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High-quality Belt and Road Cooperation at a New Starting Point

By Zhang Jun*

At the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF) held in Beijing last April, President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech, chaired the Leaders’ Roundtable and made proposals such as promoting high-quality Belt and Road cooperation and building a global partnership on connectivity. He also worked with other participating leaders to reach extensive consensus on improving cooperation principles and mechanisms and advancing practical cooperation. The Forum marks a new start of the Belt and Road cooperation along the path of high-quality development.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is proposed by President Xi. The past six years shows that the BRI, as a major effort to translate Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy into practice, resonates with the trend of world development, and echoes the call of our times and the shared aspiration of countries for common

* Zhang Jun is Assistant Foreign Minister.
development. It also creates new platforms for global economic cooperation and lends fresh impetus to global growth. With the BRI becoming well-received international public goods, high-quality Belt and Road cooperation will make substantive, steady and sustained progress.

**First, Belt and Road cooperation is a major effort to translate Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy into practice.**

Thoughts originate from practices and serve as an important guide for actions. The BRI has been involved, in a short span of time, from a vision into real actions, with major progress being made. It is because the initiative demonstrates President Xi’s diplomatic visions of building a global partnership, a new type of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation, as well as a community with a shared future for mankind. It is also because the initiative goes along with the trend and rules of world development and has received positive response and support from the international community.

The world is now at a stage of major development, transformation and adjustment. How should we steer the course, so as to seize historic opportunities and tackle risks and challenges amid these changes that are unprecedented in a century? These are the key questions faced by all countries. Against this backdrop, we are promoting the Belt and Road cooperation to address the risks and challenges in today’s world by drawing wisdom from the ancient Silk Road. Along the ancient Road, the renowned visits of the Chinese envoy Zhang Qian to Central Asia in the Han Dynasty (202BC–220AD) and voyages of the Chinese navigator Zheng He in the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) speak volumes about the
Chinese beliefs in universal harmony, winning support by means of virtue and promoting peace among all nations, which is a valuable legacy of China and the world at large. As President Xi put it, the BRI carries forward what the ancient Silk Road represents, namely peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit, which is consistent with the vision of building a new type of international relations and reflected in the Joint Communiqué of the Leaders’ Roundtable of the second BRF.

Inspired by the history and oriented to the future, the BRI, with its prominent Chinese features and oriental wisdom, offers China’s perspectives on building a community with a shared future for mankind. Under the BRI, extensive consultation, joint efforts and shared benefits constitute the golden principle. Policy synergy, infrastructure development, unimpeded trade, financial cooperation and people-to-people bond are the five pillars. President Xi stressed on many occasions that BRI cooperation aims to promote economic cooperation, rather than build geopolitical or military alliances; it aims to uphold openness and inclusiveness, rather than seek exclusive blocs. It neither creates divisions along ideological lines nor engages in zero-sum games. China is committed to building bridges of connectivity among countries, as opposed to setting up walls of separation or pursuing its own development at the expense of others. The goal of “creating a prosperous and peaceful world with shared future”, as stated in the Joint Communiqué of the Leaders’ Roundtable of the second BRF, fully demonstrates the international consensus and vision on the long-term objectives of BRI cooperation.

As a foreign leader pointed out at the second BRF, the BRI helps to connect people on different continents who had no way of
communication in the past and encourages mutual understanding and mutual learning among countries. It is a remarkable achievement of President Xi and the Chinese government. He went on to say that China, with no arrogance and bias, respects and values small countries, and delegates to the Forum were all impressed by the way they were understood and respected. These comments, echoed by participants, show that Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy, epitomized by the BRI, has gained support and benefited people across the world. To date, 136 countries and 30 international organizations have signed BRI cooperation documents with China, and 39 foreign leaders and representatives from 150 countries and 92 international organizations attended the second BRF. All parties have expressed, with concrete actions, their approval of and confidence in BRI cooperation as well as the vision and proposals of China.

**Second, Belt and Road cooperation promotes common development and prosperity of China and the world at large.**

The BRI is from China, but it belongs to the world. The initiative links up China’s development with the development of other partner countries, and the Chinese dream with the dreams of the peoples of those countries. It is an important platform for China and the rest of the world to jointly advance high-quality development and achieve win-win cooperation.

Belt and Road cooperation is called for by the actual needs of high-quality economic growth of China in the new era. China’s relations with the world are undergoing historic changes. China has been the world’s biggest trader in goods, the second largest recipient of foreign investment, the second largest outbound
investor and is going on to be the largest consumer market. China and the rest of the world are enjoying ever closer connections, and need each other more than ever before. Standing at a new starting point, China needs to achieve high-quality development at an even higher level, take stronger measures to address the challenge of unbalanced and insufficient development, and open up wider to the outside world. Belt and Road cooperation is a response to the call of the age and serves as a platform for this purpose. Through the joint pursuit of the BRI, we are paying equal attention to “bringing in” and “going global”, and have boosted the economic growth of both China and the rest of the world, creating more outbound investment opportunities for Chinese enterprises and better environment for foreign companies to do business in China. At the CEO Conference of the second BRF, Chinese and foreign enterprises signed project cooperation agreements worth over US$64 billion. Belt and Road cooperation has helped China to move toward nationwide opening up that coordinates the coastal and inland areas and connects the eastern and western regions. In that sense, the BRI is the upgraded version of China’s reform and opening up.

Belt and Road cooperation injects positive energy into multilateralism. With profound changes in the international situation, unilateralism, protectionism and bullying acts undermine global growth and the international order, disrupt global value and industrial chains, and take a toll on global fairness and justice. The world is at a crossroads. The BRI demonstrates that China is living up to its responsibility as a major country, and best illustrates the profound connotations of multilateralism by practicing the principle of extensive consultation, joint efforts and shared benefits. It insists that the BRI is open, inclusive and
transparent, rather than an exclusive club, and that the participation of all interested countries are welcome. At the second BRF, parties established BRI multilateral dialogue and cooperation platforms in a number of areas, working towards an open world economy and upholding multilateralism with concrete actions. The BRI and its core ideas have been included into the documents of major international institutions such as the UN, the G20 and APEC. The keynote speech made by President Xi at the opening ceremony of the second BRF and the Joint Communiqué of the Leaders’ Roundtable were highly spoken of. The fact that the number of friends and partners of Belt and Road cooperation is increasing testifies to the shared international aspiration for multilateralism.

Belt and Road cooperation helps to create greater space for global economic growth. Identifying new growth drivers remains the common mission of the global community after the outbreak of the international financial crisis. The UN, the G20 and APEC all took infrastructure development as a new growth engine. President Xi was the first to put forward the proposition of interconnected development. Focusing on infrastructure connectivity, Belt and Road cooperation taps into the potential of both supply and demand sides, and facilitates effective allocation of production factors through interconnectivity, translating global consensus into concrete actions. In this process, some land-locked countries have gained access to the sea, some have built their first railways or expressways, and some have established their own automobile or rail equipment industries, winning a better position to integrate into global value, supply and industrial chains. Moreover, economic growth has been catalyzed by projects such as the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, China Railway Express to Europe, China-Thailand Railway, and China-Laos Railway. According to a
World Bank report, Belt and Road cooperation will reduce the cost of global trade by 1.1 to 2.2 percent, and increase the trade volume among BRI participating countries by 4.1 percent. Some international research institutions believe that in 2019, Belt and Road cooperation will contribute at least 0.1 percent to global economic growth. It was widely agreed at the second BRF that BRI cooperation boasts plentiful opportunities. UN Secretary General António Guterres pointed out that the BRI is a major opportunity that should not be missed by the rest of the world.

Belt and Road cooperation helps the implementation of the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Committed to a people-centered approach, China has been focused on the fundamental issue of development in Belt and Road cooperation. Connectivity in the five priority areas of policy, infrastructure, trade, finance and people-to-people ties is intrinsically linked with the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Greater complementarities between the BRI and the UN 2030 Agenda will help all countries, developing countries in particular, eradicate poverty and hunger, and promote industrialization and green development. This serves the goal of “leaving no one behind” in the Agenda. The economic corridors and trade routes under the BRI have lowered costs of international trade and represent a concrete move in support of the UN agenda of “international trade for development”. The implementation of the UN 2030 Agenda was high on the agenda of the Leaders’ Roundtable, and the Joint Communiqué adopted at the Roundtable reaffirms a strong commitment to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. China and the UN agencies signed several cooperation agreements, lending new impetus to the implementation of this important Agenda.
Third, Belt and Road cooperation aims at high-quality, steady and sustained development.

Belt and Road cooperation is a long-term undertaking that will become only better than it is now. Over the past six years, we have painted the big strokes of the BRI. Now is the time to refine the details, promote high-quality cooperation and ensure its steady and sustained progress from a new starting point.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, the key is to stay committed to the principle of extensive consultation, joint efforts and shared benefits, to open, green and clean cooperation, and to high-standard, people-centered and sustainable development. These three-pronged commitments, which represent what we have learned from previous Belt and Road cooperation and reflect China’s new approach to development, have received positive response from the international community. These commitments, which are included in the Joint Communiqué of the second BRF, have become the core guiding principles for future Belt and Road cooperation.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to build a global partnership on connectivity. This means parties need to complement their connectivity initiatives and plans to enhance policy coordination and form greater synergy. It also calls for closer cooperation in specific areas to jointly build a connectivity network centering on economic corridors, supplemented by major transportation routes and information expressway, and reinforced by major railways, ports and pipeline projects. To build such a partnership, countries must seek win-win outcomes, support an open world economy and multilateralism,
and reject protectionism and unilateralism. The BRI has been synergized with the development plans of the UN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the African Union and the Eurasian Economic Union, and Kazakhstan’s new economic policy of the “Nurly Zhol”, Mongolia’s Development Road program, Indonesia’s Global Maritime Fulcrum and initiatives of other countries. Such a global partnership of connectivity is bound to have a bright future.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to boost interconnected development of all countries. With greater infrastructure connectivity, more landlocked countries will become land-linked, and more developing countries will integrate into and benefit from the global value, industrial and supply chains. The China Railway Express to Europe, known as the “Steel Camel Caravan” linking markets in Asia and Europe, connects more than 100 cities on the Asian and European continents and will be further aligned with the New Land-Sea Corridor. Through Belt and Road cooperation, wheat produced in Kazakhstan has now found its way to Southeast Asian markets through rail-sea multimodal transport, goods from Chongqing of China can arrive in Jakarta of Indonesia within just two days, and the travel time between Addis Ababa and Djibouti has been shortened from seven days to 12 hours thanks to the launch of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway. There will be more successful stories like these in the future.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to follow a people-centered approach. A development-driven, people-oriented approach is essential for promoting high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. Within the BRI framework,
82 economic and trade cooperation zones have created nearly 300,000 local jobs; over 90 percent of the employees building the Mombasa-Nairobi Railway were local; Pakistan has addressed its power shortages across the nation. These vivid examples speak volumes about the BRI’s vision of improving people’s wellbeing. During the second BRF, a host of cooperation outcomes were achieved in areas of education, science and technology, culture, health, think tanks, civil organizations and media. This will surely help countries improve people’s livelihood and promote social development.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to stay committed to sustainable development. President Xi Jinping called for efforts to build a green Silk Road. To this end, we will make green development one of the key features of Belt and Road cooperation and pursue green, low-carbon and sustainable development. At the second BRF, parties reached extensive consensus on climate change, green infrastructure and green finance. They agreed to establish the BRI International Green Development Coalition and the BRI Environmental Big Data Platform, released the Green Investment Principles for the Belt and Road, and launched the Belt and Road Green Lighting Initiative and the Belt and Road Green Cooling Initiative. Relevant financial institutions decided to issue green bonds and release the Green Finance Index. The implementation of these outcomes will bring new opportunities to the BRI.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to develop high-quality cooperation projects. A prominent feature of the BRI is that it is enriched by ideas and supported by plans and result-oriented actions. We need to
make sure that BRI projects are built successfully and with high quality. At the second BRF, we pledged to build high-quality, resistant, sustainable, affordable, inclusive and broadly beneficial infrastructure. Our strong commitment fully demonstrates our confidence in making that happen. Going forward, we will work on both hard and soft connectivity to improve the framework of “six economic corridors, six connectivity networks, and multiple countries, ports and parks” in different parts of the world and actively build a road of peace, prosperity, openness, innovation and a road that brings together different civilizations. We have agreed to align our cooperation with universally accepted international rules and standards and to pursue economic, fiscal, social and environmental sustainability so that they can withstand the test of time and live up to people’s expectations.

To promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, it is necessary to improve cooperation mechanisms. While making good use of bilateral cooperation mechanisms and promoting bilateral practical cooperation, we need to further explore cooperation in third markets and complement each other’s strengths to conduct consultation as equals, jointly shoulder responsibilities and enjoy benefits together. We need to persist in advancing multilateral cooperation platforms under the BRI and demonstrate our commitment to multilateralism with concrete actions. Various parties are now looking forward to the next BRF. We must seize this opportunity to ensure the sound development of this multilateral platform and make it the most premier international platform leading Belt and Road international cooperation. China, together with other countries and international organizations, has launched multiple multilateral dialogue and cooperation platforms in finance, taxation, energy, digital economy, intellectual
property rights, environmental protection, think tanks, media and other areas. More input is needed in this regard to enable these multilateral platforms to provide strong support for Belt and Road cooperation.

Promoting Belt and Road cooperation is an evolving process. It is therefore natural that it has encountered some risks and challenges. But these are problems that have emerged in development and can be surely resolved through development. We will humbly accept constructive suggestions of all parties. To dispel some misunderstandings, misinterpretation and misjudgment, we are ready to deepen understanding and expand consensus through communication and dialogue. For those who are biased, distort facts and make slanders, we believe that fair-minded people can tell right from wrong. Confusing the right and wrong and skewing facts will not fool the international community, and will end up being rejected by those who uphold justice and believe in truth. As the head of a Western think tank said recently: China is the only country that not only puts forward a blueprint for global development, but also offers a plan to deliver it. Criticizing the BRI is easy, but who else can come up with solutions and provide resources in support?

The BRI is a bond that links China with the rest of the world. It is also a journey that is solidly based and leading to the future. At a new starting point, we are fully confident that the BRI will have a brighter future.
Since the end of World War Two, no region in the world has been like the Middle East which has suffered from unending wars, conflicts and volatilities. The Palestinian issue that has lasted for over 70 years is always a bleeding and unrecoverable trauma in the Middle East. This year has seen consistent conflicts in Gaza between armed groups in Palestine, such as Hamas, on one hand and Israel on the other. Meanwhile, the complicated and confusing situation in other hotspots, such as Syria, Libya and Yemen, has continued to deteriorate, with intermittent wars, making the process of political solution more difficult. Following the change of government in Algeria and Sudan, many are worried about a looming, spreading and intense turmoil, or, even worse, an evolution like the “Arab Spring” which erupted in West Asia and North Africa in 2011. A volatile Middle East, intertwined with non-traditional security threats such as spreading terrorism and refugees, harms the countries in the region and also jeopardizes its
neighborhood, posing a serious threat to world peace, stability and development. At present, terrorist forces like the “Islamic State” have been foiled and defeated across the board in the Middle East thanks to the joint attacks by regional and international parties, but the remnants are trying hard to shift to Africa, Central Asia and South Asia. They launched terrorist attacks in Egypt, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Europe, aiming more at soft targets, to maximize the deterrence of terror. They have become flowing dangers to international security. The fleeing Islamic extremists also pose a spreading threat. Therefore, the international counter-terrorism cause is still a long and uphill journey. More worryingly, the Middle East has been increasingly the main source of global refugees, with an estimated displaced population of 12 million in the region, five times that in 2005. The region, with only 8% of the world population, provides over 50% of global refugees. Huge numbers of refugees are moving to neighboring countries and Europe. In fact, it has resulted in Europe facing the greatest refugee inflow since World War Two.

What is noteworthy now is the new US policy on the Middle East and its corresponding moves this year. After moving its embassy in Israel to Jerusalem and recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights, the US announced a new Middle East peace plan. On the Iranian issue, the US pulled out of the comprehensive Iran nuclear deal last year and has since then spared no efforts to pressurize Iran by continuously intensifying unilateral sanctions against Iran, designating the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps a “foreign terrorist organization”, vowing to bring Iranian oil exports to zero and sending a US aircraft carrier strike group and B-52 and F-35 fighters to patrol over the Gulf. Iran has reacted tit for tat. The confrontational arrangements of the two
sides have shrouded the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Hormuz with clouds of war, continuously escalating the tensions. The recent attacks on Gulf oil tankers and pipelines have also furthered the danger of military conflicts. There are growing risks for arms race, military confrontation and even all-round military conflicts in the Middle East.

A land of abundance, the Middle East is the bridge connecting Europe, Asia and Africa, with a crucial strategic position. The world would not be tranquil without stability in the Middle East. The explosive situation of tension and volatility has made the international community and countries in the region concerned about the future of the Middle East, and, more importantly, any further turbulence in the region which will have considerable implications for the peace and stability in the neighborhood and beyond.

How will the Middle East situation evolve? Where is the Middle East heading for?

Will it repeat a century of volatility and unending wars, or move towards peace, stability and development? This question about the Middle East is of global interest. China believes that the Middle East is now at the crossroads. Countries in the region and the whole international community are all facing a serious challenge and choice and they must work together to build a focus on seeking political solution. That is the only way out for resolving the Middle East hotspots and there is no alternative.

As President Xi Jinping pointed out during his visit to the Arab League headquarters in 2016, “in their past exchanges across
time and space, the Chinese and Arab peoples have been sincere with each other, forging friendship along the ancient Silk Road, sharing weal and woe in the fight for national independence, and helping each other in building their own countries”. As President Xi stressed, with regard to China’s policy measures toward the Middle East, China decides its position on issues on the basis of their own merits and the fundamental interests of the people in the Middle East, and it is not China’s policy to look for a proxy, seek any sphere of influence or attempt to fill the "vacuum" in the Middle East. With its historical experience similar to the Middle East countries, China deeply sympathizes with them for the sufferings they are now in. We are deeply concerned and worried about the escalating conflicts in the Middle East hotspots. China believes that peace in the Middle East is in the interest of all countries in the region and is also important for the stability and development in China. China, therefore, sincerely hopes for early realization of peace, stability, cooperation and development in the Middle East countries instead of confrontation, conflicts or turmoil.

China has made unremitting efforts to push for a relaxed situation in the Middle East and early solution to the regional hotspots. China has maintained friendly ties with all countries in the region, kept up dialogue with relevant parties and called on the international community to work together for stronger actions to revitalize the talk process politically and promote the reconstruction process economically so as to give hope to the people in all Middle East countries at an early date. With regard to the Middle East hotspots, China has consistently taken an open and inclusive attitude, emphasizing that pursuing political solutions to conflicts and disputes through dialogue, negotiation and other peaceful means is the best way for resolving the hotspots. It
has also underlined that all peace initiatives, active moves and diplomatic efforts will have the backing of China as long as they help ease the tensions, cool down the situation, serve the interests of the people in the region and are welcomed by the international community.

China believes that the Middle East hotspot issues must be resolved in a comprehensive way. Palestine, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen and other hotspots should get equally important attention from the international community. The international community should not focus just on one hotspot while neglecting or marginalizing others. With regard to the Palestine issue, which is an issue of fundamental importance to peace in the Middle East, the international community should work even harder to settle the disputes, not only promoting the resumption of talks and implementation of peace agreements, but also upholding fairness and justice. The international community should stick to the principle of fairness and justice, and address historical injustice as soon as possible. China firmly supports the Middle East peace process and supports the just cause of the Palestinian people in restoring their legitimate national rights. We understand the legitimate aspirations of Palestine to integrate into the international community as a state. And we support the establishment of an independent State of Palestine enjoying full sovereignty on the basis of the 1967 borders and with East Jerusalem as its capital. That is the key to solving the Palestine issue. And at the same time, China believes that Israel’s right to survival and legitimate security concerns should also be fully respected. China supports the guideline that the two countries of Israel and Palestine coexist in peace and share peace and security. Only that can provide for the comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Palestine issue.
China’s position on promoting the Middle East peace process is unequivocal. Over 70 years ago, the United Nations passed the partition resolution, thus the United Nations holds a special responsibility for the Middle East issue. We always stand for resolving the Middle East issue in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and basic principles of international law and comprehensively advancing the Middle East peace process based on existing outcomes, such as the relevant UN resolutions, the “land for peace” principle, the “two-state solution” and the “Arab Peace Initiative”.

China has all along held that dialogue and negotiation should be the only path toward peace between Palestine and Israel. The two sides, Palestine and Israel, should follow the trend of the era and commit to peace talks with mutual understanding and accommodation in an effort to move toward each other. What is imperative now is to take concrete measures to stop building settlements, stop violent activities against the innocent, lift the blockade of Gaza, properly resolve the issue of Palestinians in detention and provide emergency humanitarian assistance to the Palestinians, thus creating favorable conditions for the restoration of peace talks.

On the urgent Iran nuclear issue, which attracts much international attention, China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council and a party to the comprehensive Iran nuclear deal, always takes an objective, fair and responsible position. China supports and upholds the comprehensive Iran nuclear deal, opposes the use or threat of force and urges the US and Iran to resolve differences through dialogue and negotiations with a view to safeguarding regional peace and stability. Wars are dangerous.
China believes that sustained tension in the Gulf is bad for all, that confrontation is no way out and that dialogue and consultation is the only solution.

The current situation in Syria is unsustainable. There is no winner in conflicts and it is the people in the region who suffer. Therefore, ceasefire is imperative, political dialogue is the fundamental path forward and humanitarian assistance is urgent. On the Syria issue, China always stands for a political solution as the only practical way out. China firmly upholds international justice and international law, believing that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Syria should be upheld and respected and that the future of the country should be decided by the Syrian people. China supports the United Nations as the main channel of mediation. China calls on all parties concerned to seek a solution that reflects Syria’s reality and accommodates all parties’ concerns through inclusive political dialogue.

The development issue is at the root of the volatility in the Middle East, thus the final solution relies on development. And the key is to accelerate development, which concerns the life and dignity of the people. This is a race against time, a fight between hope and despair. The people in the region will choose dialogue and political solution over violence, extremism and terrorism, only when they, the young in particular, are given hope and dignity of life in the process of development. At present, what all countries in the Middle East want is peace, reform and development and what all the Middle East people long for is stability, tranquility and happiness.

China is committed to a path of peaceful development, an
independent foreign policy of peace and a mutual beneficial and win-win strategy of opening up. China is ready to work with all countries in the region and the international community to play a bigger, more active role on the Middle East issue. China adheres to the concept of “promoting peace through development”. In responding to the strong desire of the people in the Middle East for peace and development, the Belt and Road Initiative which is connected to regional realities, will not only provide new opportunities for economic development in all countries in the Middle East but also make important contribution to the settlement of the Middle East hotspots. The Middle East people aspire for more of tranquility and dignity but less of conflict and suffering. In the past century, the Middle East has gone through too much painful turbulence. In the coming century, China sincerely hopes that Middle East countries will forge a sense of a community of shared destiny, break away from the historical burdens, move forward amidst difficulties and jointly build a better future of lasting peace and common prosperity for the region.
A Win-win Relationship Between China and Europe Is a Force of Stability and Positive Energy for the World

By Zhu Jing*

The past spring can be described as a “warm spring” or a shining moment in China-Europe relations. In March, President Xi Jinping paid state visits to Italy, Monaco and France, kicking off his first overseas trip this year. Intended to advance the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership and open up new space for Belt and Road cooperation across the Eurasian continent, the visit underscored the commitment and resolve of China and Europe to enhance global governance and uphold multilateralism as two forces for global peace, global development and the international order. It has not only deepened trust and cooperation between the two sides and injected fresh impetus into their partnership, but also provided a sense of stability, certainty and predictability to the fluid international landscape.

In April, Premier Li Keqiang attended the 21st China-EU Summit in Belgium, and traveled to Croatia

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for a visit and the eighth China-CEEC Summit. The China-EU Summit produced a Joint Statement that was substantive, positive and balanced, a result of equal-footed consultation and win-win cooperation. It showcased the shared commitment of the two sides to upholding multilateralism and meeting global challenges and pointed the way forward for cooperation in trade, investment, connectivity, research, innovation, people-to-people exchange, global governance and other areas, with a clear timetable and roadmap.

Europe was also the destination of NPC Chairman Li Zhanshu and Vice President Wang Qishan for their first overseas visits this year. State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi held a new round of China-EU High-level Strategic Dialogue with EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini, and had a collective meeting with foreign ministers of EU member states for the first time. Several EU leaders also paid visits to China. Such intense high-level interactions, resulting in some calling the spring a “season of Europe” in Chinese diplomacy, are a vivid illustration of the across-the-board nature and strong momentum of the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership. They also provide strategic guidance to and help chart the course for relations between China and Europe going forward.

Right now, mutually beneficial cooperation between China and Europe is making progress on all fronts:

First, China and Europe are good partners who honor their words and commit to results-oriented cooperation. As is said in China, “implementation holds the key to a successful plan”. China and Europe are energetically implementing the outcomes of the
leaders’ visits. For example, preparations for celebrating 2020 as the Year of Culture and Tourism in China and Italy are making good progress; the first China-Italy Finance Dialogue was held in Milan on 10 July. Negotiations between China and France on a spent fuel reprocessing plant made important headway; a legal and judicial dialogue mechanism between the two countries was officially launched. The Civil Aviation Safety Agreement (BASA) and the Agreement on Certain Aspects of Air Services were signed by China and the EU; negotiations on the China-EU Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) and Geographical Indications Agreement have been sped up so that they can be concluded within the agreed timeframe. These steps, taken to translate the leaders’ consensus into actions on the ground, demonstrate the commitment on both sides to further open up and advance practical cooperation as well as their resolve and confidence to take forward China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership. To quote President Juncker’s words on the signing of the BASA, “In an increasingly unsettled world, Europe’s partnership with China is more important than ever. We should continue on this path of cooperation.”

Second, China and Europe are good partners who prioritize development and pursue win-win cooperation. The shining moment in relations earlier this year would not have been possible without decades of deep and extensive cooperation between the two sides. In the 40 years since China started reform and opening-up, trade with the EU witnessed a 250-fold increase. Last year, it hit a record number of US$682.16 billion, making the EU China’s largest trading partner for the 15th consecutive year while China EU’s second largest trading partner for many years running. Two-way visits neared eight million last year and over 600 flights travel between China and Europe every week. Sixteen years
since the establishment of the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership, cooperation in various areas has delivered tangible benefits to people on both sides.

High-quality Belt and Road cooperation is becoming a new highlight in the relationship. The Belt and Road Initiative responds to common aspirations for bigger markets and greater connectivity in a globalized world, and complements the EU’s efforts to advance integrated development within the Union and to uphold multilateralism and free trade. It reflects the converging interest of China and Europe, and has received broad support from Europe and beyond. In April, more than a dozen leaders or high-level representatives from Europe came to China for the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, heralding a new chapter of high-quality Belt and Road cooperation between China and Europe. To serve both sides’ needs for cooperation, a connectivity platform and a Joint Investment Fund have been established, and a number of projects have been launched. The setting up of a Belt and Road Policy Communication Committee in the European Parliament and institutions such as the Federal Association of the German Silk Road Initiative indicate the level of interest and confidence in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation across Europe.

Third, China and Europe are good partners who fulfill their responsibilities and uphold multilateralism and free trade. Unilateralism and protectionism have dealt a severe blow to the international order and the multilateral trading system. By abusing tariffs and practicing long-arm jurisdiction, certain countries have politicized trade and investment issues and tried to justify their actions by citing security as an umbrella excuse. Such moves have
caused disruptions to the global industrial and supply chains, and pose a direct threat to growth prospect across the world, including that of China and Europe. Against this backdrop, the choice and proposition of China and the EU as two major players in the international community will have a significant impact on the evolution, transformation and adjustment of the international order. And relations between China and Europe mean much more than bilateral cooperation as they acquire strategic, global significance.

Facing the choice between unilateralism and multilateralism, between protectionism and free trade, China and the EU have made their positions very clear. Both sides support multilateralism, support basic norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, support the building of an open global economy, support the rules-based multilateral trading system, and oppose unilateralism and trade protectionism. This is the strategic choice made by China and the EU in a fast-changing international environment; this is how the two sides fulfill their responsibilities to humanity as a whole.

Fourth, China and Europe are good partners who respect each other and work together for openness and inclusiveness. Given their differences in geographical location, history, culture, social system and development path, it is natural for China and Europe to have different views and even disagreements over some issues. As cooperation grows in scale, problems and even frictions are hardly avoidable. However, China and Europe do not have any fundamental conflict of interest. Should differences arise, what is important is how we handle and manage them. The key lies in the two sides viewing each other’s development with an open mind and properly managing differences through cooperation and
consultation until they are finally resolved. The EU believes in “unity in diversity”, which essentially resonates with the Chinese vision of “harmony without uniformity”. The development of China-EU diplomatic relations over the past 44 years proves that as long as the two sides act with mutual respect and in the same spirit, we can always build consensus, narrow differences and achieve win-win results. To step up dialogue and cooperation between China and Europe serves the fundamental and long-term interests of both sides and contributes to world peace, stability and prosperity.

Faced with rising instabilities and uncertainties in the international situation, China and Europe need to further enhance communication and cooperation from a strategic and global perspective and with a sensible approach. The two sides need to work together to address long-running issues and new challenges confronting the human society and build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind to bring stability and positive energy to an increasingly uncertain world.

**First, China and Europe should contribute to a world of lasting peace.** Over the years, the EU has shown to the world with its vision and practices that people of different countries are capable of overcoming historical grievances and cultural estrangement to achieve win-win progress. As two major forces for promoting world peace and common development, China and Europe should work shoulder to shoulder in pursuit of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation. China always approaches its relations with Europe from a strategic and long-term perspective and supports European integration, as it
is in line with the trend of world multipolarity, and a united, stable, open and prosperous Europe is also in the interests of China. We hope that the EU can also maintain the continuity of its China policy and work with the Chinese side to make strategic plans for the medium-to-long-term development of bilateral relations and take the China-EU comprehensive strategic partnership to the next level.

Second, China and Europe should contribute to a world of universal security. The definition and implications of international security issues are ever expanding. Faced with risks such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation and major communicable diseases, China and Europe have intertwined interests and a common stake. The two sides should embrace the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, respect and accommodate each other’s legitimate security concerns, make coordinated efforts to uphold traditional and non-traditional security, and tackle security challenges through dialogue and consultation and mutually beneficial cooperation. China will continue to work with the EU to enhance dialogue and coordination at the bilateral, regional and global levels, jointly advocate multilateralism and follow the multilateral approach, uphold the international order and system centered on the UN, and address global challenges.

Third, China and Europe should contribute to a world of common prosperity. In response to unilateralism and protectionism, China and Europe need to work together, like passengers in the same boat, to advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all. The two sides need to
step up cooperation on global economic governance, strengthen coordination of macro-economic policies, and enhance communication on WTO reform through the China-EU joint working group and other channels. China and the EU should further their cooperation on connectivity by creating stronger synergy between the Belt and Road Initiative and the EU strategy of “Connecting Europe and Asia”. China and the EU should foster new drivers for promoting free trade, and do their level best to conclude the BIT negotiations next year and initiate the process of free trade cooperation at an early date. China-Europe cooperation in science, technology, innovation, economy and finance boasts huge potential. Deepening practical cooperation in these areas will bring more benefits to the two peoples and inject new dynamism to all-round, sustainable growth of the world economy.

**Fourth, China and Europe should contribute to an open and inclusive world.** China and Europe are both great civilizations with a time-honored history, and diversity should be a driver of progress for civilizations. China is ready to increase inter-civilization exchanges and dialogue with Europe to enhance harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences, and pursue common development through mutual learning so that cultural interactions can serve as a bridge of friendship between our peoples. We hope to work with the European side to explore new areas, models and approaches to promote mutual learning between our civilizations and advance cooperation in social security, culture, health, sports and other fields. We also hope to further facilitate people-to-people interflows between China and Europe and achieve the goals of the second phase of the China-EU Mobility and Migration Dialogue roadmap as early as possible.
Fifth, China and Europe should contribute to a clean and beautiful world. Mankind only has one planet earth, yet its environment and ecosystem are under growing stress. Major problems such as climate change pose increasingly grave challenges to members of the international community including China and Europe. It is incumbent on both sides to jointly advance the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, strengthen global development partnerships, enhance cooperation in water resources, marine affairs, the environment, circular economy and other fields, and implement the China-EU Roadmap on Energy Cooperation. China is ready to work with Europe to tackle climate change and other emerging challenges, push forward the follow-up negotiations and effective implementation of the Paris Agreement, actively build and improve the global climate governance system and promote green, low-carbon and sustainable development, thus making our joint contribution to protecting planet earth, the only place we all call home. 🌍
China-Japan Relations: Setting Sights on the Larger Interests and Seeking Progress on the Basis of Stability

By Hu Jiping*

With Premier Li Keqiang’s visit to Japan in May 2018, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s visit to China in October 2018, and President Xi Jinping’s attendance at the G20 Osaka Summit in June this year, China-Japan relations have moved out of the bottom and onto the normal track of growth. Before the Chinese Ambassador Cheng Yonghua recently finished his term of office in Japan, he was invited to a luncheon at Prime Minister Abe’s residence on April 16th. On May 7th, Prime Minister and Mrs Abe, former prime ministers Yoshiro Mori and Fukuda Yasuo, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Secretary General Toshihiro Nikai, Komeito Party Leader Natsuo Yamaguchi were among the nearly 1,000 Japanese guests from all walks of life at Ambassador Cheng’s farewell reception. On May 9th, Ambassador Cheng was the first foreign guest received by the new emperor of Japan. Through such

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unusual moves, the Japanese government sent a clear signal of its willingness to improve relations with China. The foreign ministries of the two countries are reportedly consulting on Prime Minister Abe’s another visit to China this year and President Xi Jinping’s upcoming official visit to Japan.

The encouraging developments in China-Japan relations are, without any doubt, the result of joint efforts by both sides. The bilateral relationship had fallen into the lowest depth since its normalization in 1972, following the “island purchase” by the Japanese government in September 2012 and Prime Minister Abe’s visit to the Yasukuni Shrine in December 2013. While holding fast to its principles, China did not change its positive and open policy toward Japan. When meeting a 3000-strong delegation from Japan in May 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping stressed that the crimes of aggression committed by Japanese militarists shall never be covered up and that the true history shall never be distorted. He also reiterated that China attaches importance to developing relations with Japan and that such a basic policy has not changed and will not change in the future. His statement demonstrated the Chinese government’s willingness to improve its relationship with Japan and maintain its stable growth. In May 2017, Japan sent LDP Secretary General Toshihiro Nikai to participate in the first Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in Beijing, which, in a way, indicated the change in Japan’s position on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), as it had been critical of the BRI prior to that. In his letter delivered by Mr. Nikai to President Xi, Prime Minister Abe expressed the hope to build a stable and friendly relationship between the two countries. In the following June, Abe indicated at an international forum in Tokyo that Japan is conditionally cooperative on the BRI. Such positive interactions
set the stage for the exchange of visits by top leaders.

Secondly, another important driver of China-Japan relations is their shared interests and need for cooperation. The strong complementarity between the two economies means great space for cooperation. As China’s per capita GDP increases and domestic market fast expands, it has become the world’s fastest growing and most promising market, holding great appeal to Japan, a big nation of trade, and its companies. Although economic cooperation runs on its own laws, and there are times when China-Japan relations were cold politically but warm economically, it goes without saying that economic cooperation is still obviously affected by political relations. Before 2011, China-Japan trade was generally on an upward trajectory. Starting from 2012, however, it had been on the decline for five years in a row, from US$ 344.9 billion in 2011 down to US$ 270.5 billion in 2016. Inevitably, there was an economic reason. But more importantly, it was weighed down by strained political relations. When Prime Minister Abe visited China in October 2018, he brought over 500 business leaders on the delegation, which showed the keen interest of the Japanese economic community in improving relations with China.

Thirdly, the uncertainties caused by US policies further encouraged China and Japan to improve their relations. On the campaign trail, Trump vowed to withdraw from the TPP and demanded American allies pay for the costs of American troops stationed in their countries. Such statements already got Japan on its nerves. After Trump took office, the unilateral trade policies he has pursued against WTO rules deal a heavy blow to global economic growth. China and Japan, two big countries that run huge trade surplus against the US, are America’s targets. China has
been under enormous tariff pressure from the US. Japan has also been threatened with additional tariffs on steel, aluminum and cars. As the US asks its allies to pay for America’s protection, Japan’s trust in its alliance with the US has plunged to a new historical low. However, it is the uncertainties caused by the US policies that compel China and Japan to increase cooperation.

The sound momentum of improvement in China-Japan relations has given rise to expectations for the two countries’ cooperation. That said, there are still some lingering obstacles and issues that keep the relations from going deeper.

Three long-standing issues — history, territory and Taiwan—still exist to varying degrees, exerting an impact on China-Japan relations. On the issue of history after Abe visited the Yasukuni Shrine in 2013, there was a frenzy among Japanese political figures who were eager to follow suit. As the bilateral relations improve, there have been few Japanese cabinet members visiting the shrine. But as shown in Abe’s speech on the 70th anniversary of the end of the Second World War in 2015, Japan still has a less than clear understanding of its history of aggression. It will take long-term efforts for the two countries to reach a common understanding on history. One cannot rule out the possibility that frictions over this issue may still resurface and set back the relations. On the issue of territory The two countries have activated the sea-air liaison mechanism which can help to avoid unintended conflicts. But Japan’s Democratic Party government has backtracked and denied the consensus on shelving disputes. Such a situation has yet to improve. The Japanese media has consistently described the patrol by China’s public service vessels as “intruding into Japan’s territorial waters”. This has harmed the sentiments between people
of the two countries. On the issue of Taiwan, Japan renamed its interchange institution in Taiwan, thus undercutting the improvement of China-Japan relations.

On practical cooperation, during his visit to China in October 2018, Prime Minister Abe praised the BRI as a promising vision and Japan renamed the Indo-Pacific “Strategy” as a “vision” to avoid provoking China. At the first forum on China-Japan Third Party Market Cooperation in October 2018, companies and relevant departments of the two sides reached 52 agreements on a wide range of areas including infrastructure, finance, logistics and IT, worth more than US$ 18 billion. It is beyond any doubt that China and Japan should have broader space for cooperation given the size of their economies. Japan’s Minister of Economy, Trade and Industry Hiroshige Seko said at the forum that the Japan-China economic and trade relations were at a critical period of transitioning from competition to cooperation and the forum would be a new starting point for Japan-China economic cooperation. However, it may take a long time and mutual adaptation for the two countries to make the shift from competition to cooperation.

The trust deficit in strategic and security areas is the most difficult issue that exerts the deepest impact on China-Japan relations. For seven years since 2013, the Abe administration has increased defense budget year by year. Strengthening the military is seen by Japan an important way to pursue its goals as a political power. It however used China’s growing military strength as an excuse, when it converted the helicopter carrier JS Izumo into an aircraft carrier capable of carrying F-35B fighter jets and decided to purchase F-35 jets in large quantities. This shows that there is still a severe lack of trust in security between the two countries.
Undoubtedly, long-standing issues that remain unresolved, insufficient motivation for cooperation, and lack of security trust pose risks to the future development of bilateral relations. As the relations get back onto the right track, the two sides must think long and hard about how to make the friendly and cooperation relationship sustainable and stable.

First and foremost, China and Japan should set their eyes on the larger interests, appreciate the strategic importance of the relations and keep to the right direction. As General Secretary Xi Jinping articulated at the Central Foreign Affairs Work Conference in January this year, “The world is undergoing major changes unseen in a century”. This means the profound changes are taking place on the international landscape. The traditional world order is being challenged. And enormous uncertainties exist in global politics and economy. At such a fluid time, China and Japan must enhance cooperation to maintain regional and global stability and prosperity. In his speech to the Diet in January 2018, Abe said “Japan and China share significant responsibilities for the peace and prosperity of the region, and maintain an inseparable relationship. We will fulfill the expectations of the international community by developing our friendly relationship in a stable manner from a broad perspective.” According to the 2019 Diplomatic Bluebook released by the Japanese government, a stable relationship with China is very important for the overall interests. This shows that Japan is more inclined to look at the larger interests in assessing the importance of China-Japan relations. If the two countries continue to look at the larger interests when making policies, that will provide political safeguards for the bilateral relations to maintain long-term stability.
Second, the two countries must strengthen strategic communication and increase security trust. When meeting Prime Minister Abe in October 2018, President Xi said that the two sides should pursue deeper strategic communication, make full use of the multi-level and multi-channel dialogue mechanisms, have correct understandings of each other’s development and strategic intentions, faithfully implement the political consensus of “being each other’s cooperation partners and not posing threats to each other”, strengthen positive interactions, and increase political trust. It is reported that Japan has proposed to China the establishment of a China-Japan foreign minister/defense minister consultation mechanism (2+2) so as to enhance security trust between the two countries. This means that the security dialogue, which was launched in 1993 and upgraded to the vice-ministerial level in 2002, may be further upgraded and held on a regular basis.

Third, the two sides should unlock the potential, deepen practical cooperation, and expand common interests. China and Japan are the world’s second and third largest economies, each at different stages of development with respective advantages. Being close geographically and culturally, the two countries enjoy not only tremendous cooperation potential in traditional manufacturing and services, but also broad space for cooperation in new technologies such as autonomous driving and artificial intelligence. Only through cooperation can the two sides keep expanding common interests and provide impetus and safeguard for bilateral relations to grow steadily.

Fourth, while managing sensitive issues, China and Japan should set their eyes on the long term to remove barriers to bilateral relations. The two sides should take positive steps to enhance
dialogue, manage differences and prevent sensitive issues related to history, territory and Taiwan from sparking bilateral conflicts and suspending the development of bilateral relations. Additionally, to sustain the steady growth of bilateral relations, the two countries should be proactive in addressing potential risks that may escalate into bigger problems. For example, the two sides may pursue joint research and exchange on the issue of history to identify historical facts and deepen mutual understanding. On the issue of territory, the two sides should be clear-eyed about their differences and carry out positive dialogues, laying foundation and building conducive environment for resolving issues in the future.

The returning to the right track of China-Japan relations have not come easily. As the international situation continues to evolve profoundly, the importance of China-Japan relations will only grow. China and Japan should seize historical opportunities, keep to the right direction, consolidate the foundation of the relationship by expanding common interests, and build a stable relationship with a view to the long term, thus creating benefits for the people of both countries and contributing to regional and global peace and prosperity.
International Development Cooperation
— Current Status and Trends

By Zhang Yunfei*

A mid rising global development funds in recent years, developed countries remain the main players despite their declining share, while developing ones have emerged as impressive forces with profound influence in international development cooperation (IDC).

I. Official development assistance remains dominant, but its effectiveness is challenged.

Developed countries dominated international development cooperation (IDC) in the past 70-plus years, providing grants or preferential loans through Official Development Aid (ODA) to developing peers or multilateral development agencies, as a major way for them to promote global governance.

The OECD proposed that developed countries spend 0.7% of their gross national income (GNI)

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on development assistance, which has become an international yardstick of developed countries’ fulfillment of their duties in IDC. The 30 members of OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) contribute more than 80% of global assistance to developing countries every year. Among them, nearly all international assistance of the US, Canada, the UK, Italy and Australia is aid given gratis, and 84% of the international assistance of Germany is free assistance. ODA has become a major source of development funds for many developing countries and some least developed countries (LDCs), in particular, rely on international assistance as their main source of fiscal revenue.

Major western donors enjoy geographical, cultural and linguistic advantages in Africa. Africa has close historical, linguistic and cultural links with countries such as the UK, France, Portugal and Germany whose values, institutions and models are highly recognized in their former colonies. Developed countries focus on aid for social issues and well-being, such as medical care, disaster mitigation, education and the environment, which are highly visible and to the direct benefit of ordinary people. In addition, developed donors have paid close attention to the role of NGOs and built solid partnership with them who trickle down foreign assistance to the grassroots in the recipient countries.

Developed countries have accumulated rich experience in IDC from their operation in the past 70-plus years. On the one hand, they have put in place complete and mature aid administrative and operational mechanisms backed by sophisticated supervisory and evaluation systems. The series of criteria and guidelines developed by the DAC aim to coordinate and regulate assistance of its members and supervise their assistance by peers review. Developed
countries tend to follow or take as reference DAC rules and criteria despite their non-binding nature. Most developed countries have well-developed aid legislations and designated aid agencies to coordinate relations with other government departments. Independent and transparent supervision and evaluation are established to ensure effective use of aid funds and smooth operation of projects. On the other hand, rules making is dominated by the OECD and its members thanks to their well-developed IDC theoretical system and huge influence in this landscape. They are home to a number of think tanks on IDC and their universities run IDC majors. The OECD annual development cooperation report and research papers give timely review on IDC experience and lessons and put forward solutions. In addition, developed countries value exchanges and cooperation among themselves by regularly holding international assistance seminars to discuss cooperation fields and aid directions and jointly supporting some large projects in the recipient countries.

Despite its impressive progress in education and health care, ODA of developed countries did not make a fundamental difference to economic development in the recipient countries. Many recipient countries remain trapped in abject poverty due to some deep-seated problems in the current IDC system.

First, developed countries are less willing to provide aid, which is the primary reason behind the ineffectiveness of ODA. For years, ODA of most developed countries have never reached the 0.7% threshold. To make it even worse, developed countries, in recent years, suffered economic slowdown due to the international financial crisis and, as a result, less political will and capacity in IDC. According to the OECD Development Cooperation Report
2018, official development aid from OECD/DAC members totaled USD 146.6 billion in 2017, 0.31% of their combined gross national income, a decrease of 0.6% from 2016 in real terms and well below the 0.7% target. Among the DAC members, only Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and the UK hit the 0.7% mark. Except for the UK (USD 17.9 billion), the other four major donors—US (0.18%, USD 35.3 billion), Germany (0.66%, USD 24.7 billion), Japan (0.23%, USD 11.5 billion) and France (0.43%, USD 11.4 billion)—all missed the mark. In recent years, to ease pressure on humanitarian aid, developed countries pushed for the inclusion of humanitarian emergency fund and ODA. In 2017, humanitarian emergency fund reached USD 15.5 billion, accounting for 10.6% of all ODA, which means less funds for other fields and purposes.

Second, developed countries promote their values and development models through ODA and usually attach political conditions to their aid. Due to their poor governance capacity and heavy dependence on international assistance, some recipient countries were forced to accept tough political conditions centered on western democratization as required by their donors. However, owing to different national conditions, the introduction of western democracy tended to trigger internal conflicts and social upheavals. Since late 1980s, a number of African countries suffered large-scale political crisis and even bloody conflicts in their rush to political democracy and economic privatization. Far from politically and socially stable, some of them are still prone to humanitarian crisis, in no small part due to the aid policy of western countries.

Third, developed countries’ international strategies figure prominently when they providing assistance. The UK and France
are more interested in their former colonies; Japan seeks more influence in its neighborhood and the UN, with focus on Southeast Asia and Africa; and the US was blunt when it said “it will no longer provide indiscriminate assistance”, with most of its aid flowing to Afghanistan, Egypt, Jordan and Kenya etc. As a result, some countries who badly need assistance have no access to foreign aid, as ODA to LDCs represented 0.09 per cent of DAC countries’ gross national income, well below the established target of 0.15-0.20 per cent ODA/GNI to LDCs.

Fourth, ODA suffers burdensome, inefficient and wasteful implementation procedures with high administrative cost, as a large part of aid budget is used for conferences and evaluations. According to a World Bank report, such cost was so high that 85% of foreign aids from western countries were not spent on the issues when the funds were earmarked and only 15% of ODA were used for their original purposes. In addition, a myriad of actors—development consulting firms, NGOs and individuals work on diverse and disperse issues, leading to the fragmentation of foreign aids. A large part of the funds flow to soft infrastructure such as democracy building, human rights, culture and education, which prevents the recipient countries from focusing on economic development and poverty alleviation.

In recent years, ODA is widely criticized in developing countries for its ineffectiveness. In her work Dead Aid, the renowned Zambian-born economist Dambisa Moyo was vocal against the ODA policy of developed countries, arguing such patronizing and condescending aid is “the silent killer of growth” that has not boosted economic development in Africa, but rather put it in the trap of dependence.
II. Increasingly important South-South cooperation faces a host of challenges.

South-South cooperation was born in mid-1950s. The Bandung Conference in April 1955 established the principles of South-South cooperation, proposing cooperation on funds and technologies among developing countries and displaying prospects of a new type of cooperation featuring equality and mutual assistance among Asian, African and Latin American countries. The Non-aligned Movement and the Group of 77 identified the fields, contents, ways and guiding principles of South-South cooperation, thus laid its organizational foundation. The Buenos Aires Plan of Action adopted by the United Nations in 1978 added more substance to South-South cooperation. In the 21st century, particularly after the international financial crisis in 2008, developing countries have been conducting closer cooperation on development, with growing international influence. Emerging economies led by BRICS countries have become active players and advocates for South-South cooperation. In the Second UN High-level Conference on South-South Cooperation held in Buenos Aires in March 2019, UN Secretary General António Guterres gave high credit to South-South cooperation, saying it had lifted millions out of extreme poverty, helped developing countries achieved some of the fastest economic growth rates ever seen and set global standards for sustainable development. Given rising unilateralism and protectionism, greater South-South cooperation will add to global development momentum, tap potentials in cooperation and growth, and give developing countries a greater say in IDC.

The unique strengths and development philosophy of South-South cooperation are increasingly well received in the developing
world. The first strength is equality and mutual benefit. South-South cooperation partners are committed to equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in domestic affairs. Due to their same or similar national conditions, difficulties and challenges, many partners are recipients and donors at the same time, which gives them unique perspectives on development. Economic outcomes are the primary objective in South-South cooperation which puts less restrictions on the use of aid funds, fully respects the autonomy and development needs of the recipient, and places more emphasis on mutual benefit and win-win. The second strength is economic complementarity. At different development stages and with diverse economic structures, some developing countries are emerging industrialized countries and others agricultural countries; some have a complete set of economic sectors and others are specialized in one sector; and some are only left with backward technologies and others equipped with advanced ones. Such complementarity in industrial mix and needs makes cooperation among them possible and easier. The third strength is mutual learning in economic development. Facing the common challenge of growing economy and improving people’s well-being, South-South cooperation partners focus on agriculture, industry, economic infrastructure and public facilities etc. Having suffered the same difficulties confronted by the recipient countries, emerging economies offer development pathways and concepts more suitable for peer developing countries. With more insights into the need of their fellows, emerging economies provide more practical technologies, more viable cooperation projects, and thus more targeted assistance.

In early South-South cooperation, there were few donor countries other than China, India, Saudi Arabia and Brazil. As
their economies develop and foreign policies evolve, a growing number of developing countries, such as Indonesia, Kazakhstan and Mongolia, began to provide and expand aid. According to the DAC, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Turkey, China, India, Qatar, Russia, Mexico and Brazil are among the top 30 donor countries in the world. In addition, the BRICS New Development Bank launched in July 2015 and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank founded in the following December have narrowed the gap and added more substance in international development financing.

South-South cooperation is also confronted with many challenges. First, funds are the primary barrier to greater South-South cooperation. Except for a few high-income countries (mainly Arabic states), many donor developing countries are, at the same time, recipient countries facing onerous development tasks and protracted capital shortage. Second, due to the absence of an effective coordination mechanism and divergence in regulations, criteria and statistics, fragmentation in aids has led to institutional overlapping, competition and even tensions. Developing countries differ greatly in resource endowments, political and economic institutions, culture, religious faith, development model, economic stage, foreign policy and geopolitics, indicating there is still a long way for South-South cooperation to go. Moreover, the current foreign aid administrative systems of development countries leave much to be improved. Policies and laws remain underdeveloped in many of these countries whose foreign aid systems are composed of scattered departmental rules. Most of them do not have standalone foreign aid administrative agencies, complete development assistance plans, and comprehensive and effective supervisory and evaluation systems.
III. The future of international development cooperation remains uncertain, with both competition and cooperation.

As developing countries become more prominent in the global economic landscape, South-South cooperation has become increasingly influential in the development landscape which in turn becomes more complex with more players. The coming years will witness intensified competition on the IDC order and rules. Cooperation and competition will be intertwined among developed and developing countries, with the following trends:

First, developing countries will strive for a greater say on IDC. The evolving international political and economic landscapes require further adjustment to the IDC rules. Developing countries place more emphasis on autonomy and uniqueness in their development cooperation, calling for inclusion of more aspirations from developing countries into the IDC rules. For example, the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation (GPEDC) proposed by the OECD/DAC in 2016 was resisted due to its failure to take into consideration the views of developing countries. Some think tanks in developing countries contribute to institutional building in South-South cooperation by exploring a tailor-made statistical and evaluation system.

Second, the IDC rules will change even faster. To maintain their dominant position in the IDC, developed countries, on the one hand, attempt to include South-South cooperation into their foreign assistance system, make evaluation on such cooperation with existing OECD criteria, invite emerging economies to join the DAC or ask them to provide aid data; on the other, they keep fine-tuning their aid policies and rethink traditional aid criteria—
relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability in the belief that these criteria be reviewed and adjusted as appropriate. At the same time, western donors come to recognize such financing practices as preferential loans and preferential export buyer’s credit adopted by countries like China and India to help other developing countries. Western donors have also stepped up coordination between ODA funds and diverse financing channels and pushed for Public-Private-Partnership (PPP) in development assistance.

Third, the Sustainable Development Agenda has become a shared priority for South-North and South-South cooperation. The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda adopted by the United Nations in 2015 covers a wide range of issues—elimination of poverty and hunger, health, education, gender equality, energy, economic growth and the environment. With “sustainable development” as the overall goal, the Agenda has connected political, economic, social and environmental issues with development and transcended the boundary between developed and developing countries. The Agenda is composed of 17 Sustainable Development Goals and 169 targets. Despite different preferences among developed and developing countries, the former on freedom, justice, the rule of law and human rights and the latter on poverty reduction and economic growth, countries around the world recognize a wide range of challenges—natural disaster, environmental degradation, communicable diseases, transnational crimes and terrorism—can only be effectively addressed through concerted efforts. To help developing countries realize the SDGs have become a priority when countries formulate their IDC programs. The G20 Hangzhou Summit in 2016, for the first time, developed an action plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which put the issue of development at a central
position, which is unprecedented. In spite of divergent views on specific topics, the action plan made a breakthrough in the dialogue on the development issue among developed and developing countries.

Fourth, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) provides a new pathway and platform for IDC. The BRI has come a long way in the past six years, from blueprint to reality and from a Chinese proposal to its inclusion in the UN document. The BRI has injected new impetus to the world economy and provided a major platform for IDC. By May 9, 2019, 131 countries and 30 international organizations have signed cooperation documents with China on the BRI. More than 6,000 delegates from 150 countries and 92 international organizations, including leaders from 38 countries and the UN and the IMF, attended the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation in Beijing in April, 2019. In the spirit of partnership featuring pursuing cooperation through consultation, the BRI has contributed to common development in participating countries and regions through bilateral, trilateral and multilateral cooperation. It can enhance the capacity of developing countries for independent development and fit perfectly well with the UN 2030 Agenda and the Agenda 2063 of the African Union, which will deliver a strong boost to South-South cooperation. At the same time, the BRI has shown a strong pulling effect globally, which has helped more developing countries get the attention and assistance from developed countries and international organizations. In late March 2019, China signed MOUs on BRI cooperation with Italy and then Luxembourg and Switzerland. Some other western countries also expressed their interest in getting on board. With a growing number of developed countries involved, it is believed that the BRI will become a best example of open and inclusive cooperation on international development.
Latin America: Continued Adjustment amid Enormous Uncertainties

By Sun Yanfeng*

At a time of chaos on the global political and economic landscape, Latin America is experiencing changes that have not been seen in 40 years since the tide of democracy swept across the region in the 1980s. Traditional political parties have turned weak, with the falling and even imprisonment of traditional political figures and the rise of anti-establishment and populist “newcomers outside the power base”. The left and the right continue to be at cutthroat competition, as evidenced by surprising results in the elections of many countries. The chaos in Latin America’s political ecology has not been seen in 40 years, portending enormous uncertainties down the road in the region. On the other hand, there have been ups and downs in Latin America’s economy. While an overall momentum of recovery has been maintained, economic trends are diverging across the countries. Argentine, Brazilian and Venezuelan economies are either grappling with risks of big swings or still

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hovering at the bottom, making it hard to be optimistic about the future. On the diplomatic front, Latin America is increasingly divided. Regional integration is at a standstill and even backsliding. The US is stepping up engagement and intervention. Outside powers such as Russia are seeking geopolitical interests. Latin America’s internal groupings and external relations are being reshuffled amid the chaos. Generally speaking, Latin America, having experienced the advance of the left and the retreat of the right in political ecology and the economic downturn since 2015, continues to go through profound adjustment in search of the right direction forward. Continuous adjustment will define Latin America’s political and economic landscape in the years to come.

I. Tremendous Changes in the Political Ecology

Since 2018, there have been two major changes in Latin America’s political ecology: the rise of populist newcomers outside the power base, and a new stage of strategic stalemate between the left and the right.

On one hand, people outside the power base have risen as champions “against the establishment and political correctness”. Last July, Andrés Manuel López Obrador, leader of the left and candidate of the National Regeneration Movement who called for “Mexico first” and “people first”, won the Mexican election in a landslide victory, taking 53.1% of the votes and beating the runner-up by 30 percentage points. His election broke the monopoly by the center-left Institutional Revolutionary Party and the right National Action Party in Mexico’s politics for more than 100 years. It shows that the Mexicans are disappointed by the traditional right or left government and pin their hopes on emerging political forces.
In October, the far-right candidate Jair Bolsonaro, who called for “Brazil first” and “God above all”, universal gun ownership and abortion ban and who are discriminated against the black, women and ethnic minorities, was elected Brazil’s president with a big margin, taking 51.3% of the votes and 10 percentage points ahead his rival. His victory ended the dominance of traditional political parties including the Workers’ Party and the Social Democratic Party for 20 years. Bolsonaro’s party, the Social Liberal Party, once little known, has emerged as the second largest party in the House of Representatives and taken three governorships. This underlines the fact that new forces with radical political views are popular among the public. Moreover, in the elections of both Peru and Costa Rica, there were seemingly unexpected victories of new political figures. Such surprising new political changes underscore the fact that with intensifying political infight, escalating economic and social problems, and never-ending corruption scandals in several Latin American countries since 2015, traditional political parties have seen their strengths on the decline, and traditional political figures have lost popular support. New political stars, who have been outside the power base, now emerge from such chaos, chanting populist, “anti-establishment” slogans. Such changes are the culmination of the chaos in Latin America over the past few years and pose the gravest challenge to its political system.

On the other hand, the right and the left have entered into a new stage of “strategic stalemate” after a decade long political competition. After the advance of the right and the retreat of the left in 2016-2017, the right, strong as it is, has lost its strengths to secure an overwhelming victory. The left, though still weak, has established its foothold and even gained new battlefields in countries on the right. When it comes to the balance of power, the
right continues to be in power in many countries, consolidating their strength in the region. Major countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Colombia are all governed by the right. In Brazil, in particular, Bolsonaro put together a cabinet largely made up of military officers, evangelicals, and business tycoons, who are characteristically pro-America and anti-left and may pursue more conservative domestic and foreign policies. In Argentina, the rightist party holds power in the government, the congress, the capital, and the largest province, getting immeasurable political power within their grasp. Smaller countries like Paraguay and El Salvador also see strong forces on the right. Though the left are in power in countries such as Ecuador, their domestic and foreign policies incline to the right. The majority of the top 10 Latin American economies are governed by the far right, the right and the center-right, meaning that the right retain their advantages on the continent.

After suffering major setbacks during 2015-2017, the left has adjusted their tactics, gathered strengths, and steadily gained footholds. Cuba withstood economic sanctions imposed by the Trump administration, completed the leadership change, and, on the basis of stabilizing political power, continues to be a signpost for the left in Latin America. The Maduro government of Venezuela, confronted with the opposition at home and pressure and sanctions by the US and the West, ultimately stabilized the leftist government. Since this January, Juan Guaido, who declared himself to be the interim president with US support, took a series of measures to seize power, including organizing massive demonstrations, working with Western media to create a bad press for the Maduro government, inciting military rebellion, openly encouraging the public to revolt against the government
by accepting “international humanitarian aid”, and even launching a failed military coup d’état. The Venezuelan government, however, pulled through such a trying time, thanks to solidarity of the military, support of the people, and assistance from Russia and other countries. The dynamics is now shifting in favor of the government. In Paraguay’s election last year, the left started with 20 percentage points behind in the polls and failed with a slight 3.7 percentage points short. This shows that the people of Paraguay identify themselves with the aspiration of the left to eradicate wealth gap and pursue social justice. Obrador’s election as Mexican president testifies to the fact that the left is still firmly established in the country. And the election of a leftist mayor of the capital in Colombia for the first time demonstrates that even in the most closed and conservative rightist country, leftist propositions still enjoy strong popular support.

On the whole, Latin America’s political ecology is moving from the chaos since 2015 to a new round of political balance. Previously, the right was on the offensive while the left was on the defensive. During the transition, both of them are on the offensive and defensive simultaneously. In some traditional rightist countries, it is still likely that the left may, out of people’s expectation, seize power. With mistakes made by the right in governance and rising public discontent over corruption, security and social welfare, it is still possible that the left will stage a comeback. At the same time, as the public are upset with the situation and deeply disappointed at traditional political parties and politicians, and given the spillover effects of the Trump phenomenon, some countries may possibly see the rise of political dark horses that are anti-establishment, anti-tradition and anti-elites. But, since Latin America has fairly complete political frameworks and mature democratic systems, the
elections and changes of government have been basically stable this year. The possibility of military dictatorship, coup or regime change caused by non-institutional reasons is low. Even though populist figures such as Bolsonaro have come into power, they will be constrained by political parties, congresses, media and business interest groups. In the coming years, as economic recovery takes holds, power between the left and the right is reshuffled, and the public become tired of extremist political figures, a new balance will emerge in Latin America’s political ecology.

II. Latin America’s Economy Is Emerging from the Bottom and Making a Difficult Recovery

Since hitting the bottom in 2017, the Latin American economy is recovering gradually and difficultly. In 2018, the momentum of recovery registered since 2017 has been weakened by a combination of factors, including international trade tensions, increased volatilities on international financial markets, and the cycle of elections in Latin American countries. On economic fundamentals, growth has slowed down, inflation risen, current account deficits increased, and currencies depreciated at a faster pace. On macro policies, severe fiscal deficits and paced up increase in US interest rate have squeezed the space for Latin American countries to deliver fiscal and monetary policies. In 2018, Latin America’s economic growth rate was only 1.2%, falling short of IMF’s upbeat forecast of 2%, and even slightly lower than that of 2017. The performance is well below the global average (3.7%), and the average of developing countries (4.7%), and further below that of Asian countries (6.5%), making Latin America the slowest growing region in the world for five consecutive years. Brazil and Mexico, as the two largest economies in Latin America, grew
by only 1.4% and 2.2% respectively. The Argentine economy contracted by 2.6% and Venezuela even suffered a 10% drop in growth, dragging down the entire Latin American economy. Despite the eye-catching growth in countries on the Pacific coast such as Peru, Bolivia and Colombia and Caribbean countries like the Dominican Republic, it’s not strong enough to push for full recovery of the entire Latin American economy. It is worth noting that countries that have achieved fast growth since 2018 have mostly taken advantage of their economic links with Asia-Pacific countries including China, which lends strong impetus to their economies. For instance, the Dominican Republic grew at a high speed of 6.4%, only one year after establishing diplomatic relations with China. Peru, capitalizing on its free trade agreement with China, also achieved an impressive growth of 4.1%, becoming a highlight among Latin American economies.

In 2019, with increasing uncertainties and risks in the global economy, the highly externally dependent Latin America is unlikely to stay unaffected. This year, Latin America is still under significant downward pressure on its growth. Major Latin American economies in particular are faced with tremendous pressure on their economic development.

In Brazil, the Bolsonaro government has introduced ambitious economic reform policies centered on pension reform. Constrained by the opposition parties, these policies have only made slow progress. Big increases in public spending have made investors more worried about economic stability. As private investors are reluctant to get onboard, the massive infrastructure privatization and PPP plans introduced by the Brazilian government have been set back. Market forecasts about Brazil’s economic prospects have
thus been on the decline. Internationally, China-US trade frictions will exert a tremendous impact on Brazil’s industrial restructuring and export structure. Unfavorable factors, both domestic and international, especially the negative growth and falling investment and consumption in the first quarter of 2019, have sparked serious market concerns that Brazil may slide into protracted recession.

In Argentina, the government took a series of measures, including raising interest rates and cutting deficit, to curb inflation, which, however, caused severe consequences such as sharp contraction in market supply and operational difficulties for companies. In 2019, to live up to the IMF’s zero deficit standards, the Macri government has no choice but to significantly cut public spending, including subsidies on education, healthcare, transport and other public goods. This may lead to further economic contraction and rising public discontent. It is projected that Argentina’s economic growth will drop by 0.5% and inflation shoot up to 23% in 2019. The economic performance in the first three quarters of 2019 and the inflationary expectations point to a bleak prospect of achieving the zero deficit target. In particular, as 2019 is the year of election for Argentina, poor economic performance may become an obstacle for Macri to get re-elected.

In Mexico, the economy is deeply affected by economic policy adjustment, US-Mexico trade dispute, and especially the tough trade sanctions imposed by the US. To respond to decelerating exports and prepare for the tough time ahead, the Mexican government is also compelled to cut public spending. The Obrador government has dropped the plan to build the US$13.3 billion airport in Mexico City, which had already been under construction. The IMF, World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and
Fitch Rating have all downgraded their forecasts for Mexico’s growth in the belief that Mexico’s economy may slow down this year. At the same time, according to IMF statistics, Venezuela’s growth may drop by 18% this year, the third consecutive double-digit fall. As major countries are in the doldrums, Latin America’s economy may still be struggling at the bottom in 2019.

III. The US Steps up Intervention and Latin America is Divided on the Diplomatic Front

The US has in recent years continued to step up intervention to maintain its regional hegemony. First, it fights radical leftist countries harder. It carries on with sanctions on Cuba. After the Trump administration assumed office, it not only revoked the favorable policies introduced by the Obama administration to normalize relations with Cuba and imposed tighter restrictions on economic and social cooperation, but also prolongs economic and political sanctions on Cuba. The US also plans to expand tourism, financial and trade sanctions on Cuba. In Venezuela, the US took advantage of the anti-government activities organized by the self-declared president Juan Guaido to launch a new round of subversive acts. It has not only increased economic sanctions by announcing oil and gold sanctions on Venezuela, but also exercised long-arm jurisdiction to sanction companies and individuals of third countries who do trade and investment with Venezuela. The US has made active preparations for military intervention, deploying troops in Colombia and Caribbean islands close to Venezuela and engaging in massive reconnaissance. It also joined hands with Europe and the Lima Group in Latin America to diplomatically isolate the Maduro government. The relentless attacks on the Venezuelan administration fully demonstrate that
the US does not change in the slightest its control and intervention on Latin America, and that its neo-Monroe doctrine toward Latin America is only gathering momentum.

Second, the US ratchets up pressure on Mexico and Central American countries on trade and immigration. On trade, it forced Mexico to make concessions and sign the US-Mexico-Canada Free Trade Agreement. After taking office, Trump put the renegotiation of NAFTA high on the agenda. In July 2018, the US started bilateral talks with Mexico, using its influence to force the latter to make considerable concessions on issues such as the rule of origin for the auto industry and workers’ pay. On the issue of immigration, the US imposed pressure on Mexico and the Northern Triangle Countries (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador), demanding stronger control on illegal immigrants, and cancelling the temporary protection policy for immigrants from El Salvador and Honduras. Several hundred thousand immigrants are at the risk of being sent back. This June, the Trump Administration, with no regard to the newly signed free trade agreement with Mexico, announced additional tariffs, fragrantly interfering in Mexico’s internal affairs and border control, demanding Mexico close its southern border crossings and restrict Central American immigrants’ entry into Mexico. This once again speaks to the Trump administration’s tough, arrogant and selfish attitude toward Latin America.

Third, the US builds closer links with traditionally pro-America countries. Since 2018, former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, former Defense Secretary James Mattis, Vice President Michael Pence, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, and other high-ranking US officials have made frequent visits to major Latin
American countries including Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Brazil and Argentina to consolidate political relations and win support on issues related to Venezuela and security cooperation. Moreover, when Argentina was hit by financial turbulences, the US-dominated IMF committed to provide US$57.1 billion in lending to help the country tide over the crisis. The rightist government of Argentina is therefore forced to listen to the Americans on major diplomatic and political issues. After the rightist candidate Bolsonaro was elected Brazilian president, Trump sent a message of congratulations, received him during his visit to the US in March, and even voiced support to Brazil in its joining the OECD and becoming a non-NATO ally. These were part of the US attempt to make Brazil its strategic pivot in South America.

Moreover, the US has consistently smeared and sabotaged outside powers’ cooperation with Latin America, such as Russia and China. US senior officials have, on many occasions, groundlessly accused China and Russia of using their economic influence to bring Latin America into their spheres of influence, and hurting these countries’ manufacturing. And they claimed that Russia’s expanding presence in Latin America is a cause for concern. The recent report published by the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission of the US Congress called China’s presence in Latin America a comprehensive threat to the US. Apparently, the US takes China and Russia as two important variables in its relations with Latin America, underscoring the fact that to push out outside powers, the US has intensified diplomatic efforts in Latin America, with purpose of maintaining and consolidating its dominance in the region.

As the US has stepped up reengagement in its “backyard”
and new governments have been formed in some countries, some center-right governments are drawing closer to the US. The Bolsonaro government extended goodwill to the US after coming into power, planning to move its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. To obtain lending, Argentina agreed to the establishment of US military bases in places like Tierra del Fuego. President Moreno of Ecuador is increasingly close to the US, openly criticizing several times the Maduro government of Venezuela and even agreeing to deny political asylum to Julian Assange, an anti-America figure. In spite of its differences with the US on immigration and trade, Mexico can do nothing but make concessions to accommodate the tremendous influence of the US. In the face of internal and external challenges, leftist countries such as Cuba, Venezuela and Bolivia can only fight the US in a fair and reasonable way. Generally speaking, Latin American countries are increasingly divided on their attitude toward the US. Some center-right governments are drawing close to the US, US-Latin America relations, however, have yet to be substantially improved.

At the same time, Latin America has received more attention from outside forces in recent years. Through arms sale, aid and investment, Russia has enhanced cooperation with Latin American countries. It has pursued frequent cooperation with Nicaragua in military and information. Russia-Cuba cooperation continues to strengthen. Russia claimed that it will deploy in Cuba a ground station of its global satellite navigation system, GLONASS. In addition, Russia has gone further on its cooperation with Venezuela, agreeing to sell twelve Su-30 fighter jets, providing US$1 billion assistance in weaponry, and sending strategic bombers to “visit Venezuela”. All these moves demonstrate Russia’s military presence in Latin America and its strong support to the
leftist government of Venezuela. During the crisis in Venezuela in the first half of the year, Russia, with no regard to US threats, sent military personnel to Venezuela to offer intelligence and weaponry support, becoming the most effective weapon for Venezuela to fight against US military threats. India has also accelerated cooperation with Latin America. It pursues high-level exchanges and practical cooperation through BRICS and engages in economic and trade cooperation with Latin American countries with private companies as the vanguards. India is now Latin America’s third largest export destination and has surpassed China as the largest importer of Latin American oil. Some American media believe that India’s huge population, advantages in technology and services, and English-speaking skills will attract more attention from Latin America. EU countries continue to strengthen practical cooperation with Latin America. The EU has reached a principled agreement on upgrading its free trade agreement with Mexico, and is nearing the completion of free trade negotiations with MERCOSUR, which includes Brazil and Argentine. EU countries that have more input in the region such as France, Italy and Spain continue to enhance their economic and trade cooperation and cultural exchanges with Latin American countries.

However, regional integration has made slow progress, with solidarity declining among Latin American countries. Confronted with slow economic recovery, political instability and prominent social challenges, Latin American countries have been mostly focused on domestic affairs since 2018. Major countries such as Brazil and Mexico held elections; Argentine was hit by a financial crisis. Hence, less attention to and input in regional integration. Without “engines” and “leaders”, Latin America’s integration has come to a standstill. Moreover, countries in the region are
divided on the issue of Venezuela and have been in confrontation on multilateral occasions including the Summit of the Americas and meeting of the Organization of American States. Regional integration organizations have not gone any further. On the other hand, sub-regional organizations dominated by the left are also at a standstill. Ecuador has withdrawn from the Bolivarian Alliance for the People of Our America. Six governments, including Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Colombia, announced suspending participation in the Union of South American Countries.

Based on the current internal and external situation of Latin America, it can be predicted that Latin American countries will go through continued and significant domestic and foreign policy adjustments in 2019, so as to adapt to the tremendous changes in the political ecology, the uncertainties in economic recovery, and fierce struggles in diplomacy.
Why 5G Has Become a Focal Point in Great-Power Competition?

By Xiang Ligang*

In recent months, President Donald Trump defined the race to 5G as “a race that America must win”. A long article in The New York Times reported that the US administration defined 5G competition as a “new arms race” and believed “whichever country dominates 5G will gain an economic, intelligence and military edge for much of this century.” The report quoted an analyst who claimed the transition to 5G was a revolution and “this will be almost more important than electricity.”

5G has become a focal point in competition among great powers now and will emerge as a major front to test their strengths in future. Why has 5G become so important and how will it change the world technological, economic and even political landscapes?

I. The Internet enabled the United States to maintain economic, military and cultural supremacy in the world.

In 1970s and 1980s, rapid economic growth

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in Japan and the huge advantage it gained in the manufacturing sector put heavy pressure on the United States in the economic front. The Americans could not compete with the Japanese on the sophistication of the manufacturing sector. With considerable economic gains, Japanese companies were on a buying spree in the US property sector to the shock of US economy and culture.

The key step to turn around the situation was National Information Infrastructure, also known as information superhighway program. The US government defined it as a new opportunity for future development. The US made huge investment and ushered in a new economic era.

Information superhighway delivered a tremendous boost to social productivity and economic performance from which the US made significant benefits. Such gains were found not only in the economic field, but also in politics, military and culture, putting Japan and all the other competitors behind.

Information superhighway facilitated the development of personal computer (PC) industry as all servers, PC structure, CPU and key components were defined by American companies and largely developed and produced by them in the early stage. All the core technologies were in the hands of American companies. R&D and production of routers, optical devices, optical fibers and other physical Internet infrastructure were mostly conducted by American companies. Internet protocols, PC operating systems, web browsers, and server operating systems were all developed and produced by American companies. The earliest Internet websites were founded and developed in the US. In fact, almost all Internet companies around the world imitated their American predecessors.
The world leading Internet companies that we knew were all American companies, such as Intel, IBM, Microsoft, Cisco, Apple, Oracle, Yahoo, AOL, Google, Facebook and Twitter. The list went on. Facing the shocks of these new companies and new economy, traditional European and Japanese companies lost their luster. The capital market praised new economy and new businesses as new growth drivers. As the US emerged as the center in the cyber-world, the global financial center shifted from Europe to the US.

As Internet power swept across the world since mid-1990s, chips based on Internet, PCs and Internet services became the biggest US exports to the rest of the world and underpinned the US economic growth. These products, developed by a small number of elites and produced by a few select companies, carried considerable added value. With low need for labor force and social resources as well as minimal impact on the environment, these products brought about extremely high returns and huge rewards for the US.

At the same time, the US exported not only products, but also its cyber culture. The US culture and values of freedom, democracy and openness accompanied Internet technology to every country and every corner in the world, which boosted the US soft power to some extent. They were also a major catalyst of changes in the political landscapes in the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The Internet has become a symbol of the American spirit, a major medium for the US to export its political ideology, culture and values, and an important tool for regime changes in some places.

The Internet has brought huge economic, political, military and cultural gains to the US and enabled it to maintain supremacy
for decades. The US has a far deeper appreciation of the value and power of information technology, from this perspective, than any other country in the world.

II. Moreover, Internet capacity means huge information and intelligence value.

Power on the Internet not only offers huge economic gains, but also gives an edge in the intelligence war. The US is the forerunner in establishing its surveillance centers on the Internet to collect political and economic intelligence around the world with huge success.

The well-known secret surveillance program “PRISM” mines data and collects intelligence directly from central servers of US online companies. Leaked documents gave detailed description on the deep reach of the PRISM program on real-time and stored communication. The authorized eavesdropping targets include any clients outside the US who use services provided by companies participating in the PRISM program and any US citizen who communicates with people outside the US. The data acquired by the US National Security Agency (NSA) in the PRISM program include emails, video and voice chats, videos, photos, VoIP chats, file transfers, notifications of logins and online social network details. FBI and NSA mine data from technology companies, such as Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, PalTalk, YouTube, Skype, AOL and Apple.

In such surveillance programs, the US monitors its domestic Internet, intrudes into overseas servers, crushes its rivals with all kinds of intelligence, and even gains strategic initiative by
eavesdropping its allies. The intelligence war is a huge success for
the US.

The PRISM program is underpinned by a network of
hardware, software, systems and databases completely designed by
the US. Information can be easily collected and monitored only in
such a network. The US intelligence community is keenly aware of
this.

III. Europe came to gain the upper hand in the competition
on 2G.

The United States who dominates the Internet should have
controlled the telecommunication sector across the world, because
mobile communication, like the Internet, was also first developed,
deployed and produced by the United States. Motorola and AT&T
were forerunners in the R&D of wireless communication in the
world and the earliest manufacturers were all American ones,
which put the US in a unique position to become the world leader
on mobile communication. However, in the eve of 2G era, the
US missed out on this market opportunity due to resistance from
Europe.

Facing the US dominance on the Internet, Europe was
unwilling to be subject to the US on wireless communication.
Backed by political support, European countries joined forces
to resist the US by establishing GSMA (Global System for
Mobile Communications Alliance) and its own standards to
resist the US control and influence on the European mobile
communication sector. Pushed by GSMA, Europe developed its
own 2G standards—GSM to rival CDMA of the US. Facing the
technologically more advanced CDMA, European countries built alliances around the world, particularly with China—the largest wireless communication market in the world. A gigantic GSM system emerged in the world in the 2G era, while the United States who only forged alliance with South Korea saw its market squeezed.

In the 2G era led by Europe’s GSM standards, system equipment, chips and mobile phone industry based on GSM flourished. Industrial leaders in mobile communication were Nokia, Ericsson, Siemens, Alcatel, Sagem and Philips, while Motorola of the US declined.

The United States basically lost its dominance on wireless communication in the 2G era, leading to huge economic loss and more serious consequences for intelligence and military.

**IV. Smart Internet with 5G as a cornerstone represents a new strategic competition.**

The substantial improvement in data rate in the 3G and 4G eras and consequent exponential growth in data business and information industry have fundamentally changed people’s way of life.

In this context, 5G technology will be epoch-making technology. It will lead us to the Internet of Everything with not only high data rate, but also ubiquitous networks, low energy consumption, reduced latency, Internet of Everything, and reconstructed security. While improving our daily life in many ways, 5G will spread into many industries and, along with big
data, cloud computing and artificial intelligence, change social administrative and operational capacity, bringing a new revolution to the whole society.

5G will find its terminals not only in computers and mobile phones, but a myriad of traditional products, such as machine tools, automobiles, production lines, unmanned drones, door locks, air purifiers and fans, and kitchen ventilators and so on. With these new smart terminals, transportation, medical care, production and household will all be ushered into the era of smart Internet by 5G.

For example, a 5G-based smart transport network will feature autonomous driving and, more importantly, a robust administrative system free from traffic congestion and with minimal traffic accidents. Accidents cost tens of thousands of lives would never happen anymore. In addition, 5G will substantially boost smart industry, smart agriculture, smart logistics, smart health management, smart household and mobile e-commerce. 5G will help social management to go smart in every aspect, delivering a strong boost to social efficiency.

Therefore, 5G will not only change people’s daily life, but considerably enhance productivity, cut production cost, improve public security and promote public administration of the whole society. Once such a system be established on the basis of 5G and operated in an efficient and smooth way, it would make a huge difference to the society. In other words, the development of the world will be fundamentally changed with the arrival of 5G.

As 5G technology and network deployment will determine competitiveness on smart Internet business in the future, countries
have paid more attention to 5G than to 3G and 4G. For example, in the United States, the operators build 5G network so slowly that the US administration once toyed with the idea that a government-owned 5G network be built and then rented to the operators. Of course, the idea was abandoned as it was completely against market economic principle.

The strategic competition on 5G is unfolding, a competition which is not limited to technology and has spilled over into industry, application, intelligence, military, politics and diplomacy etc.

Therefore, to improve 5G network building, to a large extent, is to improve infrastructure capability, as well as national strength and strategic capability.

V. China’s mobile communications industry.

In the first and second generations of mobile communications, China was basically incapable of developing and producing equipments and handsets. All the devices and terminals were imported. In the 3G era, Chinese companies proposed the TD-SCDMA standards which was adopted internationally. Nevertheless, China was in a catch-up stage. In the 4G era, China was on a par with leading countries in the world, as the TD-LTE and LTE FDD standards it proposed were adopted as international standards. In the 4G era, Huawei rose to become the largest telecom equipment manufacturer in the world. Seven out of top ten mobile phone producers were Chinese ones. Internet services enjoyed skyrocketing growth. Internet companies such as Baidu, Alibaba, Tencent, JD and Meituan provided increasingly higher-
quality services to consumers.

In recent years, Chinese mobile phone manufacturers have come a long way, moving up into the medium and high-end market segments and expanding into the global market. The seven Chinese companies among the global top ten have forged strong R&D and production capacities. It is worth noting that mobile Internet and, in particular, Internet services represented by mobile payment have boomed in China. Innovation and entrepreneurship of these Chinese companies speak volume of the comprehensive competitiveness of Chinese business developers.

Now, Chinese telecom operators have more than 3.5 million 4G base stations, covering the whole country with high signal quality. The 4G network is available not only in large cities, but also in remote areas and villages, which has substantially improved social efficiency and cut social cost. It has facilitated such social services and products as mobile e-commerce, mobile payment, food delivery, shared bicycle and shared car, which has made life more convenient and China a world leader in this respect.

With the nationwide deployment of 4G network and a huge and increasing number of users, mobile Internet companies are seizing opportunities by transforming mobile Internet from a platform for social media and information communication to one for comprehensive services from social media to mobile e-commerce and mobile payment. Such a powerful platform featuring good service and better performance is spreading and penetrating the world. Nowadays, with Alipay or WeChat, Chinese tourists can apply for tax refund at European airports and pay in many stores in Europe and Japan.
Now, China Mobile is the largest telecom operator in the world, with a large number of users (twice the population of the United States), sophisticated network, high profitability, strong economic competitiveness, and comprehensive services. Among the top four telecom system equipment manufacturers, two are Chinese — Huawei and ZTE. Huawei is the only company in the world capable of R&D and production of the whole series of system equipment, terminals and chips. All these have laid a foundation for the future development of 5G. Many Chinese companies such as China Mobile, China Telecom, China Comservice, Huawei, ZTE and Datang have participated in the 5G standards making. In many areas, Chinese-supported technologies are included in the 5G standards.

As large as China, the United States only has about 350,000 4G base stations, which could ensure neither high-speed internet services in remote areas nor good coverage in urban areas. Surfing experience is not so good. Take mobile payment for example. Chinese users can pay with their phones wherever covered by mobile network. Many Chinese go without carrying cash or bankcard, only with their mobile phone. For Americans, as not all the places in the US are covered by mobile network, they cannot pay with their mobile phone if they don’t carry cash or bankcard.

The United States led the world in the traditional Internet era and China learned from it; in the early stage of mobile Internet, Twitter and Facebook shaped the world and Chinese Internet companies also learned from them. Similar features of US applications could be found in Weibo and WeChat in China. The dynamics began to change in recent years. Recently, Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg announced strategic transformation of
his company’s business focus by providing voice and video chat, small group chat, payment services etc. It is widely believed in the industry that this push was to become more of a WeChat-like service. Zuckerberg himself said he regretted not learning from WeChat sooner.

China played a catch-up role to take standards in the previous traditional Internet and mobile Internet eras. The Chinese internet industry faced litter external pressure at that time. In the 5G era, China, defined by the US as a rival, will be squeezed in an all-round way. China must rise up to this competition with an open mind, by integrating internationally advanced technologies and absorbing all valuable technologies and talents. Good products, high-quality business services and wonderful user experience will speak for themselves.
Visits & Events

XVII High-level Meeting Beijing Successfully Held

From June 23 to 25, XVII High-level Meeting Beijing, co-sponsored by CPIFA and the Nizami Ganjavi International Center (NGIC), was successfully held in Yanqi International Conference Center. The meeting was themed with “Development of China, Opportunities for the World”. 15 foreign former state leaders, together with other prominent Chinese and foreign delegates from political, economic and academic fields, had in-depth discussion on the topics of “China’s New Measures to Further Reform and Opening-up”, “Belt and Road Initiative”, “Global Governance and China’s Role in Multilateral Institutions”,

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“Sustainable Development” and “China-European Relations and ‘17+1’ Cooperation”.

During the meeting, Mr. Wang Qishan, Vice President of the People’s Republic of China, met with the foreign delegates. Mr. Dai Bingguo, former State Councillor of the People’s Republic of China, attended the opening ceremony and delivered a keynote speech.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former President of Latvia

On June 26, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Madame Vaira Vike-Freiberga, former President of Latvia and Co-chair of Nizami Ganjavi International Center (NGIC). The two sides exchanged views on China-European relations and other topics of common interest. Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, attended the meeting.
President Wu Hailong Visits Argentina, Chile and Panama

From May 8th to 18th, 2019, Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, heading a delegation of experts and scholars, visited Argentina, Chile and Panama. The delegation jointly held seminars themed the Belt and Road Initiative and bilateral relations with Argentine Council for International Relations (CARI), Foreign Affairs Committee of Chile’s Senate and University of Panama respectively. The delegation also paid visits to government officials, senators and entrepreneurs of the three countries.

The delegation consisted of Amb. Li Jinzhang, former Chinese Vice Foreign Minister and former Chinese Ambassador to Brazil, Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, as well as experts and scholars from Development Research Center of the State Council (DRC), Chinese Academy of Macroeconomic Research, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) and Renmin University.
The delegation introduced achievements and deliverables of the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation to the foreign counterparts, and exchanged views on bilateral relations, China-Latin American relations and progress of the Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America.

In Argentina, Amb. Wu Hailong, Amb. Zou Xiaoli, Chinese Ambassador to Argentina, Dr. Felix Peña, Deputy President of CARI and Min. Acevedo Diaz, Director General of the Department of Asian and Oceania Affairs, Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion, addressed the seminar respectively. The delegation also held talks with Ms. Marisa Bircher, International Trade Secretary of Argentine Ministry of Production and Labour, and Amb. Luis P. Beltramino, Undersecretary for Foreign Relations of Argentine Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Religion, and attended a luncheon on the theme of Belt and Road Cooperation sponsored by the Asia-Pacific Chamber of Commerce.

In Chile, Amb. Wu Hailong, Amb. Xu Bu, Chinese Ambassador to Chile, Amb. Roberto Ampuero, Foreign Minister of Chile addressed the seminar respectively. Amb. Li Jinzhang, Prof. José
Insulza, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of Chile’s Senate, and Mr. Rodrigo Yáez, Deputy Minister of Chilean Ministry of Foreign Trade delivered keynote speeches respectively. The delegation also paid visit to H. E. Mr. Eduardo Frei, former President of Chile, and held talks with Chilean senators.

In Panama, Amb. Wu Hailong, Amb. Wei Qiang, Chinese Ambassador to Panama, Mr. Elias Castillo, President of Latin-American Parliament addressed the seminar respectively. The delegation also paid visit to Mr. De León Sánchez, Chairman of China-Panama Friendship Committee of Panamanian National Assembly, and held talks with representatives of Chinese enterprises in Panama.

Duke of York Prince Andrew of the UK Visits China

At the invitation of CPIFA, Duke of York Prince Andrew of the UK visited Beijing, Shenzhen and Fuzhou from 10 to 17
April 2019.

During the stay in China, Mr. Yang Jiechi, Member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and Director of the Office of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the CPC Central Committee, Mr. Cai Qi, Member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Committee of the CPC, Mr. Wang Zhigang, Minister of Science and Technology, Jiang Jianguo, Vice Minister of The Publicity Department of the CPC, Mr. Yu Weiguo, Secretary of the Fujian Provincial Committee of the CPC, Mr. Wang Weizhong, Secretary of the Shenzhen Municipal Committee of the CPC, met with him respectively. Amb. Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, accompanied him throughout the visit. The two sides exchanged in-depth views on Sino-UK relations and promoting cooperation on innovation, entrepreneurship and education between the two countries.

The Duke of York, as the founder, also attended the final of Pitch@Palace China 3.0 in Shenzhen.
From May 26th to 28th, the International Medical Innovation and Cooperation Forum was held in Fangchenggang, Guangxi. Vice President Li Huilai of CPIFA attended the opening ceremony and the sub-forum on medical and health policies.

Co-organized by the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) Commission of Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation and the government of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, the forum focuses on the theme of “health, cooperation, innovation and sharing - to construct an innovation, cooperative and sharing medical platform under the SCO framework”. About 800 officials, experts, scholars and entrepreneurs in medical and health care field from 21 countries including SCO member states, observer countries and dialogue partners attended the forum.
Vice President Zhao Weiping Led a Working Group of Chinese Foreign Ministry to New York and Los Angeles

From June 24 to 28, Ambassador Zhao Weiping, Vice President of CPIFA, led a working group of the Chinese Foreign Ministry to New York and Los Angeles. During the visit, Vice President Zhao took interviews by Wall Street Journal, Associated Reuters, Los Angeles Times, Bloomberg, Fortune Magazine and BuzzFeed Website, focusing on China-US relations, especially China-US trade issues. Wall Street Journal and Associated Press covered some of the interviews in their reports. Vice President Zhao delivered a speech at a breakfast meeting co-sponsored by the US-China Institute at the University of Southern California and the Asia Society Southern California Center and answered questions raised by the audience of about 30 attendees. The working group also met with Dr. Henry Kissinger, former US Secretary of State, and had discussions respectively with think tanks and business
organizations including Council on Foreign Relations, Asia Society, National Committee on US-China Relations and Los Angeles Regional Export Council.

The 24th China-South Korea Future Forum Holds in Soeul, South Korea

On June 20, co-hosted by CPIFA and Korea Foundation, the 24th China-South Korea Future Forum was held in Soeul, South Korea. About 40 delegates from two sides attended the forum.

The Chinese delegation, headed by Amb. Wu Hailong, President of the CPIFA, included experts and scholars from major Chinese think tanks and famous universities. The South Korean delegation, headed by Mr. Lee Sihung, Executive President of
Korea Foundation, included former South Korean diplomats, scholars, experts and editors from important South Korean think tanks, famous universities, institutes and media.

In the Opening Ceremony, Mr. Cai Wu, former Minister of Culture of China and Mr. Park Byeong-seug, Member of South Korean National Assembly delivered congratulatory remarks respectively. Amb. Wu Hailong and Mr. Lee Sihung delivered opening remarks on behalf of the two institutions. The two delegations engaged in in-depth exchange of ideas on the topics of “Building Peace on the Korean Peninsula and China-South Korea Cooperation” and "China-South Korea Economic and Environmental Cooperation".

The China-South Korea Future Forum, first launched in 1994, is a bilateral platform for regular meetings, exchange of ideas between the two countries in politics, economy and trade, culture and academics. The Forum plays a positive role in promoting friendly cooperation between the two sides, and enjoys a high reputation in South Korea.

The 8th Chinese-German Young Leaders Conference Successfully Held in Dresden

From June 2 to 8, the 8th Chinese-German Young Leader Conference, co-sponsored by CPIFA and the Global Bridges e.V., was successfully held in Dresden of Germany. During the Conference, 40 delegates from governmental organizations, economic, higher-educational, academic and media fields of the two countries had in-depth and candid discussions on the topics of “How Do We Perceive Each Other?”,”Environmental Protection”, “Leadership and Sustainability”, “Leadership and Globalization”.

The delegates also met with Mr. Tillich, former Premier Minister of the Saxon State, and Mr. Roessler, President of the Saxon State Parliament. Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of the CPIFA, headed the Chinese delegation to attend the conference.
在新起点上高质量共建“一带一路”

张 军 外交部部长助理

今年4月底，第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛在北京成功举办，习近平主席发表主旨演讲并全程主持领导人圆桌峰会，提出高质量共建“一带一路”、构建全球互联互通伙伴关系等重大主张，推动各方就完善合作理念、强化合作机制、推进务实合作达成积极共识，标志着共建“一带一路”站在了高质量发展的新起点上。

“一带一路”是习近平主席提出的重大国际合作倡议。回顾6年来的实践，我们深刻地感到，“一带一路”倡议作为习近平外交思想的重要实践，把握住了世界发展大势，顺应了时代潮流和各国共同发展的普遍愿望，为国际经济合作打造了新平台，为世界经济增长挖掘了新动力。“一带一路”已经发展成为广受欢迎的国际公共产品，高质量共建“一带一路”一定能够不断走深走实、行稳致远。

一、共建“一带一路”是习近平外交思想的重要实践

思想来自于实践，又反过来对实践提供了重要指南。“一带一路”倡议在短时间内从理念转化为行动，从愿景变为现实，取得重大进展，正是因为它体现了习近平主席关于打造全球伙伴关系，构建相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢的新型国际关系，构建人类命运共同体的外交理念，把握住了世界发展的潮流和规律，得到国际社会积极响应和支持。

当今世界正处于大发展大变革大调整时期，如何在百年未有之大变局中把握航向、抓住历史机遇、应对风险挑战，是各国面临的共同课题。正是在这样的大背景下，我们以史为鉴，推动共建“一
带一路”，致力于从古代丝绸之路中寻找应对当今世界风险和挑战的办法。在这条古代大通道上，中国的张骞出使西域、郑和下西洋的故事广为流传，体现的正是中华民族历来秉持的天下大同理念，以及中国人怀柔远人、和谐万邦的天下观，这既是中国的历史遗产，也是全世界共同的精神财富。习近平主席把“一带一路”传承的这种古代丝绸之路精神概括为和平合作、开放包容、互学互鉴、互利共赢，这同构建新型国际关系理念一脉相承，并写入了第二届高峰论坛圆桌峰会联合公报。

“一带一路”源于历史，面向未来，具有鲜明中国特色和东方智慧，是构建人类命运共同体的中国方案。共商共建共享是合作的“黄金法则”，政策沟通、设施联通、贸易畅通、资金融通、民心相通是合作的五大支柱。习主席多次强调，“一带一路”是经济合作倡议，不是地缘政治联盟或军事同盟；是开放包容进程，不是封闭的小圈子；不以意识形态划线，不搞零和游戏。我们通过共建“一带一路”，致力于建设各国互联互通的桥梁，而不是搭起相互隔绝的高墙，更不会把自己的发展建立在阻碍其他国家发展的基础之上。第二届高峰论坛圆桌峰会公报中提出“打造繁荣与和平世界的共同命运”，充分体现了国际社会在共建“一带一路”长远目标方面的共识和愿景。

我记得有一位外国政要在第二届高峰论坛期间表示，“一带一路”让不同大陆上本来无法交流的人民建立起联系，鼓励大家相互理解、互学互鉴，这是习主席和中国政府的巨大成就；中国尊重和欣赏小国，没有傲慢与偏见，我们在高峰论坛上充分感受到了相互理解、相互尊重的气氛。这一发言得到各方广泛呼应，生动反映出共建“一带一路”所体现的习近平外交思想在国际上得人心、惠天下。正因如此，目前已经有136个国家、30个国际组织同中国签署了共建“一带一路”合作文件，39位外方领导人、150个国家和92个国际组织的代表出席第二届高峰论坛。各方用实实在在的行动向共建“一带一路”、向中国理念、中国倡议投下了赞成票和支持票。

二、共建“一带一路”促进中国与世界共同发展繁荣

“一带一路”倡议源于中国，属于世界，致力于把中国发展同各国发展结合起来，把中国梦同沿线各国人民的发展梦想结合起来，是中国与世界携手高质量发展、实现合作共赢的重要平台。

共建“一带一路”是新时代中国经济高质量发展的客观需要。当前，中国与世界的关系发生历史性变化。我们已成为世界第一大货物贸易国，世界第二大外
资流人国和第二大对外投资国，有望成为全球最大消费市场，与世界的联系越来越紧密。中国越来越需要世界，世界也越来越需要中国。站在新的起点上，中国需要在更高水平上实现高质量发展，需要用更强有力的举措解决发展不充分不平衡的矛盾，需要在更大空间内深化对外开放。应运而生的“一带一路”合作，恰恰发挥了这样的平台作用。我国通过与各国共建“一带一路”，引进来与走出去并重，有力促进了中国与世界经济的同频共振，既为中国企业对外投资带来了更多机遇，也为外国企业在华发展创造了更好条件。第二届高峰论坛期间举行的企业家大会上，中外企业达成了价值640多亿美元的商业合作协议。“一带一路”正助力中国建设陆海内外联动、东西双向互济的对外开放新格局，可以说是中国改革开放的“升级版”。

共建“一带一路”为多边主义注入正能量。当前，国际格局面临深刻调整，单边主义和保护主义、霸凌行径严重冲击世界经济，冲击国际秩序，冲击全球价值链、产业链，也冲击国际公平正义。世界面临着何去何从的抉择。“一带一路”展示了中国作为大国的使命和担当。“一带一路”秉持共商共建共享，坚持开放、包容、透明，不搞排他小圈子，欢迎任何感兴趣的国家参与，诠释了多边主义的深刻内涵。高峰论坛期间，各方在诸多领域建立“一带一路”多边对话合作平台，以实际行动推动构建开放型世界经济，践行多边主义理念。共建“一带一路”倡议及其核心理念被纳入联合国、二十国集团、亚太经合组织等重要国际机制成果文件中。习近平主席在高峰论坛开幕式上的主旨演讲、圆桌峰会联合公报受到高度评价。“一带一路”朋友圈不断扩大，好伙伴越来越多，用实际行动回应了各方维护多边主义的普遍愿望。

共建“一带一路”有利于为世界经济增长开辟更大空间。国际金融危机爆发后，寻找新的经济增长点始终是国际社会共同使命。联合国、二十国集团、亚太经合组织纷纷提出将基础设施投资作为新增长点。习近平主席率先提出实现联动发展的主张。共建“一带一路”以基础设施互联互通为主线，从供给和需求两端挖掘经济增长潜力，用联动推动生产要素的有效配置，把国际共识转化为了务实行动。通过共建“一带一路”，有的内陆国有了出海口，有的国家建起了第一条铁路、第一条高速公路，有的国家首次拥有了自己的汽车制造、轨道交通设备等产业，让这些国家能够更好地参与全球价值链、供应链和产业链。情况表明，中巴经济走廊、中欧班列、中泰铁路、中老铁路等项目对经济的带动作用不断显现。根据世界银行研究报告，共建“一带一路”将使全球贸易成本降低1.1%-2.2%，参与国之间的贸易往来增加4.1%。一些国际机构研究认为，共建“一带一路”将为2019年全球经济增速至少贡献0.1%。第二届高峰论坛期间，各方对“一
带一路”最多的评价就是这是一条“机遇之路”。联合国秘书长古特雷斯明确指出，“一带一路”倡议是世界不能错过的重大机遇。

共建“一带一路”助力落实2030年可持续发展议程。中国坚持以人民为中心的发展思想，在共建“一带一路”进程中，始终以此为目标，聚焦发展这一根本性问题。“五通”与2030年议程的17项目标高度契合。“一带一路”与2030年议程对接，有利于帮助各国特别是发展中国家消除贫困和饥饿、促进工业化和推动绿色发展，实现2030年议程中“不让任何人掉队”的目标。“一带一路”框架下的经济走廊和贸易大通道建设降低了国际贸易成本，本身也是联合国“国际贸易促进发展”议程的具体实践。第二届高峰论坛期间举行的圆桌峰会专门将落实2030年议程作为重要议题，会后发表的联合公报特别强调了对2030年议程的支持，中方与联合国有关机构签署了一系列合作协议，为这一重要议程的落实注入了新的活力。

三、推进高质量共建“一带一路”行稳致远

共建“一带一路”是长期的事业，只有更好，没有最好。过去6年，共建“一带一路”绘就了一幅气势磅礴的“大写意”，下一步的重点是绘制精谨细腻的“工笔画”，推动共建“一带一路”高质量发展，在新的起点上行稳致远。

高质量共建“一带一路”，核心要义是坚持共商、共建、共享，坚持开放、绿色、廉洁，坚持高标准、惠民生、可持续。这“三个坚持”是对共建“一带一路”实践的总结、提炼和升华，是中国新发展理念的延伸，得到国际社会积极响应，写入了第二届高峰论坛联合公报，成为下阶段共建“一带一路”的核心指导原则。

高质量共建“一带一路”，需要推动构建全球互联互通伙伴关系。这里面既包括对接各方互联互通倡议和规划，加强政策协调，形成合力，也包括推动具体领域合作，共同构建以经济走廊为引领，以物流贸易大通道和信息高速路为骨架，以铁路、港口、管网等为依托的互联互通网络。这种伙伴关系必须建立在各国互利共赢的基础之上，支持开放型世界经济、反对保护主义，支持多边主义、反对单边主义。“一带一路”目前已经同联合国、东盟、非盟、欧亚经济联盟的发展规划对接，同哈萨克斯坦“光明之路”新经济政策、蒙古“发展之路”、印尼“全球海洋支点战略”等国别倡议对接，以此为基础构建全球互联互通伙伴关系的前景可期。

高质量共建“一带一路”，需要推动各国联动发展。通过基础设施互联互通
通，可以让更多的“陆锁国”变成“陆联国”，让更多发展中国家更好地融入全球价值链、产业链、供应链并从中受益。中欧班列联通亚欧大陆100多座城市，被誉为连接亚欧各国市场的“钢铁驼队”，下一步将同陆海新通道对接起来。目前，哈萨克斯坦的小麦通过铁海联运抵达东南亚，中国重庆至印尼雅加达的货物专列只需2天就可抵达对方市场，亚的斯亚贝巴—吉布提铁路使两地交通时间从7天压缩为12个小时。这样的成功故事将越来越多。

高质量共建“一带一路”，需要始终坚持以人民为中心。发展导向、民生导向是高质量共建“一带一路”应有之义。在共建“一带一路”框架下，82个经贸合作区为当地创造近30万个就业岗位，蒙内铁路施工期间当地员工占比超过90%，巴基斯坦解决了全国电力短缺问题，这些都是“一带一路”改善民生福祉的生动体现。第二届高峰论坛期间，各方围绕教育、科技、文化、卫生、智库、民间组织、媒体等领域合作达成一系列成果，无疑将进一步帮助各国改善民生，促进社会发展。

高质量共建“一带一路”，需要继续坚持发展的可持续性。习主席提出要建设绿色丝绸之路，我们将把“绿色”作为共建“一带一路”底色，走绿色、低碳、可持续发展之路。第二届高峰论坛期间，各国就应对气候变化、推动绿色基础设施、绿色金融达成广泛共识，成立“一带一路”绿色发展国际联盟和生态环境大数据服务平台，发起“一带一路”绿色投资原则、绿色照明行动倡议、绿色高效制冷行动倡议，有关金融机构还决定发行绿色债券并发布绿色金融指数。这些成果的落实，将为“一带一路”带来新的勃勃生机。

高质量共建“一带一路”，需要打造高质量的合作项目。“一带一路”的鲜明特点是有理念、有方案、有行动、有效果，既是“思想库”也是“行动库”。对“一带一路”项目，既要确保建得成，也要确保建得好，更要确保用得住。我们在第二届高峰论坛上提出建设高质量、抗风险、可持续、价格合理、包容可及、广泛受益的基础设施，充分体现了在此方面的信心。在下一步的实践中，我们将从软件、软件两方面入手，继续完善和扩充“六廊六路多国多港多园”架构，积极建设和平之路、繁荣之路、开放之路、创新之路、文明之路，对接普遍接受的国际规则标准，确保经济、财政、社会和环境的可持续性，打造经得起历史检验和人民评说的精品工程。

高质量共建“一带一路”，还需要不断完善合作机制。要在继续用好双边合作机制、推动双边务实合作的基础上，进一步推进第三方市场合作，把我国和其他国家的比较优势结合起来，共同规划，共担风险，共享收益。要持之以恒推进“一带一路”多边合作机制建设，以实际行动体现对多边主义的支持。各方都欢
迎举办第三届高峰论坛，我们要以此为契机，把高峰论坛这个多边平台建设好、发展好，使之成为引领“一带一路”国际合作的最重要国际平台。目前我国与各国和国际组织在金融、税收、能源、数字经济、知识产权、环保、智库、媒体等领域发起成立了多个多边对话合作平台，要在此方面加大投入，使这些小多边机制成为共建“一带一路”的重要支撑。

共建“一带一路”是一个发展的过程，遇到一些风险和挑战是难免的，但这属于发展中的问题，完全可以在发展的进程中解决。对于各方提出的建设性意见，我们会虚心接受。对于一些误解、误读和误判，我们愿通过沟通对话，增进了解、扩大共识。对于戴着有色眼镜、刻意歪曲、抹黑的言论，我们相信公道自在人心，颠倒黑白、搬弄是非的做法欺骗不了国际社会，终将为正义和真理所抛弃。记得最近西方一位智库负责人明确表示，中国是当前提出全球发展蓝图，并拿出实施方案的唯一国家，对“一带一路”批评指责很容易，但又有谁能提出解决方案，且拿出资源支持这项计划呢？

“一带一路”是一条纽带，连接着中国和世界。“一带一路”是一个征程，立足脚下，通向远方。站在新的起点上，我们对“一带一路”发展前景充满信心。
第二次世界大战结束以来，世界上没有哪一个地区像中东那样战火、冲突和动荡几乎一直在持续。延宕70多年的巴勒斯坦问题始终是中东地区持续流血和无法抚平的伤口。今年以来，巴勒斯坦哈马斯等武装派别与以色列在加沙地区的冲突不断。与此同时，叙利亚、利比亚、也门等热点局势持续恶化，战局起伏不定，走向扑朔迷离，政治解决进程举步维艰。在阿尔及利亚、苏丹政权相继更迭后，许多人担心激烈震荡的乱局将继续蔓延，甚至会像2011年西亚北非地区爆发的“阿拉伯之春”一样进一步演变。中东动荡，特别是恐怖主义蔓延和难民等非传统威胁，不仅伤害地区国家，也殃及周边地区，对世界的和平、稳定与发展构成严重威胁。当前，在国际和地区各方合力打击下，“伊斯兰国”等恐怖主义势力在中东虽然遭到挫败而全面溃败，但其残余力量加夹向非洲、中亚、南亚等地扩散转移，在埃及、阿富汗、印度尼西亚、斯里兰卡和欧洲等地制造多起恐怖袭击，且更多瞄准软目标下手，最大限度地制造恐怖威慑效应，成为威胁国际安全的流动祸水。伊斯兰极端势力流窜、扩散威胁上升，国际反恐依然任重道远。更令人担心的是，中东日益成为全球难民的主要输出地，据估计，目前中东地区流离失所者接近1200万人，是2005年的5倍。地区总人口只占世界总人口的8%，但来自本地区的难民人数却占世界难民总数的50%以上，大量难民流向周边国家，涌向欧洲，造成欧洲二战以来最大的难民潮。

当前，特别值得关注的是，今年以来，美国出台新的中东政策，并不断采取新的行动，在将驻以色列使馆迁往耶路撒冷、承认戈兰高地主权属于以色列后，又宣布将推出“中东和平新计划”；在伊朗问题上，美在去年宣布退出伊核全面协议后，对伊“极限施压”，不断收紧对伊单边制裁，又将伊朗伊斯兰革命卫队“列
恐”，要求“清零”伊石油出口，并派航母编队和B-52、F-35等战机到海湾巡弋。伊朗则针锋相对，还以颜色，双方排兵布阵的对峙态势导致海湾和霍尔木兹海峡战云密布，紧张局势轮番升级，加上海湾油轮和石油管线遭到袭击，使擦枪走火触发突发军事冲突的危险进一步升级，中东地区的军备竞赛、军事对抗甚至爆发大规模军事冲突的风险明显上升。

中东是一块富饶的土地，是联结欧、亚、非三大洲的桥梁，是一个战略地位极其重要的地区，中东不安稳，世界难太平。面对紧张动荡，甚至是一部触即发的中东形势，国际社会和地区各国普遍担心中东的未来，更担心中东的进一步动荡将波及和影响周边地区甚至是世界的和平与稳定。

中东形势将如何发展，中东向何处去？

对于这个世界关注的“中东之问”，中国认为，当前中东正处在一个关键的十字路口上，地区国家和国际社会都面临着严峻的挑战和选择，必须共同努力，在推进政治解决上形成聚焦，才能解决中东热点问题的唯一出路，舍此别无他途。

习近平主席在2016年访问阿拉伯国家联盟总部时曾经指出，“在穿越时空的往来中，中阿两个民族彼此真诚相待，在古丝绸之路上出入相友，在争取民族独立的斗争中甘苦与共，在建设国家的征程上守望相助”，强调中国对中东的政策举措坚持从事情本身的是非曲直出发，坚持从中东人民根本利益出发，中国在中东不找代理人，不搞势力范围，不谋求填补“真空”。由于有着同中东地区国家相同的历史遭遇和经历，中国对中东地区国家当前遭受的苦难感同身受，我们对中东地区热点冲突不断升级高度关切并深切担忧，中国认为，中东的和平符合地区各国的共同利益，也关系到中国的稳定与发展。因此，中国真诚地希望中东各国早日实现和平、稳定、合作、发展，而绝不愿意看到对抗、冲突或是动荡。

为推动中东形势向缓和的方向发展，推动地区的热点问题早日得到解决，中国一直坚持不懈地做出自己的努力。中国同地区所有国家保持了友好关系，同各国保持对话，并呼吁国际社会合作采取更强有力行动，在政治上激活和谈进程，在经济上推进重建进程，让中东地区各国人民早日看到希望。对于中东的热点问题，中国一贯采取开放和包容的态度，强调通过对话和谈判等和平手段寻求政治解决冲突和争议是解决热点问题的最好途径，强调任何有利于缓和热点紧张、实现降温、符合地区人民利益并为国际社会欢迎的和平倡议、主动行动和外交努力都将得到中国的支持。

中国认为，中东的热点问题必须实现全面解决，巴勒斯坦问题、伊拉克问题、叙利亚问题、利比亚问题、也门问题等热点问题应当得到国际社会同样的关
注和重视，国际社会不应只关注和重视某个热点而忽视其他的热点，或将其边缘化。对于巴勒斯坦问题这个中东和平的根源性问题，国际社会更应当努力定纷止争，既要推动复谈、落实和约，也要主持公道、伸张正义。国际社会应该坚持以公道为念、以正义为基，尽快纠正历史不公。中国坚定支持中东和平进程，支持巴勒斯坦人民争取恢复民族合法权利的正义事业。我们理解巴勒斯坦以国家身份融入国际社会的正当诉求，支持建立以1967年边界为基础、以东耶路撒冷为首都、拥有完全主权的、独立的巴勒斯坦国，这是解决巴勒斯坦问题的关键。与此同时，中国认为以色列的生存权和合理安全关切也应该得到充分尊重，支持巴以两国和平共处、共享和平与安全这一正确方向。只有这样，才能实现巴勒斯坦问题的全面、公正、持久解决。

在推动中东和平进程这个问题上，中国的立场是清晰明确的，70多年前，联合国出台了巴以分治决议，因此联合国在中东问题上负有特殊的责任。我们历来主张，要根据联合国宪章和国际法的基本准则来解决中东问题，在联合国有关决议、“土地换和平”原则、“两国方案”、“阿拉伯和平倡议”等既有成果基础上，全面推进中东和平进程向前发展。

中国历来主张应该将对话和谈判作为实现巴以和平的唯一途径。巴以双方应该顺应时代潮流，坚持走和谈之路，互谅互让，相向而行。当务之急是在停建定居点、停止针对无辜平民的暴力活动、解除对加沙地带封锁、妥善解决在押巴勒斯坦人问题、向巴勒斯坦人提供紧急人道主义援助等方面采取切实措施，为重启和谈创造必要气氛和有利条件。

在当前国际高度关注、极其紧迫的伊核问题上，中国作为联合国安理会常任理事国和伊核全面协议缔约方之一，一贯采取客观、公正和负责任的立场，支持和维护伊核问题全面协议，反对使用武力或用武力威胁，呼吁美伊双方通过对话谈判解决分歧，维护地区的和平稳定。兵危战凶，中国认为海湾局势持续紧张对各方都不利，冲突对抗不是出路，对话协商才是唯一办法。

叙利亚现状不可持续，冲突不会有赢家，受苦的是地区人民，停火是当务之急，政治对话是根本之道，人道主义救援刻不容缓。在叙利亚问题上，中方始终坚持政治解决是唯一现实出路，坚决维护国际公理法治，叙主权、独立和领土完整应当得到维护和尊重，叙国家未来应由叙人民自主决定。中方支持联合国发挥斡旋主渠道作用，呼吁叙有关各方通过包容性政治对话，找到符合叙实际、兼顾各方关切的解决方案。

中东动荡，根源出在发展，最终出路也要靠发展。破解难题，关键要加快发展。发展事关人民生活和尊严。这是一场同时间的赛跑，是希望和失望的较量。
只有让地区各国人民，尤其是青年人在发展中获得希望，获得生活的尊严，他们才会选择支持对话和政治解决，自觉拒绝暴力，远离极端思潮和恐怖主义。当前，和平、改革、发展是中东各国的普遍需要，稳定、安宁、幸福是中东人民的共同追求。

中国坚持走和平发展道路，奉行独立自主的和平外交政策，实行互利共赢的对外开放战略，中国愿意同国际社会和地区国家一起合作，在中东问题上发挥更大和更积极的作用。中国坚持“发展促和平”理念，顺应中东人民追求和平、期盼发展的强烈愿望，“一带一路”倡议同地区实际相结合，不仅将为未来中东地区各国的经济发展提供新的机遇，而且将为中东热点问题的解决做出重要的贡献。多一点安宁和尊严，少一些冲突和苦难，这是中东人民的向往。在过去的上百年里，中东经受了太多的动荡和曲折。在下一个百年，中国真诚期待中东国家树立命运共同体意识，卸下历史的包袱砥砺前进，携手建设一个持久和平、共同繁荣的美好地区未来。
互利共赢的中欧关系
为世界注入稳定性和正能量

朱京 外交部欧洲司副司长

刚刚过去的2019年春天，堪称中欧关系的“暖春”，见证了中欧关系的“高光时刻”。习近平主席春分时节飞赴欧洲，对意大利、摩纳哥、法国进行国事访问，开启今年首访。习主席的重要访问致力于深化中欧全面战略伙伴关系，推动共建“一带一路”在亚欧大陆开辟新的空间，宣示了中欧同为世界和平建设者、全球发展贡献者、国际秩序维护者，共同致力于完善全球治理，致力于捍卫多边主义的立场和决心，不仅仅深化了中欧之间互信与合作，而且为中欧全面战略伙伴关系注入新的强劲动力，为充满变数的世界注入了稳定性、确定性和可预期性。

4月，李克强总理赴比利时出席第二十一次中国—欧盟领导人会晤、赴克罗地亚出席第八次中国—中东欧国家领导人会晤并访问克罗地亚。第二十一次中国—欧盟领导人会晤发表了内容丰富、积极平衡、具有实质意义的《联合声明》。这是双方平等协商、互利共赢的结果，展现了中欧共同维护多边主义、携手应对全球挑战的广泛共识，在经贸投资、互联互通、科研创新、人文交流、全球治理等一系列合作领域明确了双方努力方向，设定了明确的时间表和路线图。

栗战书委员长、王岐山副主席今年首次出访也选择了欧洲，王毅国务委员兼外长同欧盟外交与安全政策高级代表莫盖里尼举行新一轮中欧高级别战略对话，首次同欧盟国家外长举行集体交流。欧盟多位领导人接连访华，迎来了中国外交的“欧洲季”。双方密集的高层交往为中欧关系作出了具有战略高度的顶层设计，为中欧关系发展指明了方向，也是当前中欧全面战略伙伴关系高水平、全领域运行的写照。
当前，中欧互利共赢合作蓬勃发展，全面推进，体现在：

一、中欧是重信守诺、携手深化务实合作的好伙伴。“一分部署，九分落实”，当前中欧双方正积极落实领导人访问达成的重要成果。中意双方积极推进2020年互办文化和旅游年筹备工作，首次财长对话于7月10日在米兰举办。中法乏燃料后处理厂谈判取得重要进展，法律和司法对话机制正式启动。中国同欧盟签署了《民用航空安全协定》和《关于航班若干方面的协定》，同时双方不断加紧推进中欧投资协定和地理标志协定谈判，力争按商定的时间表完成。中欧双方将领导人共识转化为实实在在的行动，表明双方信守承诺，致力于进一步深化开放和务实合作，显示了对深化中欧全面战略伙伴关系的决心和信心。诚如容克主席对中欧签署民航协定的评价：“在愈加不确定的世界中，欧洲同中国的伙伴关系比以往更加重要，双方应该沿着合作之路走下去。”

二、中欧是着眼发展、携手扩大互利共赢的好伙伴。中欧关系“高光时刻”的基础是双方长期以来广泛深入的合作。中国改革开放40年来，中欧贸易规模增长了250倍。欧盟连续15年成为中国最大贸易伙伴，去年双边贸易额创下6821.6亿美元的历史新高。中国也多年保持欧盟第二大贸易伙伴的地位。中欧双向人员往来去年接近800万人次，每周有600多个航班往返中欧两地。中欧建立全面战略伙伴关系16年来，各领域合作给双方民众带来了实实在在的好处。

高质量共建“一带一路”正在成为中欧合作的新亮点。“一带一路”倡议与全球化时代下构建大市场、实现大联通的普遍诉求相契合，与欧盟促进地区融合发展、维护多边主义和自由贸易的主张有重要交集，体现了中欧间的共识，也得到包括欧洲在内的国际社会的广泛支持。今年4月，10多位欧方领导人和高级代表来华出席第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，开启了中欧高质量共建“一带一路”的新篇章。正是基于双方对合作的需求，中欧共同建立了互联互通平台和共同投资基金，启动了具体项目合作。欧洲议会欧中“一带一路”政策沟通委员会、德国“一带一路”倡议协会等机构陆续成立，显示出欧洲各界对中欧高质量共建“一带一路”的期待更大，信心更强。

三、中欧是有责任担当、携手维护多边主义和自由贸易的好伙伴。当前，单边主义和保护主义严重冲击国际秩序和多边贸易体制。个别国家滥用关税和“长臂管辖”，肆意将经贸问题政治化、泛安全化，更扰乱了全球的产业链和供应链，也直接威胁包括中国和欧洲在内的世界经济增长。中国和欧盟作为国际社会两大力量，选择什么样的方向、提出什么样的主张，对国际秩序和格局的发展变革调整将产生重要影响。中欧关系已远远超越双边合作的范畴，具有突出的战略性和全球意义。
面对要单边主义还是多边主义、要保护主义还是自由贸易的紧迫命题，中国和欧盟已经给出了明确答案。中欧都支持多边主义，主张维护以联合国宪章宗旨和原则为基础的国际关系基本准则，支持构建开放型世界经济，支持以规则为基础的多边贸易体制，反对单边行径和贸易保护主义。这是中欧面对风云变幻的国际形势作出的战略抉择，也是双方对人类社会应有的历史担当。

四、中欧是相互尊重、携手促进开放包容的好伙伴。中欧所处地域不同，历史文化、社会制度和发展道路各异，在一些问题上有不同观点乃至分歧都是正常的。合作体量大了，难免会出现一些问题甚至摩擦。但中欧间不存在根本利益冲突。面对分歧，关键是看如何对待、如何处理。最重要的是以开放的心态看待彼此，通过合作协商妥善管控进而解决分歧。欧盟的格言是“多元一体”，中国人讲“和而不同”，二者的实质是一致的，中欧建交44年的实践也证明，只要双方相互尊重、相向而行，就可以不断增进共识、缩小分歧，实现互利共赢。中欧加强对话合作符合双方根本和长远利益，对世界的和平稳定繁荣也具有重要意义。

在当前国际形势中不稳定不确定因素增多的背景下，中欧应当以全球视野、战略高度和理性思维，进一步加强沟通合作，共同应对人类社会发展面临的老问题和新挑战，共同推动构建新型国际关系和人类命运共同体，为不确定性日益突出的世界注入稳定性和正能量。

首先，中欧要为世界的持久和平作出贡献。多年来，欧盟通过自身理念和实践向世界证明，各国人民可以跨越历史恩怨、文化隔阂，实现共赢。作为维护世界和平与促进共同发展的两大力量，中欧应当携手并肩，合力打造相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢的国际关系。中方始终从战略高度和长远角度看待和发展中欧关系，支持欧洲一体化，因为欧洲一体化进程符合世界多极化的方向，一个团结、稳定、开放、繁荣的欧洲同样有利于中国。我们希望欧盟同样保持对华政策的连续性，同中方一道制定下阶段双边关系中长期战略规划，共同努力推进中欧全面战略伙伴关系建设。

第二，中欧要对世界的普遍安全作出贡献。当前国际安全问题的内涵和外延都在进一步拓展，面对恐怖主义、核扩散、重大传染性疾病等风险，中欧双方利益交融、安危与共。中欧双方应当树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，尊重和照顾彼此合理安全关切，统筹维护传统和非传统安全，以对话协商、互利合作的方式解决安全难题。中国愿继续同欧盟在双边、地区和全球层面加强对话协作，共同倡导和践行多边主义，维护以联合国为核心的国际秩序和国际体系，携手应对全球性挑战。

第三，中欧要为世界的共同繁荣作出贡献。面对单边主义和保护主义，中欧
应当同舟共济，促进贸易和投资自由化便利化，推动经济全球化朝着更加开放、包容、普惠、平衡、共赢的方向发展。双方应当加强全球经济治理合作和宏观经济政策协调，通过中欧世贸组织改革联合工作组等渠道，就世贸组织改革事务加强沟通。中欧要继续共同推进亚欧互联互通，加强“一带一路”倡议同欧盟能“欧亚互联互通战略”对接。中欧要打造促进自由贸易的新高地，争取明年完成中欧投资协定谈判并早日开启中欧自由贸易合作进程。中欧在科技创新、经济金融等领域合作潜力很大，深化双方务实合作有利于更多惠及中欧人民，也有利于为世界经济全面可持续增长提供新动力。

第四，中欧要为世界的开放包容作出贡献。中欧同为有着悠久历史的伟大文明，文明的多样性应当成为文明进步的动力。我们愿促进和而不同、兼收并蓄的中欧文明交流对话，在交流互鉴中共同发展，使文明交流互鉴成为增进中欧人民友谊的桥梁。我们希望同欧方一道，不断探索文明互鉴的新领域、新模式、新方法，促进双方在社会保障、文化、卫生、体育等领域的合作，也希望中欧人员往来更加便利化，尽早实现中欧人员往来和移民领域对话路线图第二阶段目标。

第五，中欧要为世界的清洁美丽作出贡献。人类只有一个地球，地球正在承载越来越大的环境生态压力。气候变化等重大问题给包括中欧在内的国际社会带来日益严峻的挑战。中欧双方应当共同努力，共同推进“2030年可持续发展议程”，完善全球伙伴关系，加强水资源、海洋、环境、循环经济等领域的合作，积极落实中欧能源合作路线图。我们愿同欧方一道采取行动应对气候变化等新挑战，携手推动《巴黎协定》后续谈判和有效实施，积极建设和完善全球气候治理体系，共同推动绿色、低碳、可持续发展，为共同呵护好我们赖以生存的地球家园作出贡献。
中日关系应着眼大局、稳中求进

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随着2018年5月李克强总理访日、10月安倍晋三首相访华、今年6月习近平主席出席日本大阪G20峰会，当前的中日关系已经走出低谷，回到正常发展的轨道。最近结束任期的中国驻日大使程永华离任回国前，安倍首相4月16日邀请他在首相官邸共进午餐。5月7日，安倍夫妇、前首相森喜朗、福田康夫，自民党干事长二阶俊博、公明党党首山口那津男等近千名日本各界人士出席了程大使的离任招待会。5月9日，程大使又成为新天皇会见的第一位外国客人。通过这些“超常规待遇”，日本政府发出的愿意进一步改善中日关系的信号是清晰的。据报道，中日两国外交部门正在就今年安倍首相再次访华、习近平主席未来正式访日的时间进行磋商。

其次，两国内在的共同利益和合作需求是重要的推动力量。中日两国的经济互补性强，合作空间大。特别是中国随着人均GDP提高，国内市场迅速扩大，成为全球增长速度最快、潜力最大的市场，对贸易立国的日本和日本企业吸引力巨大。虽然经济合作有其自身逻辑，中日间也曾有过“政冷经热”现象，但彼此经济合作受双边政治关系的影响也是显而易见的。中日贸易额在2011年之前几乎一路上扬，但从2012年开始连续5年减少，从2011年的3449亿美元跌到2016年的2705亿美元，其中固然有经济方面的原因，但更主要的是受政治关系恶化的拖累。2018年10月安倍访华时，有多达500名企业界人士随同来访，可见日本经济界对改善日中关系的热切期待。

再次，美国政策带来的不确定性进一步推动了中日关系的改善。特朗普竞选期间提出的主张，如退出跨太平洋伙伴关系协定（TPP）、要求盟国负担美国驻军费用等，已经让日本政府感到紧张。特朗普上台后，其违反WTO规则的单边主义贸易政策给全球经济增长带来巨大冲击，中国、日本作为对美贸易顺差大国成为其矛头所向，不仅中国面临美国提高关税的巨大压力，日本也同样面临提高钢铝、汽车关税等威胁。另外，美国提出对盟国的保护“有偿化”，让日本对日美同盟的信赖度降到历史上的最低点。正是美国政策带来的不确定性，为中日两国增加了合作的动力。

中日关系的改善势头良好，使大家对两国合作前景充满期待。但也必须看到，两国关系的深化发展仍然面临一些障碍和问题。

就影响两国关系的传统问题而言，历史问题、领土问题、台湾问题等三大问题依然不同程度地存在。历史问题上，安倍2013年参拜靖国神社后，日本政界人物参拜曾经一时达到高潮。随着两国关系出现改善势头，近年来很少再有日本阁僚参拜。但正如2015年安倍在二战结束70周年时发表的谈话所表明的一样，日本方面对侵略历史的认识仍然模糊，两国就历史认识达成共识显然还需要长期的努力，其间不排除在该问题上摩擦再起使双边关系倒退的可能。在领土问题上，虽然两国已经启动海空联络机制，有利于防止发生意外冲突，但日方立场在民主党政府时期倒退至明确否认“搁置争议”共识，至今仍然没有改善，而媒体坚持将中方公务船巡航称为“侵入日本领海”，持续恶化两国国民感情。台湾问题上，日本为其对台窗口机构更名，事实上已经给中日关系改善带来了负面影响。

在现实合作方面，安倍2018年10月访华时称赞“一带一路”是“有潜力的构想”，同时日方为避免刺激中国将“印太战略”改称为“构想”。在2018年10月举行的首届中日第三方市场合作论坛上，两国企业及相关部门达成52项协议，包括基础设施、金融、物流、信息技术等广泛领域，合作金额超过180亿美元。
但显然，以中日经济规模而论，两国之间的合作空间还应更大。日本经济产业省大臣世耕弘成在论坛上表示，“中日经贸关系正处于由竞争向合作转型的重要时期，本次论坛将成为日中经济合作发展的新起点”。但两国真正由竞争转向合作，恐怕也需要较长时间的磨合。

中日在战略和安全领域的互信不足是对两国关系影响最大、最难解决的问题。2013年以来，安倍政府已经连续7年增加防卫预算。日本把强化军事力量作为实现政治大国目标的重要途径，但在将“出云”级直升机航母改造为能搭载F-35B战斗机的轻型航母、决定大批购买F-35战斗机时，把对日益增强的中国军事力量的担忧作为理由，说明两国之间安全互信依然严重不足。

传统问题得不到解决、合作动力不足、安全互信缺乏，无疑会给两国关系的未来发展带来隐忧。在两国关系回到正轨之际，双方有必要思考如何才能使友好合作关系“行稳致远”。

中日两国一是应该从大局出发，把握两国关系的战略意义和发展方向。习近平总书记今年1月在中央外事工作会议上指出，“世界处于百年未有之大变局”。大变局意味着世界格局正在发生深刻变化，传统的世界秩序正在受到挑战，全球政治经济存在巨大的不确定性。在这一变动过程中，为了维护地区及全球的稳定、繁荣，中日两国必须加强合作。安倍在2018年1月的国会演说中曾表示，“日本和中国对地区的和平与繁荣具有巨大责任，是割也割不断的关系。为此要从大局的观点出发，发展（与中国）安定友好的关系，回应国际社会的期待。”日本政府2019年版的《外交蓝皮书》也认为：“从大局来看，与中国构建稳定的关系非常重要。”这表明，日本也越来越愿意从“大局”高度认识中日关系的重要性。两国继续从大局出发思考和制定政策，是双边关系实现长期稳定的政治保障。

二是要加强战略沟通、增进安全互信。习近平主席在2018年10月会见来访的安倍首相时曾说：“双方要开展更加深入的战略沟通，发挥好两国多层次、多渠道的对话机制作用，准确把握对方的发展和战略意图，切实贯彻践行‘互为合作伙伴，互不构成威胁’的政治共识，加强正面互动，增进政治互信。”据报道，日方近期已经向中方提议创设“中日外长防长磋商（2+2）”机制，以加强双方安全保障领域的相互信任。这意味着双方1993年起步、2002年升级为副部长级的“安全对话”将可能得到升级并实现机制化。

三是要挖掘合作潜力，深化务实合作，扩大双方共同利益。中日作为世界第二、第三大经济体，经济发展阶段不同而各有优势，地理位置和文化相近，两国不仅在传统制造业、服务业领域仍有巨大合作潜力，而且在自动驾驶、人工智能等新技术领域也有广阔的合作空间。只有通过合作不断扩大双方的共同利益，才
为双边关系的稳定发展提供动力和保障。

四是管控敏感问题的同时，从长远着眼消除双边关系中的障碍。双方首先应采取积极措施，增进对话，管控分歧，避免历史、领土、台湾等敏感问题引发双边冲突，中断双边关系发展进程。同时，为使两国关系行稳致远，应主动消除一些可能引发矛盾的隐患。例如，双方可以就历史问题继续进行共同研究和交流，确认历史事实、加深相互理解；在领土问题上正视分歧、积极开展对话，为将来解决问题奠定基础、创造环境。

当前中日关系重回正轨来之不易，随着国际格局的深刻演变，中日关系的重要性将与日俱增。中日双方应抓住历史机遇，牢牢把握大方向，通过不断扩大共同利益夯实双边关系基础，着眼长远构建稳定的双边关系，造福两国人民，为地区及全球的和平与繁荣做出贡献。
国际发展合作现状及趋势

张云飞 中国联合国协会理事

近年来，全球发展援助规模总体上升。尽管发达国家仍是国际发展合作的主要力量，但比重却呈下降趋势，而发展中国家不断发展壮大，已成为国际发展合作舞台上一支不可忽视的力量，对国际发展合作产生深远影响。

一、官方发展援助仍占主导地位，但成效性受到质疑。

在过去70多年里，发达国家一直在国际发展合作中占据主导地位。它们通过官方发展援助（Official Development Aid，简称ODA），向发展中国家或多边援助机构提供赠款或优惠贷款，作为其推动全球治理的重要手段之一。

经济合作与发展组织（Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development，简称OECD）要求发达国家拿出其国民总收入（Gross National Income，简称GNI）的0.7%用于发展援助，这个目标已成为国际社会衡量发达国家履行国际发展援助义务的标尺。OECD发展援助委员会（Development Assistance Committee，简称DAC）的30个成员每年向发展中国家提供全球80%以上的援助，其中不少国家，如美国、加拿大、英国、意大利、澳大利亚等国的对外援助几乎都是无偿援助，德国的无偿援助也占其总数的84%左右。ODA成为不少发展中国家发展资金的重要来源，特别是一些最不发达国家，其财政收入主要依赖外援。

西方援助大国在非洲具有地缘、文化、语言优势。英国、法国、葡萄牙以及德国等非洲前殖民宗主国，与非洲之间有着深厚的历史、语言和文化渊源，其价值理念、制度模式在非洲具有较高的认同度。发达国家十分重视社会和民生领域的援助，如医疗、减灾、教育、环境等，这些援助可直接使普通民众获益，能见度高。
此外，发达国家普遍重视发挥非政府组织的作用，注重与其建立牢固的合作伙伴关系，并通过非政府组织使援助深入到受援国草根阶层。

经过70多年的经营，发达国家在国际发展合作方面积累了丰富的经验。一方面，它们建立起了完整、成熟的援助管理和运行机制以及监督和评估体系。DAC制订的一系列标准和指南，旨在协调和规范成员国的援助，并通过同行评估等形式加以监督。虽然没有硬性约束，但发达国家一般都遵守或参照DAC相关规则和标准。大多数发达国家有着较为成熟的援助法案，同时设有专门援助机构，协调与其他政府相关部门之间的关系，并通过独立、透明的监督和评估，确保援助资金的有效利用和项目的顺利开展。另一方面，OECD及其成员已形成较为成熟的国际发展合作理论体系，并主导国际发展合作的规则和话语权。它们拥有多家国际发展合作智库，并在大学设有国际发展合作专业。OECD发表的年度报告和其他研究报告，及时总结援助经验和教训，研提应对挑战之策。此外，发达国家重视彼此之间的联系和合作，定期召开国际援助研讨会，探讨未来合作领域和援助方向，也会在受援国联合支持一些规模较大的项目。

尽管发达国家ODA在教育、卫生等领域取得了很大成绩，但并没有从根本上推动受援国经济发展，不少受援国仍然处于极端贫困之中，究其原因是现行国际发展援助体系中存在一些深层次问题。

首先，援助意愿不强是影响ODA有效性的最根本原因。长期以来，多数发达国家的ODA都未能达到0.7%的援助门槛。近年来，由于受国际金融危机影响，发达国家经济发展滞缓，参与国际发展合作的政治意愿和能力下降。根据OECD2018年年度报告，2017年来自OECD/DAC成员国的ODA总额为1466亿美元，占GNI的比例为0.31%，比2016年下降了0.6%，远没达标。在DAC成员国中，只有丹麦、卢森堡、挪威、瑞典和英国等5个国家达到了0.7%的援助门槛。全球前5大援助国中，除英国（179亿美元）达标外，美国只有0.18%（353亿美元）、德国0.66%（247亿美元）、日本0.23%（115亿美元）和法国0.43%（114亿美元）。近年来，为了缓解人道主义救援压力，发达国家一直在推动将ODA与人道主义应急资金合并。2017年用于人道主义应急资金达155亿美元，占ODA总额的10.6%，致使ODA直接用于其他领域的资金减少。

其次，发达国家利用ODA推广其价值观和发展模式，在提供援助时往往附加政治条件。一些受援国政府执政能力低下，严重依赖国际援助，不得不接受苛刻的政治条件，以满足西方援助国的要求。西方民主化改造便是主要内容之一。但由于移植西方民主导致水土不服，容易触发争斗，造成社会动荡。自20世纪80年代后期以来，不少非洲国家因急剧政治民主化和经济私有化诱发了大规模的政
治危机甚至流血冲突，一些国家至今仍未实现政治和社会稳定，人道主义危机频发，这与西方的援助政策不无关系。

第三，发达国家提供援助时更多考虑的是对外战略需要。英国和法国更关注其前属殖民地发展；日本为扩大其在地区和联合国的影响力，重点经营东南亚和非洲地区；美国更是直言不讳地表示将“有选择性”地提供对外援助，其大部分ODA投向阿富汗、埃及、约旦、肯尼亚等国。这导致一些急需援助的国家得不到援助，最不发达国家得到的援助平均只有0.09%，远未达到联合国设定的0.15%至0.20%目标。

第四，ODA落实程序繁琐，有效性不高，浪费严重，大量援助预算被用于各种会议和评估，造成管理成本过高。根据世界银行的报告，85%的西方援助没有真正用于其初始拨付时针对的问题，只有15%的ODA实际上真正用于原本设计的目标上，这一损耗可谓惊人。此外，大量发展咨询公司、非政府组织和个人等援助行为体各自为政，援助议题多元而又分散，致使援助碎片化，且大量资金投向民主、人权、文化、教育等“软基建”，导致援助无法聚焦受援国经济发展和减贫目标。

近年来，ODA的成效性饱受发展中国家诟病。赞比亚裔著名经济学家丹比萨·莫约（Dambisa Moyo）曾在著作《援助的死亡》（Dead Aid）中尖锐地批评了发达国家ODA政策，认为这种带有支配性、居高临下的援助不仅没有推进非洲经济发展，反而使非洲深陷依赖外援的陷阱，是非洲经济的“沉默杀手”。

二、南南合作重要性日益凸显，但仍面临诸多挑战。

南南合作萌生于20世纪50年代中期。1955年4月的万隆会议确定了南南合作原则，提出了在发展中国家间实施资金和技术合作的建议，为亚非拉国家展示了平等互助的新型合作关系的前景。不结盟运动和77国集团确定了南南合作的领域、内容、方式和指导原则，为南南合作打下了组织基础。1978年，联合国通过了《布宜诺斯艾利斯行动计划》，南南合作内涵不断丰富。进入21世纪，特别是国际金融危机之后，发展中国家间的发展合作日益增加，在国际上的影响力越来越大，以金砖国家为代表的新兴经济体成为南南合作的积极参与者和推动者。今年3月，在阿根廷首都布宜诺斯艾利斯举行的第二次南南合作高级别会议上，联合国秘书长古特雷斯充分肯定了南南合作对人类摆脱极端贫困、促进发展中国家经济快速增长以及达成可持续发展全球标准等方面作出的积极贡献。当前，单边主义和贸易保护主义不断抬头，加强南南合作有助于增加全球发展动力，挖掘合作
与增长潜力，提升发展中国家在国际发展合作中的话语权。

南南合作独特优势和发展理念越来越受到广大发展中国家欢迎。一是坚持平等互利。南南合作伙伴国坚持平等互利、互不干涉内政的原则。由于它们有着相同或相似的背景、困难和挑战，不少伙伴国兼具受援国和援助国的双重身份，对发展内涵的理解和诠释具有自己独到的见解。经济成效是南南合作的首要出发点，对援助资金的使用限制较少，充分尊重受援国的自主权和发展需求，更多地体现互利共赢原则。二是经济更有互补性。发展中国家数目众多，经济发展水平和经济结构具有多层次性和多样性，既有新兴工业国，也有农业国；既有经济门类齐全的国家，也有经济结构较单一的国家；既有技术落后的国家，也有技术较为先进的国家。这种在产业和需求上的互补性，为发展中国家间的合作提供便利条件和可能。三是经验更具可借鉴性。南南合作伙伴国面临的共同挑战是发展经济、改善民生，合作主要集中在农业、工业、经济基础设施和公共设施等领域。新兴经济体经历过受援国正面临的发展难题，其发展路径和理念更适合发展中国家国情，也更了解受援国需求，提供的技术更实用，合作项目更可行，因此援助更具针对性。

南南合作初期，能够提供援助的国家不多，主要是中国、印度、沙特阿拉伯、巴西等。随着经济的发展和对外政策的需要，越来越多发展中国家开始提供援助并不断扩大规模，如印度尼西亚、哈萨克斯坦、蒙古等。据DAC估算，沙特阿拉伯、阿拉伯联合酋长国、土耳其、中国、印度、卡塔尔、俄罗斯、墨西哥和巴西等位列全球最大的30个援助国之列。此外，2015年7月和12月成立的金砖国家新开发银行和亚洲基础设施投资银行，填补了现有国际发展融资的缺口，充实了国际发展融资的内涵。

但南南合作也面临诸多挑战。首先，资源短缺是扩大南南合作的主要障碍。除以阿拉伯国家为主的部分高收入国家之外，能够提供援助的发展中国家同时兼具受援国和援助国身份，本身发展任务繁重，长期面临资金短缺困境。其次，南南合作缺乏有效协调机制，存在规则、标准、统计等方面严重不足，碎片化导致机制重叠、竞争，甚至引发矛盾。加之发展中国家资源禀赋、政治经济体制、文化宗教信仰、发展模式、经济水平、对外政策以及地缘政治等具有较大差异性，南南合作仍有很长的路要走。再次，发展中国家现有的对外援助管理体系存在诸多问题。大部分发展中国家的国际发展合作政策法律尚不健全，现有援外制度体系主要以一些零散的部门规章为主体，普遍缺乏独立的对外援助管理机构、整体性的发展援助方案以及系统、有效的监督和评估体系。
三、国际发展合作未来充满不确定性，竞争和合作将同时存在。

随着发展中国家在世界经济中的地位不断上升，南南合作在国际发展合作中的影响力将日益增加。国际发展援助主体的日新月异，势必导致国际发展合作形势的更加复杂化。在未来较长一段时间，国际发展合作秩序和规则之争将更加激烈，发达国家和发展中国家之间的合作、竞争将同时存在，并呈现以下发展趋势：

（一）发展中国家将积极争取更多的国际发展合作话语权。随着国际政治经济形势的不断调整变化，国际发展合作规则将面临新的调整。发展中国家强调其自身发展合作的独立性和独特性，呼吁国际发展合作规则更多地体现发展中国家的诉求。2016年OECD/DAC提出的全球有效发展合作伙伴关系（Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation, 简称GPEDC）因未反映发展中国家的意见而遭到抵制。目前，一些发展中国家的智库开始积极探索适合南南合作的统计和评估体系，以不断完善南南合作机制建设。

（二）国际发展合作规则将加速调整。为维护在国际发展合作中的主导权，一方面，发达国家试图将南南合作纳入其援助体系，以OECD现有标准进行评估，不断吸纳新兴经济体加入DAC或要求其提供援助数据。另一方面，发达国家不断调整其援助政策，并对其传统援助标准，即相关性、有效性、效率、影响力和可持续性进行反思，认为应该重新审视评价标准并作出必要调整。与此同时，西方援助国开始认同中国和印度等国通过优惠贷款和优惠出口买方信贷筹资方式，帮助其他发展中国家应对发展难题的做法，并逐渐强化ODA资金与更多元融资渠道的协同作用，力推公共私营部门伙伴关系（Public-Private-Partnership，简称PPP）在发展援助领域的应用。

（三）可持续发展议程成为南北合作和南南合作共同优先领域。2015年通过的联合国2030年可持续发展议程涵盖了消除贫困与饥饿、健康、教育、性别平等、能源、经济增长和环境等多项议题，把政治、经济、社会、环境等与发展紧密相联，超越了“发达国家”与“发展中国家”之间的界限，将“可持续发展”作为各国发展的总体目标。可持续发展议程包括17个可持续发展目标（Sustainable Development Goals，简称SDGs）和169个具体目标，尽管发达国家和发展中国家对SDGs各有侧重，发展中国家更关注减贫和经济发展，而发达国家则更热衷于自由、公正、法治、人权等，但面对自然灾害、环境恶化、传染性疾病、跨国犯罪、恐怖主义等一系列挑战，发达国家和发展中国家都意识到需要共同努力才能有效应对。为此，各国在制定国际发展合作方案时，帮助发展中国家实现SDGs成为其对外援助的重点。2016年G20杭州峰会第一次围绕可持续发展
会制定行动计划，将发展议题提升到前所未有的核心地位，尽管在具体问题上
各方观点有所不同，但在促进发达国家和发展中国家就发展议题交流对话方面取
得了突破性进展。

（四）“一带一路”倡议为国际发展合作提供了新的路径和着力点。“一带
一路”从无到有，从规划到现实，从中国主张到被写入联合国文件。“一带
一路”无疑为世界经济注入了新的活力，为国际发展合作搭建了重要平台。截至2019年5月9日，已有131个国家和30个国际组织签署了“一带一路”合作文件。
刚刚于今年4月在北京落下帷幕的第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛吸引了来
自150个国家、92个国际组织的6000余名代表，其中包括38个国家的领导人和联
合国、国际货币基金组织负责人。“一带一路”坚持“大家的事大家商量着办”
的伙伴精神，通过双边合作、三方合作、多边合作等各种形式，推动相关国家和
地区共同发展。“一带一路”建设能够帮助发展中国家增强自主发展能力，与联
合国2030年可持续发展议程和非盟《2063年议程》全面对接，为南南合作增添新
的动力。与此同时，倡议已在全球范围内产生较强的带动作用，使更多的发展中
国家得到了发达国家和国际组织的关注和帮助。今年3月下旬，中国与意大利签署
了共建“一带一路”谅解备忘录，后来又有卢森堡和瑞士相继签署，还有一些西
方发达国家也表达了加入的意愿。随着越来越多发达国家的加入，相信“一带一
路”将成为最具开放、包容的国际发展合作的典范。
拉丁美洲：面对巨大不确定性的持续调整

孙岩峰 中国现代国际关系研究院拉美研究所副所长

在当前全球政经环境面临众多“乱象”之际，拉美地区面临自上世纪80年代民主化以来的“四十年未有之变局”。政治上，传统政党式微，传统政治人物纷纷“落马”，甚至锒铛入狱，具有反建制和民粹主义色彩的“权力圈外新人”蜂拥而起，左翼与右翼博弈持续激烈，多国大选结果出人意料，拉美政治生态出现四十年来未有的乱局，未来地区走向面临巨大不确定性。另一方面，拉美经济走势起伏不断，总体呈复苏态势的同时，各国经济走势分野较大，阿根廷、巴西、委内瑞拉经济形势或者面临巨大波动风险，或者仍在谷底徘徊，经济走势不容乐观。外交领域，拉美地区分裂态势加剧，地区一体化停滞不前甚至倒退，而美国加大介入和干预力度，俄罗斯等域外大国也借机谋求地缘政治利益，拉美内部组合和对外关系也在混乱中重新洗牌。总体看，拉美在经历了2015年以来政治生态“左进右退”、经济上持续探底之后，仍在进行深刻调整，至今仍未找到明确的发展方向，持续调整将成为未来数年拉美政经走势的主要方向。

一、政治生态巨变

2018年以来，拉美政治生态出现两大变化：具民粹色彩“权力圈外新人”蜂拥突起，左右博弈进入“战略相持”新阶段。

一方面，以“反建制”、“反政治正确”为口号的“权力圈外人”异军突起。去年7月，提出“墨西哥第一”“人民至上”的左翼领袖、墨西哥国家复兴运动党候选人奥夫拉多尔在7月墨西哥大选中获53.1%选票，以领先第二名30个百分点的压倒性优势胜选，
一举打破100多年来中左翼的革命制度党、右翼的国家行动党垄断政坛局面，显示墨民众对传统左右翼政府心灰意冷、转而寄望于新兴政治力量的强烈愿望。10月，以“巴西优先”、“上帝高于一切”为口号、号召全民持枪和禁止堕胎、歧视黑人、妇女、少数族裔的极右翼候选人博索纳罗在巴西大选中获51.3%选票，领先10个百分点的较大优势当选巴西新总统，打破延续20年的由劳工党、巴西社会民主党“传统政党争霸”的格局，其所在的社会自由党更是从一个名不见经传的小党，一跃成为众议院第二大党，并一举拿下3个州长席位，显示政治观点激进的新力量拥有相当大民意基础。此外，在秘鲁、哥斯达黎加的选举中，都出现政治新人“看似意外”的爆冷，这种“大跌眼镜”的政治新变化，凸显2015年以来，拉美多个国家面对政治斗争加剧、经济社会矛盾凸显、腐败丑闻此起彼伏的混乱局面下，传统政党相继失势，传统政治人物丧失民心，过去处于权力核心圈之外的“政治新秀”纷纷借助“反建制”等民粹口号异军突起。这种变化是过去几年拉美乱局的一个阶段性的结果，也是拉美政治制度面对的最大挑战。

另一方面，贯穿拉美近十年的左右翼政治博弈也进入“战略相持”新阶段。经历2016–2017年“右进左退”大潮后，目前右翼虽强，但已无昔日“摧枯拉朽”盛势，左翼虽弱，但逐渐站稳脚跟，甚至在右翼国家“开辟新战场”。从总体实力对比看，右翼在多国相继延续政权，地区右翼整体优势得以巩固。巴西、阿根廷、智利、秘鲁、哥伦比亚等主要国家均由右翼执政。特别是巴西博索纳罗政府组建以军人、福音教派和大企业主为班底的新内阁，明显表现出“亲美”、“反左”特色，内政外交或更趋保守。阿根廷右翼执政党掌握政府、国会、首都市长以及最大省省长，执政资源雄厚。巴拉圭、萨尔瓦多等中小国家右翼实力也很强大，厄瓜多尔等虽由左翼执政，但内外政策都在向右翼靠拢。目前拉美前十大经济体中，右翼、中右翼执政国家已占绝对多数，拉美右翼仍保持优势地位。

但拉美左翼在经历2015–2017年期间重大挫折之后，适时调整斗争策略，积蓄力量，逐步稳住阵脚。古巴挺住了特朗普政府的一系列经济制裁，完成了领导团队的新老交替，在政权日益稳定的基础上，继续发挥拉美左翼阵营“定海神针”的作用。委内瑞拉马杜罗政府面对内有反对派逼宫、外有美西方高压制裁的艰难环境，最终稳住了左翼政权。今年1月以来，瓜伊多在美国支持下“自封临时总统”，采取一系列夺权篡位行动，包括大规模街头示威、联手西方媒体大搞抹黑马杜罗政府的“舆论战”、煽动军人政变、公开鼓励民众以接受“国际人道主义援助”为名反抗政府，甚至发动未遂的“军事政变”，但委政府最终依靠军方的团结、民众的支持以及俄罗斯等国家的援助，艰难度过难关，委局势正朝着有利于政府方向发展。此外，去年的巴拉圭大选中，左翼从落后20个百分点紧追至
最终仅以3.7个百分点微弱劣势败选，显示巴民众对左翼消除贫富分化、追求社会公正的强烈意愿。奥夫拉多尔当选总统也证明墨西哥左翼根基依然强大，哥斯达黎亚左翼首次获得首都市长，凸显即使是在最封闭保守的右翼国家，左翼主张也存在强大民意基础。

总体而言，拉美政治生态正从2015年以来的“天下大乱”走向新一轮政治平衡。在此过渡期内，左右博弈态势也从“右攻左守”转向“互有攻守”，甚至在某些传统右翼国家中不排除出现左翼“冷锋”上台可能，而且随着右翼执政失误和民众对腐败、治安、社会福利不满加剧，左翼依然存在整体东山再起可能。同时，随着民众对当前局势强烈不满和对传统政党政客极度失望，加之“特朗普”现象的外溢效应，部分国家很容易出现“反建制”“反传统”“反精英”的“黑马式政治人物”。但拉美政治结构相对完善，民主体制相对成熟，今年大选过程和政权交接基本平稳，未来出现军人独裁、政变等非体制内政权更替的可能性较低，即使是博索纳罗等民粹色彩人物上台，也势必受政党、国会、媒体、商界各个利益集团牵制。未来，随着经济复苏形势逐渐趋稳、左右翼传统力量“重新洗牌”、民众对极端政治人物“审美疲劳”，拉美政治生态势必形成新的平衡。

二、拉美经济正从“谷底”艰难复苏

拉美经济自2017年“触底”之后，开始逐步反弹，但步履艰难。2018年，受国际贸易局势紧张、国际金融市场波动加剧以及拉美国家处于超级大选周期的叠加影响，拉美自2017年以来触底反弹的复苏趋势受到压制。经济基本面呈现增长放缓、通胀上升、经常账户赤字扩大、货币贬值加剧等特征。宏观政策方面，受严重财政赤字以及美国加息步伐加快的制约，拉美国家的财政政策和货币政策操作空间都缩小了。拉美2018年经济增速仅为1.2%，不仅未达到国际货币基金组织此前2.0%的乐观估计，而且比2017年成绩略有退步，不但远不如全球平均水平（3.7%），也未达到发展中国家平均水平（4.7%），更远低于亚洲国家（5.6%），连续五年成为全球增长最缓慢国家。特别是巴西、墨西哥作为拉美最大经济体，增长仅为1.4%和2.2%，阿根廷经济萎缩2.6%，委内瑞拉甚至下滑10%，带动拉美经济萎靡不振。即使有秘鲁、玻利维亚、哥伦比亚等拉美太平洋国家以及多米尼加等加勒比国家表现亮眼，但未能整体推动拉美经济强势恢复。但值得强调的是，2018年以来经济高速增长的国家大多充分利用与中国等亚太国家的经济联系，形成强大的外部拉动。比如，与中国特色发展国家多年的多米尼加共和国，实现6.4%的增长，秘鲁利用与中国的自贸协定，也获得4.1%的良好经
济表现，成为拉美经济新亮点。

2019年，面对“不确定性增加和风险凸显”的全球经济，高度依赖外部因素的拉美，很难独善其身，今年拉美经济增长仍然承受较大压力。特别是拉美主要经济体，今年都面临巨大的经济发展压力。

在巴西，博索纳罗政府推出的以养老金改革为核心的雄心勃勃经济改革政策，面对国会内反对党的巨大掣肘，目前进展缓慢；公共支出的大幅增加也增加了投资者对经济稳定的担心，私人投资疑虑增大，巴西政府推动的大规模基础设施私有化和公私合营计划也遭到冷遇，市场对巴西经济前景的预测不断走低。从国际层面来看，中美贸易摩擦在长期内将对巴西产业调整和出口结构带来巨大影响。国内外不利因素，尤其是2019年第一季度经济负增长，投资额和消费额的下降，已引发市场对巴西可能会陷入长期衰退的严重担忧。

在阿根廷，为了遏制通胀，政府在2018年采取了上调利率、减少赤字等一系列措施，但带来市场供应严重萎缩、企业经营困难等一系列严重后果。2019年马克里政府为满足国际货币基金组织要求的“零赤字”标准，不得不大幅缩减公共开支，甚至包括教育、医疗、交通等公共产品补贴，但恐将导致经济进一步萎缩和民众不满情绪的高涨。2019年阿根廷经济预计下降0.5%，通货膨胀率高达到23%。然而，从2019年前三个月的经济表现以及通胀预期来看，实现“零赤字”目标前景堪忧。特别是2019年还是阿根廷大选年，糟糕的经济表现将会成为马克里谋求连任路上的“绊脚石”。

在墨西哥，经济也深受经济政策调整、美墨贸易争端、特别是美对墨一系列强硬贸易制裁的影响。为应对出口减速，墨西哥政府也不得不减少公共开支，应对可能到来的“苦日子”。墨西哥奥夫拉多尔政府已表示，放弃正在建设中、总投资达133亿美元的墨西哥城机场项目。国际货币基金组织、世界银行、美洲开发银行以及惠誉等国际机构都纷纷下调墨西哥的增长前景预测，认为今年墨西哥经济可能会减速。与此同时，根据IMF数据，今年委内瑞拉的经济增长率将下降18%，连续第三次出现两位数的下降。拉美主要大国经济普遍走低，预示2019年拉美经济可能仍将在“谷底”艰难徘徊。

三、美国加大干预力度 拉美外交分化加剧

近年来，美国持续加大干涉力度，维护地区霸权。首先，对激进左翼国家加大打压力度。对古巴，坚持制裁政策。特朗普政府上台后，不仅宣布收回奥巴马时期对古关系正常化颁布的各种优惠政策，收紧对古经济和社会合作，还宣
布继续延长经济和政治制裁。美还计划扩大对古旅游、金融、贸易制裁。对委内瑞拉，美国利用“自封临时总统”瓜伊多的反政府行动，展开新一轮大规模颠覆活动。不仅加大经济制裁措施，宣布对委进行石油和黄金制裁，并启动“长臂管辖”，对与委进行贸易和投资的第三国公司和个人也施加制裁；而且积极进行军事干预准备，在委周边的哥伦比亚和加勒比岛国部署兵力，并进行大规模情报侦察；同时联合欧洲以及拉美的“利马集团”对马杜罗政府进行外交孤立。美对委内瑞拉政权的毫无顾忌的攻击，充分显示美对拉美的控制和干涉丝毫没有变化，美对拉美的“新门罗主义”愈演愈烈。

其次，在经贸和移民问题上向墨西哥和中美洲国家施压。经贸上，迫使墨西哥让步，重新签署《美国—墨西哥—加拿大三国自贸协定》。特朗普上台后将NAFTA重谈列为优先议程，2018年7月，美国开启与墨西哥的双边会谈，利用自身影响力迫使后者在汽车原产地规则、劳工薪酬等领域做出较大让步。移民问题上，美国向墨西哥“北三角国家”（危地马拉、洪都拉斯、萨尔瓦多）施压，要求加强管控非法移民，并取消对萨尔瓦多和洪都拉斯移民提供的临时保护政策，使数十万移民面临被遣返命运。今年6月，特朗普政府更是不顾刚刚与墨签署的新自贸协定，悍然宣布对墨增加关税，公然干涉墨内政和边境管控，要求墨封堵南部过境，限制中美洲移民进入墨西哥，再次彰显特朗普政府对拉美强硬、傲慢和自私的态度。

再次，对传统亲美国家加强拉拢。2018年以来，前国务卿蒂勒森、前防长马蒂斯、副总统彭斯、国务卿蓬佩奥等美国高层频频出访墨西哥、哥伦比亚、智利、巴西、阿根廷拉美主要国家，欲夯实政治关系，同时在委内瑞拉、安全合作等问题上争取支持。此外，美利用阿根廷遭遇金融动荡之机，通过其主导的国际货币基金组织，承诺提供571亿美元贷款救其燃眉之急，迫使阿根廷右翼政府在重大外交和政治问题“看美国人脸色行事”。巴西右翼总统博索纳罗当选后，特朗普致电祝贺，并接待博索纳罗今年3月访美，甚至表态支持巴西加入OECD和成为“非北约盟友”，试图将巴西打造成美在南美的战略支撑。

此外，不断诋毁和破坏俄罗斯、中国等域外大国与拉美的合作。美高官多次无端指责中俄“利用经济影响力将拉美纳入自己势力范围”、“伤害这些国家的制造业”，称中俄加大在拉美布局令人担忧。近期，美国会美中经济安全审查委员会发布报告称“中国在拉美对美构成全面威胁”。美方将中俄作为美拉关系的重要参考变量，表明美国为排挤域外大国而强化对拉美外交力度，以维护并巩固在该地区的主导权。

由于美国加大重返“后院”力度，以及部分国家新政府上台，一些中右翼政
府向美国靠拢态势日益明显。巴西博索纳罗政府上台后向美示好，拟将本国驻以色列大使馆从特拉维夫迁往耶路撒冷，阿根廷迫于借贷需求，同意美国在火地岛地区建立军事基地。厄瓜多尔总统莫雷诺愈发亲美，多次公开批评委内瑞拉政府，甚至同意放弃对反美人物阿桑奇的政治庇护。墨西哥虽然在移民、经贸等方面与美存在分歧，但鉴于美巨大影响力，只能被动妥协。古巴、委内瑞拉、玻利维亚等左翼国家迫于内外交困，只能与美国进行有理有节的斗争。总体看，拉美国家对美态度分化加剧，一些右翼政府向美靠拢，但美拉关系未有实质性改善。

与此同时，拉美近年来也不断获得域外力量的关注。俄罗斯通过军售、援助和投资等方式加大与拉美国家合作，与尼加拉瓜在军事、信息等领域合作频频，与古巴合作也在继续加强。俄方称将在古巴部署俄罗斯开发的全球卫星导航系统——格洛纳斯系统地面站。此外，俄罗斯进一步夯实与委内瑞拉的合作。俄罗斯同意向委内瑞拉出售12架苏-30战机，并提供价值约10亿美元的武器援助，还派遣战略轰炸机“访问委内瑞拉”，显示俄在拉美军事存在和对委左翼政权的强烈支持。今年上半年委内瑞拉危机时，俄更是不遗余力，向委派遣军队，进行情报和武器支持，成为抵御美军事威胁的最有力武器。印度也开始加快与拉美合作。一方面，通过金砖国家组织开展高层交流和务实合作；另一方面，以私人企业为先锋开展对拉经贸合作。目前印度是拉美的第三大出口目的地，而且已经超过中国成为拉美最大的石油进口国。美国媒体分析认为，印度巨大的消费人口、技术服务方面的优势和使用英语交流的习惯未来将使拉美国家更多聚焦印度市场。欧盟国家也继续保持与拉美务实合作，欧盟与墨西哥就自贸协定升级谈判达成原则性协议，与巴西、阿根廷等国组成的南方共同市场自贸谈判也接近尾声。法国、意大利、西班牙等对拉美投入较多的欧盟国家继续加大与拉美国家的经贸合作和文化交流。

但地区一体化进展缓慢，拉美国家内部团结程度下降。由于经济复苏缓慢、政局不稳、社会矛盾突出等问题困扰，2018年以来拉美各国主要聚焦于国内事务。巴西、墨西哥等地区大国举行大选，阿根廷遭遇经济危机，对地区一体化的关注和投入减少。拉美地区一体化进程因缺乏“发动机”、“领头羊”而陷入停滞。同时，地区国家围绕委内瑞拉问题发生分歧，在美洲峰会、美洲国家组织会议等多边场合针锋相对，使地区一体化组织陷入空转。同时，左翼力量主导的次区域组织陷入停滞。厄瓜多尔退出玻利瓦尔美洲联盟。巴西、阿根廷、秘鲁、哥伦比亚等六国政府宣布暂停参加南美洲国家联盟。

基于当前拉美的内外形势，可以预见，拉美国家2019年将进行持续和大幅度的内外政策调整，以适应政治生态的巨大变化、经济复苏的不确定性以及外交形势的激烈斗争。

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5G为何成为大国竞争的焦点？

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最近，特朗普把5G定义为一场战争，一场美国必须赢的战争。《纽约时报》发表长文，称美国政府已将中美对5G“控制权”的竞争定义为新的“军备竞赛”，认为谁控制了5G，谁就能在经济、军事和情报上领先他人。文章援引专家的话说，5G是一场革命，它所产生的影响力将会超过电力给人类社会带来的改变。

今天5G已经成为世界大国争夺的一个焦点，是大国未来国力之争的重要一环。那么为什么5G会被提高到如此高度？它依靠什么力量改变世界技术、经济甚至政治格局？

一、互联网的发展让美国维持了世界经济、军事、文化的绝对优势。

上世纪七八十年代，日本经济高速度增长，制造业取得了巨大优势，使美国在经济上面对较大压力。在制造方面和精细的日本人竞争，美国居于劣势地位。在经济上获得了较大优势的日本企业，到美国大肆购买地产，对美国经济和文化都造成了强大的冲击。

改变这一格局的核心力量就是信息高速公路计划。美国政府把信息高速公路定义为未来发展的重要新机会，投入巨大资源打造信息高速公路，同时也造就了一个新经济时代。

信息高速公路的打造，提升了美国的社会效率、经济水平和能力，使美国获得巨大回报。其效应不仅表现在经济上，也表现在政治、军事、文化领域，不仅压制了日本，同时把所有的对手都抛在后面。

信息高速公路推动了个人电脑（PC）产业的发展，所有服务器、PC的架构、CPU、核心部件都由美国企业定义，且最初极大
部分也是由美国企业研发与生产，核心的能力完全掌握在美国企业手中。基于互联网的硬件设施包括路由器、光器件、光纤等大都是美国企业研发、生产；基于互联网的协议、PC的操作系统、电脑的浏览器、服务器的操作系统都是美国企业研发、生产；最初互联网服务的网站也都是在美国创立，从美国发展起来，全世界的互联网服务公司都在抄美国。

我们听到的世界一流互联网公司都是美国公司，如英特尔、IBM、微软、思科、苹果、AMD、甲骨文、雅虎、AOL、谷歌、Facebook、推特等，这个名单还可以列得更长。在这些新兴公司和新经济的冲击下，欧洲、日本传统的企业都失去了光彩。而资本市场更是把新经济和新兴企业作为拉动经济的新动力。当美国成为全世界的互联网中心，全世界的金融中心也从欧洲逐渐转向美国。

互联网强大的力量从上世纪九十年代中期开始横扫全世界，基于互联网技术的产品芯片、PC、互联网服务成为美国向全世界输出的最大宗商品，给美国经济带来强大的支撑力量。这些产品只是少数精英人士研发，少数企业生产，具有极高的附加值，对劳动人口需求较低，对社会资源需求少，对环境影响降到了最低程度，而回报却极高，给美国带来了巨大的利益。

与此同时，美国不仅输出了产品，还输出了互联网文化。自由、民主、开放这种文化精神和价值观也随互联网技术一起走到了世界的每一个角落，影响了世界各国，在一定程度上助长了美国的软实力，对美国改变中东、东欧的政治版图起到了很大的推动作用。互联网成为一个代表美国精神、为美国传输政治理念、文化、价值观的重要工具，甚至在有些地方成为了颠覆政权的重要工具。

互联网让美国在经济、政治、军事、文化上都取得了巨大回报，让美国持续几十年维持了绝对优势地位。从这个角度看，美国对于信息技术的价值和力量的理解，远远比世界其他国家更深刻。

二、网络能力更意味着巨大的信息和情报价值。

基础网络的力量，不仅可在经济上带来巨大利益，同样也会在情报战中带来主动权。通过互联网建立自己的监控中心，获取全世界的政治、经济情报，在这方面美国是世界的老大，也取得了巨大成功。

我们熟知的“棱镜（PRISM）”的秘密监控项目，直接进入美国网络公司的中心服务器挖掘数据、收集情报。据报道，泄露的文件中描述PRISM计划能够对即时通信和既存资料进行深度监听。许可的监听对象包括任何在美国以外地区使用参与PRISM计划的公司服务的客户，或是任何与外国人士通信的美国公民。国家安全局在PRISM计划中可以获取的数据包括电子邮件、视频和语
音交谈、影片、照片、VoIP交谈内容、档案传输、登入通知，以及社交网络细节等等。FBI和NSA挖掘各大技术公司的数据。微软、雅虎、谷歌、Facebook、PalTalk、YouTube、Skype、AOL、苹果等公司都在其中。

通过这样的监控项目，美国不仅成功地管控了本国的互联网，同时也对国外的服务器进行入侵，利用各种情报打击对手，甚至通过监控盟友来取得战略主动权，在情报战中取得了巨大成功。

这个棱镜计划的基础，就是网络，是硬件、软件、系统、数据库都完全由美国来定义的网络。只有在这样的网络体系中，信息搜集和监控才比较容易实现。对此，美国的情报机构是有清醒认识的。

三、在2G移动通信之争中，欧洲逐渐占据上风。

在互联网领域成为全世界主导者的美国，本来有能力成为世界信息通信领域的全面控制者，因为除了互联网，移动通信最早也是美国研发、部署和生产。摩托罗拉、AT&T成为世界上最早研发移动通信的公司，最初的生产企业也都是美国公司，美国完全可以成为移动通信领域的霸主。但是，在2G到来时，美国却遭到欧洲的狙击，失去了这个市场先机。

正是因为看到美国在互联网发展的统治地位，欧洲不愿意在移动通信发展中也受制于美国。欧洲通过政治力量进行联合，团结起来共同抵制美国。通过成立全球移动通信系统协会(GSMA)，欧洲各国追求形成一个自己的标准，通过这个标准来抵制美国对欧洲移动通信的控制与影响。在GSMA的推动下，欧洲研发了自己的2G通信标准GSM，用以对抗美国的CDMA。虽然技术上美国的CDMA更加先进，但是欧洲国家在全世界广结盟友，尤其把中国这个全世界最大移动通信市场揽入怀中。2G时代，全世界形成了一个庞大的GSM体系，美国只能和韩国形成同盟，市场大大受到压缩。

2G时代，标准的主导是欧洲GSM，基于GSM的系统设备、芯片、手机产业都蓬勃发展起来。全世界移动通信领域最有代表性的企业是诺基亚、爱立信、西门子、阿尔卡特、萨基姆、飞利浦等，而美国的摩托罗拉渐渐衰落。

在2G时代的移动通信领域美国基本失去主导权。这不仅导致经济上损失巨大，而且在情报和军事等方面影响更大。

四、5G奠定的智能互联网是一场新的战略竞争。

移动通信在3G、4G时代的发展，大大提升了传输速率，数据业务、信息产业爆发式增长，极大地改变了人们的生活方式。
在此基础上，5G将成为跨时代的技术。5G将带领社会进入万物互联时代，不仅网络速度会大大提升，还有泛在网、低功耗、低时延、万物互联、重构安全等特点；不仅会从很多方面提升普通大众生活，还将渗透进各个行业，和大数据、云计算、人工智能技术相结合，改变社会管理和运营能力，给整个社会带来一场全新的变革。

5G的终端不再是电脑和手机，大量的传统产品将成为智能的终端，机床、汽车、生产线、无人机、门锁、空气净化器、新风机、抽油烟机等，这些都将成为新的终端，而我们的交通、医院、生产线、家居都会随着5G到来，进入智能互联网时代。

比如，以5G为基础的智能交通体系，不仅仅是无人驾驶，还会形成强大的管理体系，让路上不再堵车，把道路交通事故减到最小，每年数万人死于道路交通事故将不再出现。此外，5G还会对智能工业、智慧农业、智慧物流、智能健康管理、智能家居、移动电子商务等产生巨大推动作用，会对社会管理的各方面的智能化形成支撑，大大提升社会效率。

所以，5G改变的不仅是普通人生活，而且是整个社会的安全、效率、成本，它对于生产效率提高，生产成本降低、社会安全的提升、社会管理的提升都有极大的帮助。如果这个体系能在5G的基础上建立起来，并且高效、平稳地运行起来，社会必将发生巨大变化，这就意味着整个世界的发展会随着5G的到来出现格局的改变。

5G的技术和网络部署将决定未来在智能互联网业务上的竞争力。因此各国对5G的重视远高于3G、4G。以美国为例，由于美国运营商5G建设速度慢，美国政府甚至曾考虑由政府建设一个5G网络，租给电信运营商使用，当然这一想法因为太不符合市场经济原则而被否定。

5G的战略竞争已经全面展开，竞争的领域已不限于技术，同时还是产业、应用、情报、军事、政治、外交等各领域的全方位竞争。

从这个意义上来说，提升自己的5G网络建设水平，在很大程度上就是提升基础建设能力，也是提升综合国力和战略能力。

五、中国移动通信产业的发展。

在第一代移动通信和2G时代，中国的通信设备、手机的研发、生产基本还是一无所有，所有的设备和终端都是国外产品。3G时代，中国企业开始有所作为，也提出了TD-SCDMA标准，并被通过为国际标准，但中国还是处于追赶阶段。4G时代，中国已经开始和世界一流水平并行。中国提出的TD-LTE和LTE FDD
并列为两个4G通信标准。而4G时代，中国通信设备制造商华为成长为世界上第一大通信设备制造商，世界10强手机厂商，中国已经有7家。中国的互联网服务成长惊人，百度、阿里、腾讯、京东、美团这些企业为消费者提供了越来越高品质的服务。

近年来，中国手机企业实力大增，手机逐渐进军中高端，进军全球市场。跻身世界10强的7家中国手机厂商形成了强大的研发能力和生产能力。最值得关注的是，近年来中国移动互联网发展迅速，尤其以移动支付为代表的互联网服务表现惊人。这些企业的创新力和开拓能力充分证明中国业务开发商强大的综合实力。

中国电信运营商的4G网络基站数已超过350万个，实现了中国全国范围内的全面覆盖，网络品质很好。不但是在大城市，而且在比较偏远地区，甚至乡村也实现了4G网络覆盖，大大提升了社会效率，降低了社会成本，促进了中国的移动电子商务、移动支付、外卖、共享单车、共享汽车这些社会服务产品的发展，让社会生活变得更为方便，大大领先世界水平。

随着中国4G网络的广泛部署，大量用户的加入，移动互联网公司在发展中找到自己的机会，逐渐把移动互联网应用从一个社交平台、信息传播平台，变成了一个综合服务的平台，其中包括社交、移动电子商务、移动支付等。这样的平台，能力强大，服务水平高，效果更好，并且向全世界扩散和渗透。今天在欧洲机场退税已经可以使用支付宝和微信的专门应用，在欧洲、日本的很多商店中已经可以方便使用支付宝和微信支付。

今天中国移动是世界最大的电信运营商，它的用户是两个美国人口，用户多，网络复杂，利润水平高，具有强大经济实力和完善的服务能力。今天世界4大通信系统设备制造商，中国有华为和中兴两家。华为是世界上唯一一家拥有系统设备、终端、芯片全系列研发、生产能力的企业。这一切都为5G发展奠定了基础。面向5G，中国不仅在通信标准中有中国移动、中国电信、中国联通、华为、中兴、大唐等众多企业参加，在很多领域，中国支持的技术被写入标准。

美国国土和中国基本相当，至今4G网络的基站约35万个，这样的基站数，不但在美国较为偏远地区无法保证有高速度的网络，在城市内的覆盖效果也不够好，这就造成了很多业务的体验很差。以移动支付为例，对一个中国人而言，在任何地方都有网，用手机都可以方便进行支付，所以今天很多中国人已经不带现金，不带银行卡，只带手机出门。对一个美国人来说，因为无法保证所有的地方都有网络，如果不带银行卡和现金，很多需要付款的地方无法完成支付。

在传统互联网时代，美国是领先世界的，中国也是向美国学习的。移动互联网最初发展时，twitter、facebook影响了世界，中国的互联网公司也在向他们学
习，比如微博、微信这些业务都带着一些美国应用的影子。然而，经过这些年的
发展，这种关系正在发生变化。最近facebook的创始人扎克伯格宣布将进行战略
转型，进一步提供语音、视频聊天、群组、支付等功能。业界普遍认为这是向微
信学习，他也表示后悔没有早点学习微信。

对于中国而言，以往互联网和移动互联网的发展，我们只是跟随者，是市场
接受者，整个产业面临的外部压力很小。到了5G时代，我们已经被美国定义为竞
争对手，遭到的打击也是全方位的。对于这场竞争，我们唯有迎战，用开放的心
态，融合世界先进的技术，吸纳一切有价值的技术和人才，用产品说话，用高品
质、强体验的业务说话。
The Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) was founded in December 1949 on the initiative of Premier Zhou Enlai, the first of its kind devoted to people-to-people diplomacy after the founding of New China. In its early years, both Premier Zhou and Marshal Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, served as its Honorary President. The current Honorary President is Li Zhaoxing, former Foreign Minister.

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

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

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

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