的历程，我们这一代人有着切身的体会。

上世纪80年代末、90年代初，我在莫斯科，目睹了苏联解体、冷战结束、中国同俄罗斯关系实现平稳过渡，我们同包括俄在内的前苏联有关国家顺利解决了历史遗留的边界问题，使7600公里的边界成为和平合作的纽带。中俄关系一路走来，稳步发展成为今天的全面战略协作伙伴关系，对维护世界和平和国际战略稳定发挥了举足轻重的作用。上个月普京再次当选俄罗斯总统后首次访华，开启了新时代中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系新征程。在两国元首引领下，中俄关系进入历史最好时期，堪称新型大国关系典范。

20年前，世纪之交，我在中国常驻联合国代表团工作，有机会在纽约近距离观察中国同美、欧等大国关系发展。中方始终认为，中美作为联合国安理会常任理事国和世界前两大经济体，拥有广泛而重要的共同利益，中美合则两利，斗则俱伤。遗憾的是，美方近日执意挑起贸易战，损害中国利益，破坏世界经济，给中美合作制造障碍，中方被迫进行反制，以维护国家利益和多边贸易体制。这不是中方愿意看到的局面。我们奉劝美方回归理性，停止损人不利己的行为。习近平主席多次强调：对中美两国来说，合作是唯一正确的选择，共赢才能通向更好的未来。这为两国关系指明了正确方向，我们必须牢牢把握，毫不动摇。

中国和欧洲国家之间有着广泛的共同利益。我刚刚陪同李克强总理访欧回来，中欧双方深化合作、共克时艰的强烈意愿令我印象深刻。中方一贯高度重视欧盟的战略地位和作用，坚定支持欧洲一体化进程，有评论说，中国对欧洲一体化的支持甚至都超过了某些欧洲国家。再过两天，第二十次中欧领导人会晤将在北京举行，相信这次会晤将给中欧合作注入新的动力和活力。

过去5年，我先后担任中国驻哈萨克斯坦大使和驻印度大使，见证了中国周边外交的大跃升，感触颇深。中国践行亲诚惠容理念，奉行与邻为善、以邻为伴周边外交方针，日益成为周边国家可以信赖的好邻居、好朋友、好伙伴。中国同中
亚国家建交26年来，始终和睦相处，患难与共，亲如兄弟。中亚国家独立之初，深受恐怖、极端主义之害，深陷战乱、动荡和贫困。我记得，中国首任驻塔吉克斯坦大使是在硝烟中坐装甲运兵车去总统府递交的国书。前不久我同美国前常务副国务卿威廉·伯恩斯谈起此事，他说美国大使可能也是同一辆车去递交的国书。如今中亚国家已远离战乱，社会安定，人民安居乐业。这其中毫无疑问有中国的一份贡献。

中方同俄罗斯、中亚有关国家在解决边界问题、增进边境地区信任措施的基础上成立了上海合作组织。上海合作组织成立17年来蒸蒸日上，从安全和经济合作“两轮驱动”发展成为安全、经济、人文、对外交往“四轮驱动”，国际影响力明显提升，成为区域合作典范。在不久前举行的上海合作组织青岛峰会上，习近平主席倡导各方进一步弘扬“上海精神”，齐心协力构建上海合作组织命运共同体，这一倡议得到与会各方热烈响应和支持，成为本次峰会最重要的政治共识，为上海合作组织继续发展壮大提供了不竭动力。

中印互为最大邻国，也是世界上两个最大的发展中国家，两国保持友好合作关系，是世界稳定的重要积极因素。中印之间存在边界争议，但过去半个多世纪，边界上没开过一枪一弹。相反，在我当大使期间，中方开通了新的边境口岸，印度香客可以不用翻山越岭，而是坐着时速100公里的空调大巴赴中国西藏神山圣湖朝圣。今年中印领导人在武汉非正式会晤，成为两国关系发展的新起点，双方同意推进全方位合作，构建更加紧密的发展伙伴关系，妥善处理和管控分歧。龙象共舞向世界展现新气象。

在我三十多年的外交生涯中，我曾多次到访亚、非、拉等发展中国家。在中国外交的整体布局中，发展中国家是基础。在习近平主席提出的正确义利观和真实亲诚理念的指导下，中国同广大发展中国家的团结合作不断加强。中国是世界上最大的发展中国家，始终是发展中国家的一员，始终为发展中国家仗义执言，始终做发展中国家的可靠朋友和真诚伙伴。今年初，我们同拉美国家成功举办了中拉论坛部长级会议。几天前，中阿合作论坛部长级会议刚刚召开。今年9月，我们将举办新一届中非合作论坛北京峰会。这些机制有力促进了中国同广大发展中国家的友谊与合作。

无论是在联合国工作期间，还是近几年作为工作人员参与G20峰会、APEC领导人非正式会议、金砖国家领导人会晤等一系列重大多边活动，我深感坚持、完善和发展多边主义，加强全球治理的重要性和紧迫性。我清楚地记得，“9·11”事件发生时，我在纽约亲眼目睹了恐怖主义给美国人民带来的沉重灾难和伤痛。令人欣慰的是，“9·11”事件有力促进了国际社会在反恐问题上开展卓有成效的
合作。中国积极支持和参与国际反恐合作，坚决反对一切形式的恐怖主义。

在全球经济治理方面，从G20华盛顿峰会到杭州峰会，二十国集团已成为公认的全球经济治理主要平台。中国秉持共商共建共享的全球治理观，积极参与全球治理体系改革和建设，努力为改革和完善全球治理贡献中国智慧和力量。中方坚决反对各种形式的保护主义和单边主义，坚决维护多边主义和自由贸易，维护以规则为基础的多边贸易体制，积极推动经济全球化朝着更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢方向发展。

中国一直积极参与解决朝核、伊朗核、叙利亚、阿富汗等热点问题，积极探索中国特色热点问题解决之道。中国现在已成为联合国维和行动主要贡献国。当前，朝鲜半岛局势出现缓和的积极势头，半岛无核化取得重要进展。各方应抓住机遇，继续相向而行，在解决朝方合理安全关切、建立半岛和平机制方面采取积极举措。伊核问题因美国退出全面协议而处于何去何从的十字路口，伊核问题外长会刚刚在维也纳举行，王毅国务委员兼外长在会上呼吁各方保持团结合作，继续维护伊核问题全面协议，维护各方根据协议所享有的正当权益。中方愿与各方共同努力，推动形势向好的方向发展。

中国有句俗语：窥一斑而知全豹。刚才，我从一个中国60后外交官的视角，以自己有限的外交经历，粗线条地为大家勾勒了当代中国的外交政策与实践。其中有一条贯穿始终的主线就是和平发展、合作共赢。这是我们要永远高举的旗帜、永不改变的方针、永不放弃的追求。中国无论发展到什么程度，始终是世界和平的建设者，全球发展的贡献者，国际秩序的维护者。

微软首席执行官萨蒂亚·纳德拉最近写了一本书叫《刷新》（Hit Refresh），书中倡导的开放、开拓和前瞻思维给我很多启发。今天的世界，正在经历前所未有的大变革大调整，今天的中国，正处在“两个一百年”奋斗目标的历史交汇期。在一个充满机遇和挑战的伟大时代，我们千万不能因循守旧、停滞不前，更不能开历史倒车，把世界带回弱肉强食的丛林法则年代，我们需要的是以人类命运共同体为目标，不断点击国际合作的“刷新键”，不断升级全球治理的操作系统，携手开创人类更加美好的未来！
当前，对国际秩序未来发展方向的讨论很热。世界将再度走向“新冷战”吗？中国如何选择？在21世纪第二个十年即将进入尾声之际，中美贸易战及其产生的综合影响像一面镜子，折射出国际形势的起伏变化以及美国这个大国的思维和行动带来的不安。

不过，人类社会已经发展到了今天这样高的文明水平，理智告诉我们，没有必要陷入悲观。在第七届世界和平论坛上，不少嘉宾都谈到对国际形势的看法和对未来的判断，一些观点令人印象深刻。

首先，世界政治权力分散化的趋势比较明确。大家都承认，已经不可能由哪个大国独霸世界，即便是最强大的国家也必须同其他国家合作处理国际事务。与此同时，国家权力受到国际组织和其他非国家行为体的削弱和掣肘。以联合国及其相关机构为基础的国际秩序虽然存在这样那样的问题，但仍然得到国际社会的普遍支持。

第二，经济全球化大势不太可能逆转。尽管逆全球化和保护主义动向表现得比较明显，但无可否认，全球化做大了世界经济的蛋糕，促进了科技和文明的进步，各国都从中受益。自上世纪80年代以来，世界经济增长了3倍多，所带来的红利惠及几十亿人。因此，绝大多数经济体仍坚持自由贸易的方向。同时发生的是人文交流的扩大。据经合组织（OECD）统计，全球有超过500万的学生在本国之外接受教育，相信他们和绝大多数年轻人都不会支持世界退回分裂割据状态。

第三，世界总体和平有望得到维持。尽管国际安全局势复杂，存在国家间争议、核导扩散等各种各样的问题以及太空、网络等新
领域里的新挑战，但没有哪个国家想以全面战争的方式解决问题。在分歧面前，外交发挥着更大作用，各国能谈判的还在谈判，该克制的尽量克制。就像习近平主席4月在博鳌亚洲论坛年会演讲中指出的，“当今世界，和平合作的潮流滚滚向前。和平与发展是世界各国人民的共同心声。”

关于秩序问题，大家普遍关注下一个秩序应该是什么样子的。旧的秩序已经不能完全应对当今世界的所有问题，但新的秩序还没有明确图景。现实情况一方面是，包括美国、中国、俄罗斯和一些欧洲国家在内的许多国家都不同程度地面临挑战，需要专注于处理和解决内部问题，一些国际问题也是国内问题外溢的结果。另一方面，大国间的矛盾和分歧更加突出。美国开始强调竞争、弱化合作，导致其对外关系中的负面因素更加突出。

面对这样的局面，中国该做什么选择？中国的对外政策服务于国家基本发展战略的需要，着眼于维护世界和平，促进国际合作。中国不会改变基本对外政策，而对美政策则是中国整个对外政策的重要组成部分，美国对华政策的调整目前看似乎已经完成了“半个圆”，即对调整的必要性有了一定共识，但对“后半个圆”，也即向哪个方向调整，似乎还不清晰。未来美国的调整在很大程度上将取决于中美互动的结果，也会受到世界大势和与各国互动的影响。如果中国一如既往地坚持原则，以建设性方式解决各种矛盾和挑战，应该也能对美国对华政策的走势产生正面影响。

今年是中国改革开放40周年，中国经济的增长相当程度上得益于对内不断改革和完善市场环境，对外坚持扩大开放。其实美方，包括欧盟等在经济贸易等领域提出的一些要求，也恰是中国基于自身发展需要正在努力改革和完善的方向。例如，在知识产权保护方面，中国全国人大常委会多次修改完善著作权法、商标法和专利法，国务院和最高人民法院出台了配套法规和司法解释等，形成了知识产权保护法律体系。人大常委会还在2014年做出决定，在北京、上海、广州设立专门的知识产权法院，加强司法保护。

国际安全始于国内安全。中国在国内治理上的不断提升和完善将为中国与美国和其他国家的合作提供更好的基础。中国也将以更加坦诚、务实和开放的态度参与全球化进程，推动改革现行秩序、完善全球治理。

习近平主席提出的构建人类命运共同体主张体现了大智慧，有深厚的中国文化根基，也有鲜明的政治立场。其要义是，世界上的事情大家商量着办，共同的利益大家一起维护。通向人类命运共同体的路需要携手前行，千里之行始于足下。

不少学者认为，联合国和安理会在国际安全治理上的作用应得到尊重，但
不足以应对所有安全问题。而美国主导的安全同盟是封闭和排他性的，同盟之外的国家面临如何保障自身安全利益的问题。以朝核为例，美国不断强化自身和同盟国的安全保障，包括举行大规模联合军事演习和强化经济制裁，同时却拒绝谈判，结果刺激朝鲜在核导开发上越走越远。但当美国开启对话，明确表示要认真考虑朝鲜的安全诉求时，就出现了柳暗花明的机会。虽然朝美对话结果如何仍难预料，但关键问题是显而易见的，只有把各方安全利益都考虑进去的解决方案，才行得通。

在当今世界所有具体安全问题上，都存在一个寻求共同安全，还是通过损害对方安全追求己方绝对安全的矛盾。如果各方都承认未来的世界是要实现和平共存的，就需要走出自身利益的小圈子，搭建一个更为宏大、更具包容性的安全框架。

现在出现的问题是，美国人越来越担心中国要挑战美国的主导地位，中国人担心的是美国试图遏制中国的发展。这样的扭曲反映在许多问题上。比如在贸易领域，中国人看到的是美国企业从中获利巨大利益，而美国人却认为自己在对华贸易中“吃亏了”，甚至强行增收关税，这在中国被看作是霸凌行为。我们需要重视和着力解决中外相互认识扭曲的问题，并且避免新的矛盾积累，减少对外合作的干扰。

世界对中国的作用有期待，同时也有担心。中国人似乎缺少主动说明自己的习惯和经验，国际信息库里关于中国的一手信息严重缺失，例如在海外学校、图书馆乃至书店里，来自中国大陆的出版物少之又少。中国人正越来越意识到国家国际地位的上升和肩头国际责任的增加，因此需要更快地学习和提升开展国际传播的能力。很多事情，自己不主动讲，谬论和误解就会大行其道。就像在这次论坛一位专家说到的，中国人要学会去说服别人。这里确实存在方法和技巧的问题。