FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL

A QUARTERLY ENGLISH PUBLICATION OF THE CPIFA
SINCE 1985

Sponsored by Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs
Edited & Published by Research Department of the CPIFA
Chairman Wang Chao
Vice Chairman Li Huilai, Wei Wei
Members Wang Chao, Li Huilai, Wei Wei, Yang Jiemian,
Li Feng, Ma Hong, Cheng Hong,
Yang Danpin, Zhou Wei
Deputy Editor-in-Chief Yang Danpin
Proof Reading Fan Yishi
Printed by Huazheng Printing Corp.
Address 71 Nanchizi Street, Beijing 100006, China
Tel (8610) 6513 1830
Fax (8610) 6513 1831
Website http://www.cpifa.org
E-mail edit@cpifa.org

Editors’ Note

FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL is published quarterly by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs.

Views and opinions expressed in the writings appearing in the JOURNAL are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the CPIFA.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form without first obtaining writing permission from the publisher.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Upholding Peace and Cooperation and Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind — Address at the Opening Ceremony of the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Wang Qishan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>China's Foreign Policy in a Fast Changing World: Mission and Responsibility — A Speech at the Lunch Meeting of the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Le Yucheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>A Plenary Speech on International Configuration and World Order at the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Megawati Soekarnoputri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>A Plenary Speech on Regional Security at the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Hamid Karzai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Moderate Voices for a Shared World and Future — A Plenary Speech on Regional Security at the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Goh Chok Tong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>A Plenary Speech on International Configuration and World Order at the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Herman Van Rompuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>A Plenary Speech on Geopolitics and Relations among Major Powers at the 8th World Peace Forum</td>
<td>By Igor Ivanov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Visits &amp; Events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
坚持和平与合作 构建人类命运共同体
——在第八届世界和平论坛开幕式上的致辞

王岐山

大变局中的中国外交：使命与担当
——在第八届世界和平论坛午餐会上的演讲

乐玉成
Good Morning! It is my great pleasure to attend the Eighth World Peace Forum.

We meet at a time of major development, transformation and adjustment in the world. While the international environment remains generally stable, profound shifts are taking place in the relations between major countries. Continued advancement of economic globalization is accompanied by mounting protectionism and populist ideologies. Accelerated movement toward a multipolar world goes hand in hand with intensifying geopolitical rivalry and regional turbulence. The emergence of new technologies and new thinkings is profoundly changing the way people live and work. A review of the past century has led some to express fears that the post-war international order is teetering on the edge and that humanity has once again come to a crossroads.

* Wang Qishan is Vice President of the People's Republic of China.
Under such circumstances, one must look further back into history to gain a longer-term perspective for the future. The history of mankind is all about war and peace, survival and development. For several thousand years, countries and nations developed largely in mutual isolation. They rose and fell though repeated conquest and resistance in their own time and space. More than 500 years ago, the Age of Discovery brought about the first round of globalization in human history and the colonial expansion of the western Mediterranean Civilization. The international order established after the end of Second World War contributed to peace and stability in the following decades, but the world remained largely divided into opposing camps and blocs. The end of the Cold War and the emergence of new technologies created conditions for a new round of economic globalization where multinationals allocated resources globally to maximize profits. While this process generated enormous benefits for the developed countries, it also led to the collective rise of the developing countries and emerging economies, and linked the interests of all countries ever closer, making the world a truly global village.

We live in an age where people cherish peace and yearn for development, and economic globalization represents the trend of our times. There will always be twists and turns on the road ahead, but the greatest fear is fear itself in the face of challenges. We must stay committed to peaceful development, unswervingly advance economic globalization and jointly build an international order that is more fair, equitable, stable and effective.

The more than 5000 years of uninterrupted Chinese civilization saw great sufferings as well as glories of the Chinese nation. The Chinese people believe that one should help others to
succeed while seeking one's own success. They honor harmony, cooperation and inclusiveness and aspire to build a peaceful world for all. After 1840, the Chinese nation had been mired in a century of humiliation. Since then, numerous patriots had risen up and fought valiantly for national independence and liberation. With the founding of New China, the Chinese people, through their extraordinary efforts, established from scratch an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system, and embarked on the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics as they explored ways to promote development, reform and opening up. Today, the Chinese people have achieved the historic progress from struggling for subsistence to a moderately prosperous society in all respects, heralding bright prospects for the great renewal of the Chinese nation.

People's aspirations for a better life are what drive us forward. China cannot develop by shutting itself from the world, nor can the world develop by shutting out China. Without a peaceful and stable international environment, there will be no development to speak of. China will continue to run its own affairs well and maintain strategic focus and confidence in response to external uncertainties. Committed to the path of peaceful development, China will never seek hegemony, expansion or sphere of influence no matter how the international situation changes or how developed it may become.

Let me try to put it this way: China's path of peaceful development is about developing China through promoting world peace while upholding world peace through China's development. It is about pursuing development mainly through reform and innovation while staying committed to opening up to learn from
others. It is about following the trend of economic globalization and promoting development for all through mutually beneficial cooperation. It is about working with the rest of the international community for an open, inclusive, clean, and beautiful world that enjoys lasting peace, universal security, and common prosperity.

To achieve further development, we must build on past achievements. It is the consensus of the overwhelming majority of countries that while the existing international system is less than perfect and needs to be reformed, it would be ill-advised to cast it aside and start all over again. With the common interests of all humanity in mind, China has come up with the proposition to build a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind.

- We must consolidate multilateralism as a cornerstone. We must uphold multilateralism with the United Nations at its core, abide by international law and basic norms governing international relations, and respect each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. While the internal affairs of a country should be determined by its own people, global affairs need to be handled by all countries through consultations on an equal footing, so that all countries and peoples can enjoy dignity and security. In this regard, major countries need to set an example by demonstrating their sense of responsibility and contributing more to world peace and stability.

- We must explore more avenues to achieve development for all. Development is the master key to address all problems. We must strike a good balance between development and security in the process of advancing political, economic, social, cultural and
ecological progress. We need to follow the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits in strengthening dialogue and cooperation in economy, finance, science and technology, energy and other areas in a bid to build an open world economy of higher standards. This way, we will be better able to promote common security through greater convergence of interests while rejecting protectionism practiced in the name of national security.

- We must promote mutual learning among civilizations. Diversity of civilizations and of development paths is both a natural result and a driving force of human progress. People from different political systems and with different historical, cultural and religious backgrounds need to reject estrangement, exclusion, suspicion and hostility, and promote greater mutual knowledge, mutual understanding, mutual trust and inclusiveness. This approach will be conducive to fundamentally forestalling the breeding and spreading of extremist ideologies.

- We must jointly respond to new challenges facing humanity. We must seek the largest possible common ground as we set out to improve the international legal system and global governance mechanisms, and extend international cooperation to new areas such as the Internet, artificial intelligence, outer space, deep sea and polar affairs. We must stand up to our shared responsibilities to implement the international consensus on climate change, strengthen international cooperation in poverty reduction, disaster relief and public health, and combat transnational crime and terrorism in all its forms.

In its eight-year history, the World Peace Forum has gained
growing influence. At this year's Forum, experts from all over the world will have in-depth discussions on stabilizing the international order. I hope you will provide each other much food for thought, build consensus, and contribute your wisdom to world peace and development.

To conclude, I wish the Forum a full success.
It gives me great pleasure to come back to the World Peace Forum and share my thoughts with so many friends, old and new. The theme this year for the Forum, namely, "Stabilizing the World order: Common Responsibilities, Joint Management, and Shared Benefits" reminded me of our discussions here last year on the international situation and China's foreign policy. The general feeling then was that international developments could be characterized by three words starting with "u": uncertain, unstable and unpredictable. Unfortunately, as we meet again one year later, the situation has remained in a flux. Dark clouds have not cleared away, and destabilizing factors and uncertainties continue to widen. Some hard choices are yet to be made about where our world will be headed.

The choices humankind makes about the future are usually based on its understanding of the past. A

* Le Yucheng is China’s Vice Foreign Minister.
hundred years ago, in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, the Versailles System with the League of Nations as its pillar was established to create "durable peace". Yet we all know what happens to ideals when they confront the reality. Just 20 years later, the Second World War broke out. An important reason why the Versailles System failed to prevent the war was that countries concerned put their own interests above those of others, or even took a beggar-thy-neighbor approach to shift the crisis onto others, which made it next to impossible for the League of Nations and multilateral coordination to function properly. These lessons were learned the hard way.

Today, our world is once again confronted with crises and challenges brought by disorder and change. How should we respond? The failure of the Versailles System is not far behind us. We cannot let history repeat itself or witness a replay of the old script of unilateralism and protectionism, particularly when we now live in a globalized world where countries are increasingly interdependent and the entire humanity belongs in one community with a shared future. If countries allow the networks and the collaborative industrial chain that have been formed over the years to be turned into weapons against each other, or if more tariff wars, trade wars, or even financial and technology wars were to break out, our world would regress to the bad old ways with extremely dangerous consequences. We should never be blinded by myopia and make irreversible mistakes leading to catastrophes.

Fortunately, in the face of unprecedented challenges, there is a growing consensus among the international community for upholding multilateralism. The just concluded G20 Osaka Summit, for example, sent a resounding message of
supporting multilateralism. How, then, should we effectively put multilateralism to action? I think first and foremost, there needs to be a sound institutional basis, without which order would be elusive. We need to uphold the international system with the United Nations at the core and governed by international law, and uphold the rules-based multilateral trading system with the WTO at its center. Although it is far from perfect and requires reform and improvement, yet the existing international order should not be overturned. If each country takes things into its own hands, the world would be plunged into utter chaos. Secondly, we need a spirit of cooperation. Global issues require global responses. No country can go it alone, however mighty it may be. We must work together like rowers in the same boat in order to brave the waves and reach the shores of success. Thirdly, we need to follow a win-win approach. The international community needs to shoulder shared responsibilities and seek mutual benefits as members of a big family would do. Zero-sum games and the winner-take-all approach would lead nowhere. Trying to maximize one's own interests and put them above those of others would only lead to conflict and war.

There exists extensive commonality between the principles of multilateralism and President Xi Jinping's call for building a community with a shared future for mankind. The values of multilateralism further accord well with the concept of global governance based on extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits and are instrumental to shaping a new type of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness, justice and win-win cooperation. History has and will continue to prove that multilateralism points the right way forward and the building of a community with a shared future for mankind is an inexorable
trend of our times.

China is a country that always matches its commitments with actions. It has always been a promoter of world peace, a contributor to global development and an upholder of the international order. Over the past year, despite the difficulties and challenges China encountered, our commitment to enhancing mutually beneficial cooperation with all other countries has remained unchanged, so have our efforts to fulfill our responsibilities to world peace and common development. If anything, we have only done more and delivered greater results on both fronts.

We have firmly upheld multilateralism and free trade. Facing the growing backlash against globalization and the serious challenge of rising protectionism and unilateralism, President Xi Jinping sent out a clear and consistent message at the G20 Summit, the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting, the first China International Import Expo and other occasions of China's firm commitment to safeguard multilateralism and free trade and steer the reform of the global governance system in a proactive manner. President Xi called for actively promoting economic globalization based on mutually beneficial cooperation and the building of an open world economy. The Chinese side has further worked with all other parties to implement the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Paris Agreement on Climate Change to pursue development and prosperity for all countries.

We have advanced high-quality Belt and Road cooperation. Adhering to the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, we have engaged in open, green and clean Belt and Road cooperation to deliver high-standard and
sustainable outcomes beneficial to people's livelihood. According to the recent World Bank report on Belt and Road economics, once the transport corridors are fully completed, travel time along the corridors will shrink by 12 percent, trade will be up by 2.8 to 9.7 percent, people's real income will increase by 1.2 to 3.4 percent and 7.6 million people will be lifted out of extreme poverty in participating countries. This shows that Belt and Road cooperation is an effective contributor to the economic growth, higher living standards and infrastructure connectivity of countries and regions involved. It is changing the lives of many local people. For example, in a village called Chimkombero in northern Malawi, for nearly a century, people there had to walk with buckets on their heads for about a kilometer to a hand-dug shallow well to get drinking water. Then came Chinese workers who drilled a new borehole for them. The moment fresh water came gushing out of the borehole, the villagers were so excited that they said, "We no longer had to walk such a long distance on bare foot to get water." The 600 boreholes China has helped to drill in Malawi are now providing clean drinking water to 150,000 people in six local districts.

We have ushered in a new era for China-Russia relations. This year being the 70th anniversary of China-Russia diplomatic ties, President Xi Jinping visited Russia in early June and met President Putin for nearly the 30th time in six years. President Xi's visit set a new characterization of China-Russia relations, achieved new progress and set new targets for bilateral cooperation. China and Russia vowed to develop a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination for a new era, advance cooperation on major strategic projects, expand and deepen cooperation on technological innovation, and work to increase two-way trade to US$200 billion.
The China-Russia relationship is at its best in history, with political mutual trust and strategic coordination reaching a new high.

We have worked with Europe to address global challenges. President Xi Jinping chose Europe as the destination of his first overseas trip this year. He met with leaders from France, Germany and the EU, where they reached extensive consensus on global governance, multilateralism and free trade. They agreed to strengthen coordination and cooperation at the UN, fully leverage the constructive role of the G20 and other multilateral mechanisms to do more in seeking political settlement of international disputes, addressing climate change and promoting sustainable development. This sent out a strong signal at the leadership level of China and Europe working to enhance mutual trust, deepen cooperation and meet global challenges.

We have stepped up efforts to build a community with a shared future with neighboring countries. China has improved relations with both Japan and India. President Xi Jinping met with Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on the sidelines of the G20 Osaka Summit and reached a ten-point common understanding on further growing bilateral relations. Prime Minister Abe invited President Xi to pay a state visit to Japan in spring next year. President Xi and Prime Minister Modi will have an informal summit this year to chart the future course of China-India relations. The China-ASEAN strategic partnership is entering a mature phase. Negotiations on the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership are being brought forward and those on a China-Japan-ROK free trade agreement are picking up pace. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization is expanding its influence and becoming a good example of regional cooperation featuring unity, mutual
trust, shared security, mutual benefit and inclusiveness.

We have elevated South-South cooperation to a new height. In September last year, over 50 leaders from China and Africa gathered at the FOCAC Beijing Summit to discuss China-Africa cooperation and jointly celebrated "a golden week of China-Africa friendship". Since then, the follow-up actions have been actively implemented, producing early and high-quality results and making a visible difference for the livelihood of local communities. With such iron-clad facts, we have demonstrated to the world that the friendship between China and Africa remains unbreakable as ever. Supported by key South-South cooperation platforms, including the G77+China and BRICS, China's friendly relations and cooperation with developing countries in the Arab region, Latin America, the South Pacific and other regions are showing renewed momentum.

We have actively promoted the political settlement of hotspot issues. General Secretary and President Xi Jinping's recent state visit to the DPRK, the first visit to the country by China's top leader after the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, has not only carried forward and cemented the traditional friendship between the two countries, but also played an important and unique role in advancing the political settlement of the Korean peninsula issue and maintaining peace and stability on the peninsula. On the Iranian nuclear issue, we stand firmly by international law and justice, and worked to uphold the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and peace and stability in the Middle East. We have also actively facilitated peace talks and promoted the political settlement of such issues as northern Myanmar, Afghanistan, Syria and that between Palestine and Israel.
Over the past year, China has stayed firmly committed to the common good of the world and working with other countries in concert to face up to changes and turbulence and strengthen the force for peace and growth. In particular, the summit diplomacy provided an irreplaceable strategic guidance in this process. This June alone, President Xi Jinping made unprecedented four overseas trips and attended more than 100 bilateral and multilateral events, making selfless efforts for the cause of world peace and global governance. With concrete actions, President Xi has stayed true to the original aspiration and goals of China's diplomacy and demonstrated China's sense of responsibility and mission as a major country.

This year marks the 40th anniversary of China-US diplomatic relations. In the past four decades, this relationship has come a long way, outperforming even the wildest predictions back then. It has not only brought huge benefits to both countries, but also changed the world in profound ways. For us, the biggest revelation from this 40-year journey is this: China and the US both stand to gain from cooperation and lose from confrontation; and cooperation and dialogue is always better than friction and confrontation. China-US relations is now going through the most complex and sensitive period since diplomatic relations were formalized four decades ago. How things play out will significantly impact the future of both countries and that of the world. As President Xi Jinping pointed out, there are 1,000 reasons to make China-US relations work, but not a single reason to derail them. Taking this opportunity, I would like to share a few observations.

First, the challenges currently facing the US cannot be blamed on China. After 9/11, the United States waged wars against
Afghanistan and Iraq. Those two wars have left the US deeply mired in the turmoils of the Middle East, costed it trillions of dollars, and sapped its strategic strength. The 2008 global financial crisis exposed the deep-seated imbalances in the US economy and society. Problems such as economic disparity, widening wealth gap and aging infrastructure all have their own reasons, but none were caused by China. China should not be made a scapegoat for them.

Second, threat of tariffs and decoupling is not the solution. China has been engaging in the trade negotiations with the US in good faith to manage our differences. However, the negotiations should be on an equal footing, and their outcomes should be balanced, mutually beneficial, and demonstrate mutual respect and accommodation of each other's legitimate concerns. When its sovereignty and dignity are at stake, China must safeguard its core interests. There is no way that China will accept a humiliating agreement that will hold back its development and national rejuvenation. The Chinese side is determined to safeguard its legitimate rights and interests. Nothing, be it maximum pressure or threat of another Cold War, will intimidate us.

Third, taking China as an enemy is not a rational approach. Behind the China-US trade friction is the underlying issue of strategic perception. China and the US, as the top two economies in the world with closely intertwined interests and broad areas of cooperation, should work together for common progress and development. Viewing China as an enemy cannot be more unwise and would only lead to disastrous consequences. "Making America great again" and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation are two historic processes that may well go hand in hand. It is entirely possible for China and the US to help each other succeed and
achieve "greatness" together.

Recently, President Xi and President Trump had a successful meeting in Osaka, during which they exchanged views on the fundamental issues bearing on China-US relations and set out the future course for this relationship. The two sides agreed to continue pursuing a China-US relationship based on coordination, cooperation and stability and announced the resumption of trade consultations. These important understandings sent a positive message and are welcomed and supported by the international community. Now the task for both sides is to follow through on the principled consensus reached by the two presidents and keep to the right direction of China-US relations. The two sides need to strengthen strategic communication on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit to deepen mutual understanding, expand cooperation in various areas, and properly manage differences. This will go a long way to promoting steady progress of China-US relationship to the benefit of both countries and the wider world.

This year, we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. It has been seven decades of relentless progress despite trials and tribulations. Led by the Communist Party of China, we the Chinese people have made great achievements through self reliance and hard work, making China the second largest economy in the world, cultivating a middle income population of over 400 million, and lifting some 800 million people out of poverty. By the end of 2020, we will have taken all rural residents living below the current poverty line out of poverty, putting an end to absolute poverty in our country and creating a miracle in the history of development and poverty reduction. We are also on course to attain the first centenary goal
by 2020, i.e. completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects. The Chinese people are getting closer and closer to realizing their aspirations for a better life.

China's development means opportunities and contributions to the world, rather than a challenge or threat. As President Xi Jinping has reaffirmed on many occasions, China's door will not be closed, but will only open wider to the world. At the G20 Osaka Summit, President Xi Jinping announced further steps of opening up. I am confident that the world will come to see that China, instead of building walls or decoupling with other countries, will continue to bring down its tariff rates, shorten the negative lists, expand market access and make market rules more transparent. A more open China that actively interacts with the rest of the world will bring more opportunities, and make greater contributions to the world.

As a Chinese poem goes, "As we stand high and look far, the unstoppable tide of history, like in a mighty river, surges ever forward." As we are about to enter the third decade of the 21st century, the journey ahead might be beset with dangerous rapids and storms, but China will stay its course and move forward by riding the waves and braving the storms. We will serve as an even stronger stabilizing force in this fast changing world, injecting greater positive energy for the evolution of the international order and a more powerful impetus for global development.
It is truly an honor for me to be in the 8th World Peace Forum and be the Main Speaker in the Plenary Session with the theme International Configuration and World Order.

A theme that is so close with peace issue, usually will always spark debate, along with the issue of power struggling that happens among countries which are considered more advance in economic development.

In this 21st century, when almost all nations have declared themselves independent and sovereign, it is exactly this time that imminent war seems always shadowing the world.

In this forum, I would like to propose a question, “Who is it that actually intended to be destroyed in

* Megawati Soekarnoputri is former President of Indonesia.
Is this the meaning of independence which with great effort has been fought by our founding fathers? Is this the meaning of technological advancement? Is technology created to spark the wars or is it intended to strengthen peace?

Indonesia is a nation which gained independence after colonization for 350 years. In that time, the founders of the nation bestowed Pancasila or the Five Principles as the foundation to Indonesian People. It is also important to be noted that in the Preamble of the Constitution, it was written that Indonesia will always actively contribute to the world peace.

Human in the earth has felt so many miseries caused by wars. In this modern era, we have been through the First and the Second World War. Yet there are other problems that have not found solution until today, such as Korean Wars, the Palestine, and several nations in the Middle East as well. We were surprised by humanitarian tragedies emerging in several nations using the religious issues.

Whereas known by us all, that there have been many active efforts from mankind such as by establishing world institutions for peace, including the United Nations.

Indonesia as well has actively undertaken the same concrete actions: by initiating the Asia Africa Conference in the year 1955, establishing the Non-Aligned Movement, and since 1957 until today, Indonesia has deployed 23 peacekeeping forces which we called Garuda Contingent.
We need to remember that the earth that we live in is only one, therefore we ourselves need to take care and conserve it. We have to realize that if every conflict always be interpreted as war, then the conflict itself will end up with hazard to the human civilization.

Whereas we all understand, the fate of mankind cannot be determined only by a few nations or groups who felt that they are big and powerful, or even those who felt that they are the most righteous and holy.

No single religion teaches its people to use the prerogative right of their Almighty God. No single man has the right to use the hydrogen bomb, or biological weapon, or nuclear bomb as what happened in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No single nation has the right to cause destruction to other nations. No single political system, and no single economic organization are eligible to destroy the world.

Every nation, as small as they may be, has the right to speak. And as small as their voices be, they have the right to be heard in the effort of world peace and security.

If we agree to create the world peace, then let us eliminate the causes to conflict.

Eliminate the causes to tension and we will feel calm! Eliminate the causes to wars and we will fill peaceful! Eliminate all hates, hostility and greed by sitting together! Use the peaceful mind and heart!
Eliminate it all with a constructive dialogue! Eliminate it all with deliberation for the consensus! Find and decide on the principles acceptable by all to solve conflict!

There is a principle that is aligned with the mandate of the United Nations Charter, which is the principle of equal sovereignty to all nations. A principle to respect, honor, recognize and protect the human rights of each man and the national rights of each nation. It is the principle that needs to be accepted, held firmly, and run by every nation.

The Founding father of Indonesia, the First President of the Republic of Indonesia, Dr. Soekarno, in front of the United Nations General Assembly in the year 1960, delivered the idea of “Stabilizing the World Order: Common Responsibilities, Joint Management and Shared benefit”. The idea was delivered on his speech entitled: To Build the World Anew.

In that historical moment, Soekarno said that it is not fair to exclude a nation from the international society. That time, Soekarno fought openly for the membership of the People’s Republic of China in United Nations, fought for the reunification of the people in Korean Peninsula, Vietnam, and war-torn Africa, as well as fought for the independence for Algeria, and the economic independence for Cuba and Laos.

Soekarno teaches us that peace cannot be separated from independence. Independence is the fruit of freedom spirit. A spirit that needs to always live, not only for our own nation but also for other nations as well.
There is nothing to be feared of when we are fighting for independence and peace. Fighting for those two things is always justifiable and righteous.

Soekarno passed down a dream to us, that is a dream about peace for a better world, a world free of dispute and tension. A world where children can grow up proudly and freely, a world where justice and welfare is applicable for everyone. A world where there is justice and prosperity for everyone. A world where humanity can fulfill its full glory. A world where all nations live in peace and in the spirit of brotherhood.

Be part of the fight to fulfill that dream! Sing the song of peace in our heart and soul!

Let us all stand hand in hand in the spirit of brotherhood and solidarity. Believe that one day, the sun of peace will rise, the sun of emancipation that carry the light to all corners of the world. A new world without suppression! ☀️
I am very pleased to be back in Beijing, among friends, for the World Peace Forum. I have been given a rather broad mandate for my speech, that is, regional security, and that is what I will share my thoughts on, from my standpoint in Kabul.

In my view, we are witness today to critical transformational processes that are reorienting the global order as we once knew it. This has important implications certainly for global security, and, merits serious consideration for its impact and trickle-down effects on collective and individual regional security, as well.

We have emerging, serious non-traditional security issues that have mainstreamed, and become increasingly intertwined with older problems. In today’s frightening security landscape, one sees the potential of water being weaponised for conflict, or

* Hamid Karzai is former President of Afghanistan.
the far reaching consequences of climate change on a country’s economy, its people, and subsequently, its security threat perception.

Security challenges can therefore no longer be viewed as single, distinct entities capable of being addressed on their own. Innovative, multi-pronged strategies to combat multi-dimensional problems have to be mounted. And, for this, no single country has all the resources available to go it alone. A coalition of the willing, both at the global and regional levels, must work together to tackle security challenges that do not respect borders. We are, in effect, only as strong as the weakest link in the chain.

It is important to then ask an important question: why are global dynamics being refashioned? Why has what was for a long time a unipolar world begun to disaggregate into several different poles of power concentration? The answer, I submit to you, lies in the nature of leadership. Over time, we have witnessed the erosion of the Western world’s leadership. This bankruptcy of global leadership not only reinforced existing inequalities, they created many more. And so I say, that the new leaders, like China, Russia, and India, must put at the forefront an enlightened recognition of the kind of leadership that the world needs today; one that is based on cooperation, consensus, and respect.

We must be better equipped to deal with the problem of terrorism in the short and long-term, because of the nature in which our problems have begun interacting with a range of other security threats, and the new, daunting, compounded challenges that we now therefore face.
In this respect, I will dwell on the single-most outstanding and established security challenge that, in my view, necessitates a rethink and further investigation. I refer to religious extremism or terrorism, which, as you know, has manifested more vividly in Afghanistan than anywhere else in our region. None of this has been of Afghanistan’s own making—it has been, as history will testify, a result of the circumstances imposed on it from abroad. In fact, I will go so far as to say that if indeed my country has been a “lab” for terrorists, all the scientists who have experimented in this so-called laboratory have come from outside Afghanistan, while we have watched, like spectators in the stands.

Throughout history, we have seen a wholesale application of foreign ideas on a traditional society for the furtherance of others’ security interests. The former Soviet Union superimposed Communism, which was at odds with the local fabric of my country. The United States then used the resistance against this for its own agenda, which later converted to an extremist exercise. This extremism was used by Pakistan even more extensively, both in collaboration with the United States and on its own. We continue to see the impact of all of these nationally-driven efforts on Afghanistan even today.

The tragedy of September 11, too, brought about massive change. The US and its allies, backed by the UN and major world powers, arrived in Afghanistan and were welcomed by the Afghan people in the hope of peace and a normal life. This cooperation between the international community and the people of Afghanistan brought many achievements, as well as hope for an even better future.
However, America’s stated aim of fighting and defeating extremism began to falter. The conspicuous failure of the US venture in Afghanistan followed as a consequence. Extremism, unfortunately, grew further, and Daesh emerged. Doubts began to be cast on America’s intent to reach its objective. The tragic results of the bad policy decisions we see today are all thus tied to the same saga: funding for entities that mutate into agents of terror, and deliberate, bad policy that has, as a consequence, the mushrooming of extremism in countries such as mine.

This must come to a forceful full stop. After 18 long years, the US has launched a resettlement process that we fully back; one that will allow them to exit Afghanistan. For this US enterprise to succeed, two elements are absolutely crucial:

**One**, the peace process must demand, as a requisite, the goal of a stable, progressive, forward-looking, and Afghanistan that is sovereign in both letter and spirit.

**Two**, America’s withdrawal from Afghanistan must be undertaken responsibly, in coordination with the country’s neighbours in the region, especially the major powers: China, Russia, and India.

Recent successes on understanding between the US, Russia and China in the interest of the Afghan peace process, which they have insulated from differences in other areas, is an enlightened path forward that I would encourage Pakistan to emulate. The meetings in Washington and Moscow will be followed by one in Beijing on July 11, and we hope we will also see the participation of India, Pakistan, and Iran in this round of talks.
Any help in our peace process, from well-intentioned neighbours and stakeholders, is a move in the right direction. A partnership for peace is always welcome, and there is no denying that foreign powers have long had a presence in Afghanistan. No one is going to suddenly leave a location of such ground-breaking significance to their strategic interests. This is global politics, and it cannot be simply wished away.

However, a design for peace that also includes Afghanistan’s own interests can – and must – be sought. Building peace and lasting stability in my country can only happen if the United States shows sincerity in this endeavour.

This needs to give way to active cooperation with major powers and our neighbours once again. China, Russia, and India, I hope, will serve as guarantors that see that Afghanistan is secured well beyond the anticipated US exit from my country.

We thus see new and different templates of negotiations for the Afghan peace process underway, and it is my wish to see them succeed. In my view, success will come if four fundamental tenets, learned from the failures of the past, inform how these negotiations are structured and conducted.

**One**, it must be based on an intra-Afghan dialogue.

**Two**, transparency in how the peace process evolves and is conducted is crucial.

**Three**, any peace process, for reasons I laid out before you earlier, must draw on the support of the neighbourhood and the
wider region.

And four, and final, deals about Afghanistan between third parties should in no way be a measure of the peace process itself.

Afghanistan needs its neighbours to acknowledge these important tenets. In much the same way, Taliban’s inclusion in peace talks, which is now underway, is an equally important fact.

You are aware of the several advances our intra-Afghan peace talks have been making in recent times. Members of the High Peace Council attended the November 2018 conference in Moscow with the Taliban at the same table – this was the first sign of official Afghan government involvement. Representation from the United States, India, and Pakistan was also invited. This meeting laid the foundation for the intra-Afghan dialogue in February this year.

This intra-Afghan dialogue brought together a large number of Afghan politicians and tribal leaders to discuss the end of the conflict and ways to a peaceful political settlement. The extent to which this platform played the role of an icebreaker, and its colossal significance in bringing together stakeholders that all share a common cause – our country – but have been for a long time unable sit across the same table – until now - hardly needs stating.

I am pleased to have had the opportunity to witness, and participate in, the Moscow intra-Afghan dialogue, and it behooves me to say that the conference went well beyond tokenism and made substantial strides that have taken us a step
forward towards an ultimate resolution.

The importance of an intra-Afghan process, the criticality of the goodwill of our friends and neighbours, and our own foresight in establishing even stronger foreign ties leads me now to speak to you about my country’s external relations, which, as you have seen, is quite central to the peace process. In this regard, it is important that Afghanistan engage in friendly relations with its neighbours and regional powers.

Stakeholders must look at constructing a new geopolitics of common purpose to reach a long-term compact of peace in Afghanistan and beyond. The solution is a two-pronged approach: First is to construct a policy of peace with the people of Afghanistan playing a pivotal role. Second is international support and cooperation among key players in the region.

This brings me to my second geographical concern, because it is a truth well-acknowledged that our neighbours play a very significant role in how this intractable conflict is resolved to arrive at a just peace. Afghanistan is grateful to Pakistan for looking after its refugees for three decades. At the same time, we must acknowledge the Pakistani deep-state's use of terror as a tool to achieve policy ends, and its provision of safe haven to the Taliban must be addressed head-on. In this regard, recent overtures by Pakistan to inject fresh, positive vigour into its bilateral relationship with Afghanistan by focusing on cooperation rather than competition is a welcome development.

I once referred to our two countries as “conjoined twins.” This is true even today. We share deep, entrenched linkages,
and positive, forward-looking action is instrumental for a transformation of ties and our security challenges. It is hoped that the recent change in Pakistan’s outlook is accompanied by substantial transformation in actual fact. Lofty rhetoric must coexist with real and fundamental revision of strategy. We look forward to a recalibration of our relationship to one based on civility, friendship, and above all, dignity.

India, a neighbour and a friend, also has an important role.

Much of New Delhi’s approach to Afghanistan is in consonance with the will of the Afghans. Of course, I acknowledge that there can be many spoilers that give other players the upper hand, such as the lack of a shared boundary and military presence. However, developmental assistance is not going to be enough for India to fruitfully expand its role. What India does have is a small but creative-thinking foreign policy establishment that must recognise that working together with like-minded stakeholders of the Afghan peace process, such as Russia and China, drives home the will and ability of the collective over that of the individual in achieving a just peace as well as securing national interests.

I think a more enhanced approach to Afghanistan, taking into account of course the difficulties also that present themselves, is crucial. This approach must do three things: one, it must envisage an expanded role for India in my country, which I believe is already in line with current Indian thinking. Two, it must seek to work with like-minded stakeholders such as Russia and China, and three, it must look towards paving the way for a process that aims to ultimately end the conflict that my people have suffered
the consequences of for decades. India's ascendance must necessarily be forged in the fires of its region. Of this, its role in Afghanistan is an instrumental variable.

There is also the question of Iran, an important neighbour, as also friend. Unfortunately, we have seen recently the single biggest achievement of the nuclear non-proliferation regime – the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA), or the Iran deal, as it is referred to colloquially, coming apart. A victory hard won, to only be quickly squandered away by an administration looking inwards, with little consideration of the devastating consequences it could wreak not just on regional dynamics but across the world and the region.

I hope for an amicable resolution of the differences we see playing out between the US and Iran. This was my government’s priority during my own time in office, and it is still as important now to disallow these bilateral differences to emerge in the Afghanistan theatre, where, after a very long time, we see stakeholders insulating their interest and investment in seeing a better future for my country from their traditional differences over other bilateral issues.

With each their own mega transboundary connectivity projects, China, Russia, and India must come together in the region. This is crucial if we seek to construct a security architecture that localizes control, and leads to the resolution of thus far intractable disputes through peaceful, collective security.

With these connectivity projects traversing national boundaries, terrorism can no longer be a concern only if it
occurs within one’s territories. With projects and investments well underway in other countries, these ambitious plans for infrastructure and development must be future-proofed against all odds, whether domestic or foreign. And, terrorism, as it occurs and manifests in what were once considered far-flung lands and therefore out of one single country’s purview, must now be addressed together, for both individual and collective success.

Let me end by stating what I opened with. I am encouraged by the convergence seen so far between China, Russia and the US in their support to the Afghan peace process. They have set their serious differences aside to come together in enlightened service of a common goal, and on behalf of my countrymen and women, I am grateful. After all, these differences between power players are one of the several factors that held up forward movement in Afghanistan. The most decisive variable will continue to be this international consensus among stakeholders, with support from regional actors, our neighbours, and friends. In much the same way as China, Russia, and the US, it is hoped that Pakistan, India, and China are able to keep aside their differences to insulate the Afghan peace talks from any debilitating action.

There is much to be hopeful about. Our collective efforts and genuine commitment to a durable peace will see us to the end.
Thank you for inviting me to speak at the World Peace Forum. Amidst the rising discord and distrust around the world, it is timely to exchange views on how we can work together for peace, prosperity and a stable world order.

Asia’s security challenges are well-known. They have contributed to a “global political warming”. But the US-China strategic rivalry in particular threatens to change the geopolitical climate. It is imperative that all countries, leaders and people help secure a peaceful and prosperous shared world and future.

I share my views from the perspective of a very small country with broad, deep and long-standing relationships with both the US and China. As a small country with no natural resources, Singapore is always concerned about our survival and vulnerabilities. We protect our national interests on the basis of principles...
and a rules-based multilateral global order, and by building friendships and adding value to the world.

**A Trust Deficit**

This year’s World Peace Forum is held against a backdrop of a strategic trust deficit between the US and China. We are at risk of being shackled by history, blinded by suspicions, misled by misconceptions and destroyed by zero-sum superpower rivalry.

The US has openly labelled China as a strategic competitor and rival, and a revisionist power. It has introduced measures to protect any perceived threats to its national security. The US has also accused China of taking advantage of the openness of the American economy by denying American companies and exports to China equal access to the Chinese market. American companies have complained about forced technology transfers and an unequal playing field between foreign and Chinese companies in China. The US government has further accused China of commercial espionage. China has refuted these allegations by pointing out the structural causes of the US’ trade deficit with China. China has also asserted that her technological advancements resulted from its own hard work as well as from partnerships between Chinese and foreign companies. Given current perceptions by both sides, it is critical to rebuild trust.

I am glad that President Xi Jinping and President Donald Trump had a good meeting during the recent G20 Leaders Summit in Osaka. This was an important step to signal the intention at the highest level to continue talks, which will allow working-level discussions to continue more productively. More importantly, the
resumption of dialogue has, at least for now, stopped the downward spiral and tit-for-tat actions in US-China relations. However, the process of building trust will take time to permeate down to the rest of the government, as well as to society.

When there is a trust deficit between the two largest economies in the world, how should the rest of the world respond? I am reminded of the African proverb: When elephants fight, it is the grass beneath them that suffers, meaning that innocent parties get hurt in conflicts between the powerful.

There is also a Chinese proverb – “静观其变”. Smaller countries could choose to watch passively from the sidelines, waiting to see how the situation unfolds, before deciding their next moves.

Both scenarios are not ideal.

Smaller countries, too, are part of this world. They can, and should, play an independent and positive role in shaping the international order. They should engage the global powers to understand their geopolitical ambitions, temperament, power and reliability as friends. Based on this understanding, they can convey their concerns, as well as collectively spell out the shared world and future they want – a safe, secure, peaceful environment where all countries, big and small, can compete and cooperate on a consensus-driven, rules-based, multilateral system.

The ASEAN Story

Let me share how we build trust in ASEAN. We are a diverse group of nations of different sizes, ethnic groups, religions,
languages and political systems. Some members used to distrust one another and had fought wars. Differences still exist.

That said, a key feature of the ASEAN model is decision-making through consensus. Though it takes time, building consensus is necessary to manage the immense diversity within ASEAN and marry long-term regional as well as national interests.

Therefore, over the past 52 years, we have been able to progressively overcome our own internal differences to work together for better lives for our people. We now share a common vision of a peaceful and prosperous ASEAN Community.

Trust has also been built up gradually and steadily because ASEAN leaders meet often, formally and informally. In the 1990s, ASEAN member states built upon our foundation of trust to expand cooperation beyond the immediate region. The ASEAN Regional Forum, ASEAN Plus Three, and East Asia Summit that followed laid the groundwork for closer economic and security ties to countries beyond ASEAN. They are part of the open, inclusive and ASEAN-centric regional architecture which has supported the region’s peace and stability. The ASEAN Free Trade Agreement, signed in Singapore in 1992, paved the way for more FTAs between ASEAN and other major economies in the 2000s. In fact, when the framework agreement for the ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) was signed in 2002, it was the first such agreement between ASEAN and a Dialogue Partner. The ACFTA was upgraded in 2017. This was a big step towards our goal of achieving two-way trade of US$1 trillion and investment of US$500 billion between ASEAN and China by 2020.
Today, we are developing new areas of cooperation with our External Partners. For example, the ASEAN Smart Cities Network was launched last year to foster cooperation among External Partners, multilateral financial institutions, the private sector, and ASEAN cities to develop smart cities solutions. These partnerships have allowed us to further deepen our engagement with the rest of the world.

The ASEAN model is one of trust-building through dialogue. I am sure a similar and regular tête-à-tête between leaders of our Asia-Pacific region can yield results. The one-on-one retreats between Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India and President Xi were initiated to help build trust. They spent hours together to know each other better, and what each other’s problems, challenges and goals for his country are.

**How Should Other Countries Respond?**

When enough countries stand together, their voices can be as loud, if not louder, than the trumpet of elephants. I call this combined voice the “Voice of Moderation”.

This “Voice of Moderation” is not a bloc or new grouping, but simply the voice of concerned countries, leaders, institutions, media, business and people who want to avert a catastrophic clash between the US and China. It is a voice for strategic rationality, peace and stability, growth and prosperity, and an interdependent, open, inclusive, rules-based multilateral order. Only by speaking in unison, will the global powers take heed of us.

ASEAN can be the central platform for countries in the region
to speak in one voice on issues of common concern and amplify the regional “Voice of Moderation”. ASEAN-centric for a like the East Asia Summit also provide a natural platform for the US and China to meet, exchange views, and build trust. Other multilateral groupings, such as the Forum of Small States, which Singapore helped to establish in 1992, allow small states to have a bigger voice at the UN. Similarly, the APEC, which started out as an informal gathering of 12 like-minded economies has now grown into a grouping of 21 members, working towards the shared vision of an integrated, vibrant and prosperous Asia-Pacific.

We can do more than just speak up. Trade agreements like The Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership are excellent examples of what countries can achieve by translating shared values into action.

**Future Standing of the US and China**

In addition to building trust and working together for a shared future, I would like to reflect on the future global standing of the US and China if present trends continue.

**The US**

Domestic developments in the US have reshaped how American political leaders view the rest of the world. A growing number of American politicians – both Republicans and Democrats – now blame their country’s problems on globalisation.

The US perspective of the world has changed. The US
once took it as a matter of course that it should have a global security footprint to protect its international interests. However, it is becoming more difficult for US politicians to explain to their constituents why other countries seem to be growing at the US’ expense when large segments of the population are missing out on the benefits of globalisation. The US would like to see allies and partners contribute more to burden-sharing.

I can understand the struggle to reconcile these differences. In fact, all leaders should put their national interests first. However, I would be concerned if the US cedes its position of leadership in the world if it defines its national interests too narrowly. Those of us who are friends of America should remind the US that the multilateral institutions and global rules-based order that it had a significant role in creating has been the bedrock of unprecedented global peace and prosperity for the last seventy years. Yes, times are changing, and old rules need updating. But for any system to work, the US and China need to work together with other countries to update the rules, and not up-end the system. The interests of other countries, big and small, must also be taken into account.

**China**

When it comes to China, I speak candidly as an old friend who has visited China many times and has met its leaders, from Mr Deng Xiaoping to President Xi Jinping, and from Premier Li Peng to Li Keqiang. Singapore has been a consistent supporter of China’s development and integration into the global community.

China needs to dispel anxieties over its long-term intentions
and behaviour as a global power. After all, the objectives of “Made in China 2025” are no different from Prime Minister Narendra Modi’s “Make in India” initiative.

One reason could be due to the West’s concerns of a large, powerful, non-Western country under a socialist political system that has not liberalised along with economic reforms.

This is further complicated by the fact that China has grown rapidly into a huge elephant. I once shared with Premier Wen Jiabao that no matter how gentle the Chinese elephant was, it had to be very careful with every move it made when in the same pool with other animals. Smaller animals could be hurt or squeezed out of the pool even though the elephant had no such intentions. Of course, the other animals must also recognise the elephant’s right to drink and grow in the same pool. But alas, it is not just the smaller animals. The big American elephant feels threatened too.

China could consider some of these options: First, assuage concerns that other countries may have over China’s rise. The Belt and Road Initiative is a forward-looking plan with the potential to help address Asia’s enormous infrastructure needs. At the recent BRI Forum in April, President Xi had pledged to make BRI clean, green, transparent, financially sustainable and inclusive. I believe, over time, China’s fulfilment of these commitments will address the negative allegations directed at the BRI. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank can be a positive example of how an institution, operated in a manner that meets the highest international standards, could help build greater economic linkages and address the growing demand for infrastructure in Asia and beyond.
Second, China could take on additional responsibilities and work to strengthen the international system that has benefited China, and the world, over the past few decades. For example, the WTO is ripe for a transformative change, and China could work with others to modernise and reform our global trading system.

In the South China Sea, where multiple overlapping claims remain contentious, China could reassure the international community that it will observe and uphold international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. China should continue to articulate its acceptance of the right of freedom of navigation in and over flight above the South China Sea, and its commitment towards peace, stability and peaceful resolution of disputes. This will help assuage worries over China’s intentions in the South China Sea, which has been an albatross around its neck in its interactions with the international community. The Code of Conduct (COC) in the South China Sea is therefore an important opportunity for China to work with ASEAN Member States to build confidence and trust, prevent accidents, and manage any incidents on the ground within a rules-based order. At the same time, the negotiating parties should take into account the concerns of international stakeholders in this vital sea line of communication. I am glad that China and ASEAN Member States are making steady progress in the negotiations towards the COC.

**Building Bridges**

In closing, the “Voice of Moderation” should facilitate the process of developing strategic trust and cooperation between the US and China, even as the two compete. There are many global challenges that would benefit from the leadership of both global
powers, such as climate change and terrorism. At the same time, we should work with the US and China to engage constructively with the rest of the world, to reassure the world of their intentions and enhance their global standing. ASEAN can, and is willing to, play a central role in this trust-building process.

Let me end my speech with another African proverb. “In the moment of crisis, the wise build bridges and the foolish build dams.”

If the US and China fail to build bridges, there may be a new Iron Curtain dividing the world. It may set us on a path with catastrophic consequences, and the Thucydides Trap may become a reality for our generation. But China is not ancient Athens and the US is not Sparta. An all-out conflict between them is also an existential threat to many other countries, whether they take sides or not.

Trust is the glue that binds us together in a shared future. If the US and China can restore mutual trust, supported by the “Voice of Moderation”, the world will benefit immensely from a stable global system for mutual peace and prosperity. Let us take action today to build that trust and secure our shared future.
Speaking of the technological revolution, it is often said that never so much has changed in such a short time. But that also applies to the economy, poverty, the climate, the balance of power on a global scale. Sometimes it is an evolution for the better, sometimes it is more worrying.

First I look at the big changes of the last decades:

- The fall of the Berlin Wall and the historic breakthrough towards the unity of the European continent.

- The unprecedented rise in China's prosperity and the conquering of the first place in the world economy, expressed in purchasing power parities.

- The digital revolution that profoundly changes all aspects of economic, social and personal life. The digital
human being is born.

- The spectacular reduction of extreme poverty in line with the Sustainable Development Goals on a global scale.

- The rapid climate change with sometimes devastating effects in the form of tsunamis and other disasters, knowing that this is only the beginning.

We live in a different world. Fortunately, this goes hand in hand with reducing the sources of conflict and war except in the Middle East, which remains the most dangerous place on earth.

These changes bring with them a number of paradoxes.

Against the growing interdependence there is also the increase in national selfishness in all its forms. Opposite the expansion of 'space' – globalisation – there is a rediscovery of the 'place' – the nation state – , often for fear of the big and rapid evolutions. This international dependence is also too often seen as a limitation of one's own independence.

On the one hand, there is the awareness that the major problems of our time, from migration to climate and employment, cannot be tackled by one country, however important it may be. On the other hand, there is the resistance to draw all the consequences from this interdependence, however inconsistent this may seem. This contradiction can already be seen today in the slower growth of world trade in relation to GDP – too soon to call it deglobalisation –, in the diminishing influence of a number of multilateral institutions and in violations of international law.
Globalisation is being seen less and less as a win-win situation. If we are to counter this trend, we must ensure that the fruits of economic growth are better distributed also in each of our countries so that the feeling of a win-win can be regained.

In each of our countries we see a growing gap between cities and rural areas; between people with a high level of education, especially in the digital age, and those with low qualifications. This gap leads to a loss of social cohesion and polarisation. It also translates into an increasing regression to oneself and a critical attitude, sometimes even a rejection of globalisation.

If we want to maintain the global interdependence and prosperity that can result from this, each country must accept the international order with its rights and obligations, and we must not want to benefit from the free movement of trade and capital without accepting the disadvantages and reciprocity, otherwise we will cut off the branch on which we are sitting.

Globalisation is not the victory of the pure market. Politics and economics are closely linked. Sometimes for good, sometimes for evil. Political courage is needed to go against easy solutions such as protectionism or protectionist measures in all its variants. Moreover, they are not even solutions. Political courage is needed to implement internal reforms to achieve the long-term goals for the economy, for financial stability, for social cohesion and the SDG. Political courage is needed in order to comply with international trade and investment agreements and to put every country and company on an equal footing. It takes courage to be an honest internationalist. Political courage is needed to ensure that global private and public debt does not get out of hand as was the case before 2008, because it can be a
threat to global financial stability.

The important Paris agreement on climate change that was concluded in December 2015, is one of the few successes of international politics in recent years. The vast majority of the signatories want still to implement the agreement. Here too, there is a domestic problem in many countries. Many people support the objectives of the climate policy, but become less enthusiastic when it becomes concrete, when it turns out that a bold climate policy imposes burdens on citizens, businesses and government. It is not an optional exercise. In any case, the strongest should bear the main burden of a vigorous climate policy, both at international and national level. This restraint is disproportionate to the scale of the problem. However, one must be aware that the implementation of the Paris Agreement means that global warming will be between 2.7 and 3.0 degrees in 2100, much higher than the objective of 2 degrees. Here, too, there is the simple truth: if you want the goal, you have to want the means. But I repeat: without international cooperation, we will not succeed. Here too, there can be no room for a kind of free-riding attitude in which it is expected that others will make the necessary efforts while they themselves fail.

For several decades now, we have been living in a new world in which the old bipolar geopolitical model no longer exists. Today, no one governs the world any more. Personally, I don't believe in the theory of geopolitical rivalry, which, like a natural law, should lead to war. History has almost no laws. Why should large nations and actors not be able to live together peacefully and even cooperate? By the way, I think that, after some hesitation, everyone will see that he benefits from it and threatens to lose a lot in adventures. My feeling is that interdependence is irreversible and will eventually
make it through. Governments have no choice but to put the citizens' standard of living first. This socio-economic objective cannot be achieved without international trade and therefore without interdependence. Leaders who cannot ensure a good life for their people risk an uprising as happened in the last decade. Perhaps this strife for a higher standard of living is the best way to serve peace. In my opinion, radical nationalism is not strong enough to make wars acceptable in the material prosperity-oriented civilisations in East and West. My vision is not that of an idealist but of a realist. The individual desire for a good life is a fact of life all over the globe. In this sense, there is much more similarity and convergence between continents and between political systems.

Because each individual stands so strongly on his acquired prosperity, migration has become one of the greatest challenges of our time. Irregular migration is perceived as a threat to the welfare state of today’s residents, especially in the so-called advanced economies. Here, too, there is a paradox because in many countries in the West and East there is a demographic implosion, while on other continents, such as Africa, there is a demographic explosion. At the end of the century, Africa would have almost as many inhabitants as Asia! Many countries will need legal migration even if it is not a popular theme right now. A populist avoids unpopular policies. Because he wants to remain popular. But we will only convince our citizens of legal migration if irregular migration is under control. And that requires a comprehensive approach ranging from supporting socio-economic development in migratory countries to protecting our own external borders.

What is the EU's position on all these developments?
In the midst of growing so-called euro skepticism, a surprising, paradoxical phenomenon occurs. Support for EU membership has never been greater for 27 years, especially among youngsters. A continuously increasing majority (62%) of Europeans think that being a member of the EU is a good thing for their country; only 11% thinks it is a bad thing. 75% of euro area citizens are in favour of the euro, the highest level since the introduction of the euro.

This has a negative argument: an exit such as Brexit has created such an aversion for additional instability in the EU-27 that the EU is now seen as an anchor of stability. People do not want to add instability to a world they already experience as sufficiently unstable.

The EU does not give in to the temptation of closeness. In the midst of rising global protectionism the EU has concluded and started implementing new, balanced trade agreements, among them the FTA’s with South Korea, Japan, Singapore, Vietnam and the Philippines, with new ones in preparation with Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand. The EU-28 has concluded recently a political agreement with Mercosur (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay), which would be the largest trade deal the EU has ever concluded, comprising a market of 780 million people. The EU and China commit in April to achieve in the course of 2019 the decisive progress required, for the conclusion of an ambitious EU-China Comprehensive Investment Agreement in 2020.

As the world's largest consumer market, the EU is an influential normative power through free trade agreements with almost 70 countries, making EU norms and standards commonplace. We are deeply convinced that protectionism doesn’t protect the economy and the people. We all lose.
The EU wants to remain a defender of a rule-based multilateral system, though we shouldn't be too few. The EU wants to solve differences with nations - and there are differences - by dialogue according to the rules themselves of the WTO. Not by a trade war. Firmness and dialogue is our method, the two sides of the scissors.

Protecting our interests without falling into protectionism, is our goal.

The only positive thing about Brexit is that the EU-27 are more united. They do not want to give up the acquis, the achievements that have been worked on for so long.

In any case, the European caravan will continue to travel without the UK. We are further strengthening the single market, the eurozone and the passport and visa-free Schengen area. It may be too slow, but nobody wants the way back.

The EU played a central role in negotiating the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change. To meet its climate ambitions, the global clean energy transition needs to be dramatically sped up in Europe and elsewhere. The European climate policy produced results: the EU will decrease its GHG-emissions with 23% by 2020 whilst the economy will be 53% bigger than in 1990. A clear decoupling of growth and pollution. As part of our commitments under the Paris Agreement, the EU will cut greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40% by 2030. This commitment is legally binding for the member states. An ambitious zero-pollution strategy preferably by 2050 will spur innovation in cleaner alternatives and substitutes.

The EU-27 is not nostalgic. “Make Europe great again” is not
our slogan! Yes, European nation states were once world powers. But those times are over. With just 7% of the world’s population, the EU accounts for almost one quarter of global trade, but we know our limits. But we are also fully aware of our untapped potential. We could play a bigger role if we were more united.

But let us also look at the bright side of things! The structural handicaps of our Union haven’t prevented it from speaking with one voice on the world stage or delivering a unified message on free and fair, rule-based trade. These structural handicaps haven’t prevented the EU from having a common currency; the euro is the currency of 340 million people and the second one most used in the world with a share of 35.7% of global payments. We were able to agree on an EU climate change policy and we spoke with one voice as we did in the Paris climate conference in 2015, and we agree on large parts of foreign policy. On all those issues we have a common approach and they are at the core of global policies.

The EU is a global player but not a world power. We can only be that if we cooperate much more on defence and in the military-industrial field. We've been doing it for two years, in order to increase our European sovereignty also in the field of defence. I would add that we are doing the same for energy.

European sovereignty is not a sign of a retreat into itself, but of a desire to take control of its own destiny. It is not motivated by fear or aversion, but by the will to cooperate more within Europe.

Let me conclude, I am not a supporter of global optimism, although there are many arguments in favour of it. Never before in human history have so many people been doing so well. We must
turn fear into hope. Pessimism is a form of intellectual laziness. A pessimist is always right. Either his prophecy turns out badly and he says: happily so! Or he is right and his reaction is: I told you so! Better to remain what I always was: a man of hope. But hope isn't free. Hope is a verb. Let's work together so that hope gets the upper hand again.
It is my honor and my pleasure to speak at the 8th meeting of the World Peace Forum here in Beijing. Over past years, the Forum has become one of the most representative and respectful meeting points to discuss problems of international security and challenges to regional and global stability. Unfortunately, there are still a lot of these problems and challenges in the world at large and in Asia in particular. I am sure that today and tomorrow we will get plenty of food for thought from a remarkable constellation of bright minds gathered in this hall.

* * *

Let me start with a somewhat trivial observation – the situation in the world gives more and more reasons to be concerned. The manifestations of the growing instability are multiple; I would limit myself to only the most apparent ones.

* Igor Ivanov is former Secretary of Security Council of the Russian Federation.
The rapid and chaotic process of globalization produced many negative side effects including a rapid decline of traditional values, a global revolution of expectations along with social and cultural polarization, growing vulnerability of an individual to extremism and political radicalism. The ongoing technological revolution created a whole spectrum of new opportunities for subversive non-state actors – including new means of communications, new types of weapons, and new mechanisms of political mobilization. However, states turned out to be unprepared to regulate properly the technological revolution and to put its potentially dangerous repercussions under proper control.

We observe a deepening crisis of the traditional state system – more and more states are losing their sovereignty. Failed states become sources of international terrorism, religious extremism and uncontrolled trans-border migrations.

The growing unpredictability and volatility of global and regional economic and financial markets creates new risks for all of us. States, societies and individuals can no longer control their economic destinies or even to influence them in a significant way. We observe economic and social polarization among states and within them; polarization increases populism, radicalism and extremism of various kinds.

We record an ongoing decline of many international institutions --- global and regional, security and economic alike; the growing inability of the UN based system to find effective solutions to mounting problems.

The rapid rise of non-state actors challenges state sovereignty
and questions the fundamentals of the modern international system.

Uncontrolled and potentially disastrous environmental and climate changes, mounting challenges to biodiversity, environmental stability and resource sufficiency constitute another dimension to the crisis.

Today, a lot of attention all around the world is focused on US President Donald Trump as the most visible and the most powerful troublemaker in international relations. Without going into details, I would say that the peculiar policy of the current American president helped us to some extent to look more realistically at the state of affairs on international arena.

First, two and a half years of his presidency showed the whole world how far the United States can go in trying to protect its immediate interests to the detriment of the global commons. The White House today is ready to pressure not only its adversaries, but also its allies; it does not seem to care much about international law or about international public opinion. And this trend towards an extreme “national egotism” is likely to continue.

Second, the policies of the Trump Administration demonstrated all the fragility of the modern international system as such. For instance, it took only a couple of disruptive steps to put into question the whole strategic arms control infrastructure, which the international community had been working on for the last fifty years. The same can be said about the global financial and trade system; nobody today can predict its future.

Third, Donald Trump announced something that many of us
pretended not to talk for a long time. The old world order has already ended. No matter whether Trump gets reelected or not, there will be no return to the past. We should have no illusions about a post-Trump world – it will be an unstable, volatile and a dangerous place.

Fourth, Donald Trump is a wakeup call for governments, opinion-makers and intellectuals all around the world. All of us have to stretch our imagination, to renounce old approaches and begin a joint search for answers to our common challenges and opportunities. The time for such a reassessment is running out.

***

It would be wrong to look for just one source of all these diverse problems or to blame just one country for them. What we see in international relations today is a “perfect storm” – a combination of long-term social and economic trends, personal political ambitions, inertia of thinking and human blunders.

The Western triumphalism after the end of the Cold War led to ungrounded hopes for the West-centered world. The Western (both American and European) arrogance led to many crises that could otherwise have been avoided or at least mitigated. The selective use of international law, double standards in international relations, and a lot of hypocrisy contributed to the erosion of some of the fundamental norms of international public law. These factors produced diverging and even opposite narratives, contributed to more cynicism, and opportunism in foreign policies.

So, what should we do to overcome the current crisis in international relations?
Above all, we have to agree that the critical task of the day is the task to restore and to enhance the shattered global governance. Without addressing this task, we are not going to succeed in any other undertakings. The central dividing line in the modern international system is between order and chaos. The prime building blocks of the international system are and will continue to be nation states. Therefore, the principle of sovereignty should be fully respected and considered to be of paramount importance. Interdependence and integration can be accepted as long as they do not contradict the principle of sovereignty.

The emerging international system should fully reflect the changing balance of powers in the world. The existing West-centered institutions should either undergo a profound transformation or be replaced by more universal, more inclusive and more representative organizations. The emerging concept of modernity should imply opportunities for preserving national traditions, culture, specific economic, social and cultural models distinctly different from the Western examples.

The task of restoring governance in international affairs is a common task for all states and it is urgent. Some politicians argue that the new rules of the game in world politics will develop over time and this process cannot be accelerated. This approach might have been justified if we were talking about less important matters. But history may not forgive a wait-and-see attitude in the face of growing threats to international security.

* * *

Now let me say a few words about the emerging Russian-
Chinese partnership, which I consider an entirely new type of partnership with no precedents in history. I do not want to imply that we have no problems between Moscow and Beijing – no state-to-state interactions are free from problems. However, in my view, the contemporary Russian-Chinese relationship questions many traditional assumptions about how major powers can and should deal with each other.

First, throughout history major powers cooperated either to agree upon their respective “spheres of influence” or to form coalitions against common adversaries. This is not the case with Russia and China today. Their partnership is not directed against any third countries; the relationship between Moscow and Beijing has its own driving forces and its own logic. Likewise, this partnership has nothing to do with “dividing Eurasia”; it does not create any threats or challenges to neighboring states.

Second, traditional relations between major powers implied sophisticated bilateral or multilateral balancing mechanisms. Russia and China do not balance each other, but rather complement each other – in political, economic, humanitarian and other areas. This is why this partnership does not imply relations between a “senior partner” and a “junior partner”, as it has often been the case in international relations. There may be asymmetries in the Russian-Chinese relations, but these asymmetries do not make the relations hierarchical with the leading power imposing its will on the satellite power. Instead, in each particular case both sides are looking for a fair balance of interests and are ready to compromise, if needed.

Third, traditionally relations between major powers required quite rigid institutional frameworks. The current Russian-Chinese
relations are a very flexible form of interaction, which the two sides can calibrate and customize depending on the particular area of cooperation. The sides are not constrained by any highly detailed bureaucratic procedures, protracted decision-making mechanisms, limitations of national sovereignty and so on. The bilateral interaction consists of numerous “building blocks” or regimes, and each of the regimes has its own dynamics and its own modus operandi.

Fourth, the “new major powers relations” go far beyond the state-to-state dimension. They also involve business communities, civil society organizations, educational and media institutions, and a variety of other non-state actors in Russia and in China. This complexity reflects the essence of the modern world politics, where challenges of security are closely linked with problems of development, and economic cooperation cannot be separated from cooperation in the social field.

I have no intention to argue that the current state of the Russian-Chinese relations is perfect. It is definitely not the case. We are only in the very beginning of a long road, and there are still many obstacles, ambiguities, and uncertainties along the way. It would be unwise and even dangerous to stop reflecting on what might be done better and how we could be more efficient. Nevertheless, the overall direction is clear and we have a detailed roadmap to follow.

I do believe that further elaboration of basic principles and main components of the Russian-Chinese cooperation is very important not only for our two states, but for the emerging system of international relations of the XXI century as well. This emerging system – on the global level as well as on the regional level – could
be gradually built on similar partnerships – big and small, bilateral and multilateral. Of course, Russia and China should not try to impose their experience on anybody, but this experience is likely to be of interest to many international actors.

In fact, we already see that the Russian-Chinese experience has an impact on the international system: if you look at such multilateral structures as BRICS or the Shanghai Cooperation organization, you will see that these structures are based on the same principles as the bilateral Russian–Chinese relations. One can predict that such approaches will be utilized in other multilateral organizations and groupings.

***

One of the profound problems of the XXI century in world politics is the need to find the proper balance between national sovereignty and international governance. Countries – small states and major powers alike – are getting very sensitive about their sovereignty and their independence. No country likes a foreign interference into its domestic affairs. Nobody is willing to accept international “norms”, if these “norms” are enforced on the global community by a limited number of major players.

At the same time, the world is getting smaller and more crowded. To survive, the humankind will have to reconsider the traditional understanding of national sovereignty. It will have to empower international organizations with more authority. It will have to enforce international law with more energy and consistency than it does it now. It will be a long and a bumpy road for all of us, but this is the only way we can take if we really want to cope with
the numerous challenges of the future.

“Our water that keeps a ship afloat can also sink it.” We can apply this ancient Chinese saying to describe the current state of the world. The humankind has entered unchartered waters of globalization. Our common ship can sink in these dangerous waters, or it can reach new shores of development and prosperity. It is up to us to make the right choice. 🌍
Visits & Events

President Wang Chao Attends the 8th World Peace Forum

Hosted by Tsinghua University and co-organized by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), the 8th World Peace Forum was held in Beijing from July 8 to 9. Chinese Vice President Wang Qishan attended the opening ceremony and delivered a speech. Former Afghan President Hamid Karzai, former Indonesian President Megawati Soekarnoputri, former Singaporean Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, former President of the European Council Herman Van Rompuy and former Secretary of the Russian Security Council Igor Ivanov
attended the opening ceremony and delivered speeches at plenaries.

President Wang Chao of the CPIFA attended the opening ceremony and hosted the first plenary. Vice President Li Huilai of the CPIFA also attended the opening ceremony and other relevant activities.

The theme of this year’s forum is “Stabilizing the World Order: Common Responsibilities, Joint Management and Shared Benefits. About 500 distinguished guests including foreign ambassadors and think-tank scholars from home and abroad participated in the forum.
President Wang Chao Meets with the Ambassador of the UK to China

On July 23, Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Dame Barbara Woodward DCMG OBE, Ambassador of the UK to China. The two sides exchanged views on bilateral relations, cooperation between CPIFA and the UK and other issues of common interest. Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, was also present.

President Wang Chao Attends the 7th Kubuqi International Desert Forum

The 7th Kubuqi International Desert Forum was held in Ordos in North China’s Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region from July 27 to 28. President Xi Jinping and UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres both sent congratulatory letters to the forum. Vice-premier Sun Chunlan attended the opening ceremony and
delivered a keynote speech. President Wang Chao of CPIFA attended the opening ceremony and accompanied vice-premier Sun to meet with Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, former President of Mongolia, Essam Sharaf, former Prime Minister of Egypt and Djoomart Otorbaev, former Prime Minister of Kyrgyzstan, who were invited to attend the forum. Vice President Li Huilai of the CPIFA attended the opening ceremony and other activities.

Under the theme “Greening the Belt and Road, Building the Ecological Civilization”, the 7th Kubuqi International Desert Forum is hosted by the Ministry of Science and Technology, the National Forestry and Grassland Administration, the government of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, the United Nations Environment Program and the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification (UNCCD) Secretariat, and is co-hosted by CPIFA.
President Wang Chao Meets with the Ambassador of Slovenia to China

On July 30, Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Mr. Janez Premože, Ambassador of Slovenia to China. The two sides exchanged views on bilateral relations, China-EU relations and regional and international hotspot issues of common interest.

The 5th Seminar on China-Malaysia Relations Holds in Haikou

On August 6th, the 5th Seminar on China-Malaysia Relations was held in Haikou, Hainan. It was co-organized by Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and Institute of Strategic and International Studies Malaysia (ISIS Malaysia), and supported by China Institute for Reform and Development (CIRD).

The Chinese Delegation was headed by Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA, including Prof. Chi Fulin, President of CIRD, and other scholars and experts from various research institutions and universities. The Malaysian Delegation was headed by Tan Sri Rastam Mohd Isa, President of ISIS Malaysia, and included
experts and scholars from ISIS Malaysia.

The topic of the seminar was “Commemorating the 45 years of China-Malaysia Diplomatic Relations: Retrospect and Prospect”. Delegates from both sides conducted in-depth discussions from bilateral perspective and regional and international perspective.

During their stay in Haikou, the Malaysian delegation met with Mr. Mao Wanchun, Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) Hainan Committee. The delegation also visited Zhuhai and Guangzhou after the seminar.

**Event Commemorating the Friendly Exchanges between the CPIFA and the United States Congress on the Occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Diplomatic Relations Between China and the US Successfully Held in Beijing**

On the evening of August 20, the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) successfully held
the commemoration event titled “The 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Diplomatic Relations Between the People’s Republic of China and the United States of America: The Friendly Exchanges Between the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the United States Congress” at Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, Beijing.

Mr. Wang Chao, President of the CPIFA, Mr. Robert Forden, Charge and Deputy Chief of Mission of US Embassy to China, Ms. Dina Titus, US Congresswoman from Nevada, Amb. Sig Rogich, Chairman of the US-China Transpacific Foundation, Mr. Gleen Lau-Kee, Chairman of the US-Asia Institute, General Paul Bergson, Senior Advisor and Board Member of the US-Asia Foundation, Dr. Ernestine Wang, Executive Director of the US-China Policy Foundation and Mr. Jonathan Lowet, Deputy Vice President of the National Committee on US-China Relations, delivered remarks respectively. More than 250 participants were present, including representatives of various Chinese Central Government Ministries, institutions and Foreign Affairs Offices of Provincial and Municipal Governments, as well as Congresswoman
At the invitation of CPIFA, a delegation led by H.E. Jorge Pizarro, President of Latin-American Parliament, visited Beijing, Shanghai, and Xi’an from August 19th to 24th.

In Beijing, H.E. Li Zhanshu, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, Vice-Foreign Minister Zheng Zeguang and CPIFA President Wang Chao met with the delegation respectively. The two sides exchanged views on China-Latin America relations and other issues of common interest. The delegation also held a round-table discussion with scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

In Shanghai and Xi’an, the delegation was met by Mr. Xiao Guiyu and Mr. Guo Weimin, Vice Chairmen of the Standing...
committee of the Shanghai Municipal People’s Congress and that of the Shaanxi Provincial People’s Congress, respectively. They also paid a visit to the Shanghai Stock Exchange and experienced high-speed train.

**US Congressional Member Delegation Visits China**

At the invitation of CPIFA, US Congressional Member Delegation organized by the US-Asia Institute visited Beijing, Xi’an and Chengdu from August 19th to 28th. The delegation was headed by Congresswoman Dina Titus from Nevada with its members including Congresswoman Ann Kirkpatrick from Arizona, Congressman Alan Lowenthal from California and Mr. Glenn Lau-Kee, Chairman of the US-Asia Institute.

In Beijing, Mr. Wang Chen, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the CPIFA and Mr. Zheng Zeguang, Vice Minister of the Foreign Ministry met with the delegation respectively, and Mr. Xie Jinying, Director-General of the Bureau of International Exchanges and Cooperation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism held a discussion with them. The two sides exchanged views on China-US relations and other issues of common interest. The delegation also attended the commemoration event titled "The 40th Anniversary of the Establishment of the Diplomatic Relations Between the People’s Republic of China and the United States of America: The Friendly Exchanges Between the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs and the United States Congress" at Diaoyutai State Guesthouse, Beijing.

In Xi’an and Chengdu, Mr. Guo Dawei, Deputy Director-
General of the Standing Committee of Shaanxi Provincial People’s Congress and Mr. Li Yunze, Vice Governor of Sichuan Province met with the delegation and briefed them on local economic and social development.

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

On August 23, Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA, met with Amb. Stanley Loh, the Singaporean Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Singapore relations, regional and international situation, the 14th China-Singapore Forum and other topics of common interest.
At the invitation of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), a delegation consisted of 14 young members of the Korean National Assembly, headed by Mr. Kim Hankyu, Chairman of the 21st Century Korea-China Leaders Society, visited Beijing from August 26-28, 2019.

During their stay in Beijing, Mr. Wang Dongming, Vice Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, and Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, Former State Councilor, met with the delegation respectively and exchanged views on Sino-Korean relations and the situation on the Korean Peninsula. The delegation also had in-depth roundtable discussions on the issues of common interest with the scholars and experts from the Chinese Research Academy of Environment Science (CRAES), China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) and China Institute of International Studies (CIIS).
On August 28, Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Zvi Heifetz, Ambassador of the State of Israel to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Israeli relations, regional and international situation, as well as other issues of common interest.

**China-Germany Dialogue Forum Meeting 2019 Successfully Held**

China-Germany Dialogue Forum Meeting 2019 was held in Qingdao and Beijing from 3 to 6 September. Mr. Wan Gang, Chinese Chairman of the Forum, Vice Chairman of the 13th CPPCC National Committee, and Ms. Annette Schavan, German Chairman of the Forum, former Minister of German Federal Department of Education and Research, co-chaired the meeting.
Around 40 members of the two countries from the fields of politics, economy, academia, science and technology and press attended the forum and had in-depth discussions and put forward concrete proposals. The meeting covered 6 topics including “China and Germany, How Do We Perceive Each Other?”, “Climate Change”, “Digital Education”, “Vocational Training”, “Scientific Research Cooperation between China and Germany in the Era of Big Data”, and “Aging Problem”.

While in Beijing, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and German Chancellor Angela Merkel met with the members together in the Great Hall of the People. Mr. Qin Gang, Deputy Foreign Minister of China, Mr. Gong Zheng, Vice-Secretary of CPC Shandong Provincial Committee and Governor of Shandong Province, Mr. Wang Qingxian, member of the Standing Committee of CPC Shandong Provincial Committee, Secretary of CPC Qingdao Municipal Committee, also met with the members respectively. The members also paid visits to the Museum of the Residence of German Governor in Qingdao, Museum of Qingdao Beer, Sino-German Ecopark. Mr. Wang Chao, President of Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), attended the forum.
The China-Germany Dialogue Forum was initiated in 2005 by the Prime Ministers of the two countries with annual meetings held in China and Germany alternately. The Chinese secretariat of the Forum is based in CPIFA.

**President Wang Chao Meets with the French Experts and Researchers Delegation**

On 11th September, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), met with the
French experts and researchers delegation led by Mr. Francois Loos, former minister-delegate to the Ministry of Higher Education and scientific Research of France. The two sides exchanged views on China-France and China-Europe relations, implementation of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), global governance and other issues of common interest.

“US-China Eminent Persons Forum”
Held in Beijing

From September 16 to 17, “US-China Eminent Persons Forum” was cohosted by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs and the US-China Transpacific Foundation at the Diaoyutai State Guesthouse in Beijing.

The Chinese Delegation is headed by Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs with members including Mr. Zhao Qizheng, former Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Chinese People’s Political
Consultative Conference and former Minister of the Information Office of the State Council, Amb. Zhou Wenzhong, former Chinese Ambassador to the US and former Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, Mr. Li Junru, former Vice President of the Central Party School of the Communist Party of China, Mr. Long Yongtu, former Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation and former Chief Negotiator for China’s WTO Accession, Gen. Chen Xiaogong, former Deputy Commander of Air Force of the Chinese People’s Liberation Army, Mr. Zhou Mingwei, former Director of China Foreign Languages Publishing Administration and former Vice Minister of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, Dr. Zhu Min, Chairman of the National Institute of Financial Research of Tsinghua University, former Deputy Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund and former Vice Governor of the People’s Bank of China, Gen. Yao Yunzhu, former Director of the Center for China-America Defense Relations of the Academy of Military Science and Amb. Zhao Weiping, Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs.

International Security and Nonproliferation of the US Department of State and Mr. Gavin Chen, President of the US-China Transpacific Foundation.

During the Forum, the Chinese and the US sides had a frank and in-depth exchange of views on promoting the development of China-US relations, enhancing strategic mutual trust, reviving economic and trade cooperation as well as international and regional issues of common concern.

Both sides agreed that communication is of great necessity and they are willing to continue the exchange in appropriate forms within the framework of the "US-China Eminent Persons Forum".

**Vice President Li Huilai Attends 2019 Euro-Asia Economic Forum**

2019 Euro-Asia Economic Forum was held from September 10 to 12 in Xi’an, Shaanxi. Vice-Premier Hu Chunhua of the State Council attended the opening ceremony and delivered a keynote speech. Vice President Li Huilai of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) attended the opening ceremony, the
general meeting and related activities. Vice President Li Huilai also delivered a speech at the Euro-Asia Economic Forum Think-Tank Meeting.

Euro-Asia Economic Forum is an open and high-level international forum with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization as the main body and facing the Eurasian region. The theme for this year’s forum is “the ‘Belt and Road’ construction: high-level cooperation and high-quality development”. More than 1,000 guests from 58 countries and regions participated in the forum.

**Vice President Zhao Weiping Meets with Mr. Stockwell Day, Former Leader of the Canadian Alliance Party**

On July 16, Vice President Zhao Weiping of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), met with Mr. Stockwell Day, former Leader of the Canadian Alliance Party, former President of the Treasury Board, former Minister of
The 2019 China France Young Leaders Forum Successfully Held

The 7th China France Young Leaders Forum co-organized by CPIFA and France China Foundation was successfully held in Paris and Provence in France from 4th to 8th July 2019. Over 50 representatives from both countries participated in the forum and had discussions and exchanged views in various forms on the theme of “Optimism”. The participants also attended the Les Rencontres Économiques d’Aix-en-Provence, and paid visits to the the National Assembly of France, Les Rencontres d’Arles, the Camp and Radio France. During the forum, the participants had

International Trade and Minister of Public Safety. The two sides exchanged views on China-Canada relations and other issues of common interest.

Jiang Wenran, Adjunct Professor at the University of British Columbia,Canada, attended the meeting.
discussions respectively with Ms. Valerie Pecresse, President of Paris regional Council, Mr. Pascal Cagni, Chairman of the Board of Business France, Mr. Lionel Zinsou, former Prime Minister of Benin, Mr. Pascal Lamy, former Director-General of WTO, Thomas Buberl, CEO of AXA, and Mr. Eric Labaye, President of Ecole Polytechnique Pari.

Vice President Liang Jianquan Meets with the Slovak National Council Delegation

On August 16, Mr. Liang Jianquan, Vice President of CPIFA, met with the Slovak National Council Delegation which was invited to visit China by CPIFA. The delegation has been co-chaired by Mr. Lubos Blaha, Chairman of the European Affairs Committee, and Mr. Maros Kondrot, Chairman of the Slovak-Chinese Friendship Group and Vice Chairman of the Economic Affairs Committee. Both sides exchanged views on Chinese-
Slovak relations, the development and foreign policy of China, the Belt and Road Initiative and other issues of common interest. The delegation also paid a visit to Tibet.
大家好！很高兴出席第八届世界和平论坛。

当今世界正处于大发展大变革大调整之中，国际环境总体稳定，大国关系深入调整；经济全球化持续发展，保护主义抬头、民粹思潮泛滥；世界多极化加速推进，地缘博弈和地区动荡加剧；新科技新思潮不断涌现，人类生产生活方式深刻变化。有人回望百年，忧心二战结束以来的国际秩序正濒于崩溃，说人类再次走到了十字路口。

从更长的历史中才能获得更远的预见。战争与和平、生存和发展始终贯穿人类历史。世界在几千年里总体分隔，不同民族、国家在各自的时空反复上演着征服与抗争、繁荣和衰落。500多年前，大航海时代开启了人类历史上第一轮全球化，也带来了西方地中海文明的殖民扩张。二战结束后建立的国际秩序，维持了全球总体和平稳定，但世界在几十年间仍处于阵营分割、集团对立的局面。冷战结束和新技术兴起为新一轮经济全球化创造了条件，跨国公司追求利益最大化，在全球进行资源配置，发达国家获益巨大，发展中国家和新兴经济体群体性崛起，各国利益深度融合，世界已经成为“地球村”。

和平弥足珍贵，发展是人心所向，经济全球化是大势所趋。前进道路上会出现曲折，面对挑战，最大的恐惧是恐惧本身。我们要坚守和平发展的信念，毫不动摇地推进经济全球化，共同构建更加公正合理、稳定有效的国际秩序。

5000多年中华文明延绵不断，中华民族历经苦难辉煌。我们
秉持达己达人，崇尚和合包容，期盼和平大同。1840年后，中华民族陷入百年屈辱，无数志士仁人为了争取民族独立和国家解放而前赴后继。新中国成立后，中国人民经过艰苦卓绝的努力，在一穷二白的基础上建立起独立的比较完整的工业体系和国民经济体系；艰辛探索寻觅，在建设发展、改革开放中确定了走中国特色社会主义道路。今天，中国人民生活实现了从温饱不足到全面小康的历史巨变，中华民族迎来了伟大复兴的光明前景。

人民对美好生活的向往，就是我们的奋斗目标。中国的发展离不开世界，世界的发展也离不开中国。没有和平稳定的国际环境，发展就无从谈起。中国将坚持做好自己的事，以战略定力和自信应对外部环境的不确定性；坚定不移走和平发展道路，无论国际形势如何变化，无论自身如何发展，中国永不称霸、永不扩张、永不谋求势力范围。

中国的和平发展道路归结起来就是，通过维护世界和平发展自己，又通过自身发展维护世界和平。主要依靠改革创新实现发展，也坚持扩大开放，学习借鉴别国长处；顺应经济全球化潮流，寻求与各国互利共赢、共同发展；同国际社会一道努力，建设持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界。

继承和发展，以继承为主。现有国际体系并不完美，需要加以改革，但不能推倒重来，这是绝大多数国家的共识。着眼人类共同利益，中国主张推动构建新型国际关系和人类命运共同体。

——维护多边主义基石。要维护以联合国为核心的多边主义、恪守国际法和国际关系基本准则，彼此尊重主权独立和领土完整，国内事务由本国人民自己决定，国际事务由各国平等协商，使各国和各国人民都享有尊严和安全保障。大国要展现担当、作出表率，为维护世界和平稳定多做贡献。

——拓宽共同发展途径。发展是解决一切问题的总钥匙，要在政治、经济、社会、文化和生态文明全面发展和平衡好发展与安全的关系。要秉持共商共建共享理念，加强经济、金融、科技、能源等各领域对话合作，构建更高水平的开放型世界经济，以利益融合促进共同安全，反对以国家安全之名行保护主义之实。

——促进文明互学互鉴。文明多元、道路多是人类社会发展的必然，也是人类进步的源泉。不同政治体制、历史文化、宗教信仰之间应摒弃隔阂、排他、猜忌和仇视，不断加深了解、增进理解、培育互信、倡导宽容，从根源上防范各类极端思潮的滋生和蔓延。

——携手应对人类共同新挑战。要寻求最大公约数，健全国际法体系和全球治理机制，让互联网、人工智能、外空、深海、极地等新课题成为国际合作新领域。要共担责任、落实应对气候变化国际共识，加强减贫减灾、公共卫生等领域
国际合作，共同打击各类跨国犯罪和恐怖主义。

世界和平论坛成立八年来，影响日益扩大。本次论坛汇聚各方专家，就稳定国际秩序深入讨论，希望大家相互启迪，凝聚共识，为推动世界和平发展贡献智慧。

预祝论坛取得圆满成功！
大变局中的中国外交：使命与担当
——在第八届世界和平论坛午餐会上的演讲

2019年7月8日，北京

乐玉成  中国外交部副部长

很高兴再次出席世界和平论坛，与各位新老朋友相聚一堂。本届世界和平论坛的主题是“稳定国际秩序：共担、共治、共享”。我依然清晰记得，去年，也是在这里，我们纵论天下大势和中国外交，大家对形势最突出的感受是“三不”：不确定、不稳定、不可预测。遗憾的是，一年过去了，国际局势依然乱变交织、阴云密布，各种不稳定不确定因素还在蔓延，世界仍面临着何去何从的艰难选择。

人类对于未来的选择，总是基于对过去的理解。回首100年前，一战的硝烟刚刚散去就建立了以国际联盟为支柱的凡尔赛体系，以期“开辟永久和平”。然而，“理想很丰满，现实很骨感”，仅仅20年，第二次世界大战就爆发了。凡尔赛体系未能有效制止战争的一个重要原因是，有关国家唯本国利益至上，甚至相互以邻为壑，竞相转嫁危机。国联形同虚设，多边协调失效。教训极其深刻。

今天，世界又一次面临乱变交织的危机和挑战。我们该如何应对？上世纪凡尔赛体系失败的教训殷鉴不远。我们不能再重蹈历史的覆辙，不能再上演单边主义和保护主义的老剧本。更何况我们已经生活在各国相互依存不断加深的全球化时代，人类已经形成休戚与共的命运共同体。如果把世界多年形成的网络化联系和产业链协同当作威胁的武器，国家间大搞关税战、贸易战，甚至金融战、科技战，那就是开历史的倒车，后果极其危险。我们切不可因一时的短视而犯下不可挽回的历史性错误，将人类带入灾难的深渊。

事实上，面对前所未有的挑战，多边主义日益成为国际社会的广泛共识。刚刚结束的二十国集团领导人大阪峰会又一次发出了支持多边主义的主流声音。如何践行多边主义？我认为，首先要有制
度保障。没有制度也就没有秩序。要维护以联合国为核心、以国际法为基础的国际体系，维护以世界贸易组织为核心、以规则为基础的多边贸易体制。现行的国际秩序虽然不尽完美，需要改革完善，但不能全盘推翻、各行其是、为所欲为，那样将会天下大乱。其次要有合作精神。全球性问题需要全球性合作应对，没有哪个大力士能够包打天下。必须同舟共济、共同划桨，才能乘风破浪到达彼岸。三是要有共赢意识。国际社会就是一个大家庭，应该有难同当、有福同享。零和博弈、赢者通吃行不通，追求利益最大化和本国利益至上的结果只能是冲突和战争。

多边主义与习近平主席倡导的人类命运共同体内涵一致、理念相通，符合共商共建共享的全球治理观，有利于推动建设相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢的新型国际关系。实践已经并将进一步证明，践行多边主义是人间正道，构建人类命运共同体是大势所趋。

中国讲究知行合一。中国始终是世界和平的建设者、全球发展的贡献者、国际秩序的维护者。过去一年，尽管自身遇到一系列难题和挑战，但中国外交致力于同各国加强互利合作的承诺没有变，维护世界和平、促进共同发展的使命担当没有变，而且更有作为，更有实效。

我们坚定捍卫多边主义和自由贸易。面对逆全球化思潮上升、保护主义和单边主义蔓延的严峻挑战，习近平主席在二十国集团领导人峰会、亚太经合组织领导人非正式会议、首届中国国际进口博览会等场合，铿锵有力地发出了中国坚定捍卫多边主义和自由贸易的时代强音，主动引领全球治理体系变革方向。积极推动合作共赢的经济全球化，建设开放型世界经济。携手各方落实2030年可持续发展议程和气候变化《巴黎协定》，谋求各国共同发展与繁荣。

我们致力于高质量共建“一带一路”。坚持共商共建共享原则，践行开放、绿色、廉洁理念，努力实现高标准、惠民生、可持续目标。最近世界银行发布“‘一带一路’经济学”报告，认为“一带一路”交通项目全部完成后，沿线国家交通时间将减少12%，贸易增长2.8-9.7%，实际收入增长1.2-3.4%，760万人将摆脱极端贫困。这表明，“一带一路”有效促进了有关国家和地区经济增长、民生改善、基础设施联通，甚至改变了很多普通人的命运。在马拉维北部的齐姆科贝尔村，近一个世纪以来，村民们一直是头顶水桶到一公里外的水源打水。是中国工人来到该村修建起崭新的水井。在地下水涌出井口的那一刻，村民们激动地说“我们再也不用光着脚走山路了。”中国援建的马拉维600眼水井项目为当地6个地区15万人提供了清洁的饮用水。

我们开启中俄关系新时代。今年6月初，在中俄建交70周年的历史节点，习
习近平主席访问俄罗斯，实现两国元首6年来近30次会晤。此访为中俄关系确立新定位、实现新拓展、树立新目标。中俄宣布发展新时代全面战略协作伙伴关系，持续推进战略性大项目，扩大科技创新合作深度和广度，推动双边贸易额向2000亿美元迈进。中俄关系处于历史最好时期，政治互信和战略协作达到前所未有的新高度。

我们与欧洲合力应对全球性挑战。习近平主席将欧洲作为今年出访的首站，中法德欧领导人同台聚首，就全球治理、多边主义、自由贸易等问题达成广泛共识，一致同意加强在联合国框架内的协调合作，充分发挥二十国集团等多边机制的建设性作用，在推动政治解决国际争端、应对气候变化、促进可持续发展等方面积极担当有为。中欧领导人向世界发出了加强互信、深化合作、合力应对全球挑战的有力信号。

我们着力构建周边命运共同体。中国同日本、印度关系获得双提升。习近平主席出席二十国集团领导人大阪峰会期间同安倍晋三首相举行会晤，达成推动两国关系进一步发展的十点共识。安倍晋三首相邀请习近平主席明年春天对日本进行国事访问。中印领导人年内将举行非正式会晤，擘画中印关系新蓝图。中国—东盟战略伙伴关系进入成熟期，区域全面经济伙伴关系协定谈判驶入快车道，中日韩自贸区协定谈判进程加快推进。上海合作组织影响持续扩大，成为团结互信、安危共担、互利共赢、包容互鉴的地区合作机制典范。

我们推动南南合作迈上新台阶。在去年9月举行的中非合作论坛北京峰会上，中非双方50多位领导人共聚一堂，共商中非合作大计，共度“中非友好黄金周”。峰会成果正在积极落实并呈现出“早见效、高标准、惠民生”的可喜态势。我们用铁一般的事实向世界证明，中非友谊牢不可破。依托77国集团加中国、金砖国家等重要的南南合作平台，中国同阿拉伯、拉美、南太等各地区发展中国家的友好合作不断获得新动力。

我们积极促进政治解决热点问题。习近平总书记、国家主席对朝鲜进行国事访问，是党的十八大以来中国最高领导人首次访朝，有力巩固和传承了中朝传统友谊，也为推动半岛问题政治解决进程、维护半岛和平稳定发挥了重要而独特的作用。我们坚定站在国际法和国际道义一边，坚定维护伊朗核全面协议，维护中东地区和平与稳定。我们还积极劝和促谈，推动缅北、阿富汗、叙利亚、巴以等问题政治解决进程。

过去一年，中国一直坚定地与世界并肩前行，一直执着地与各国同心协力，直面变革与动荡的考验，培育和平与增长的力量，尤其是元首外交发挥了不可替代的战略引领作用。刚刚过去的6月，习近平主席前所未有地接连四次出访，出席
双、多边峰会等各类活动上百场，为世界和平而奔波，为全球治理而操劳，以实际行动坚守中国外交的初心与使命，展现中国的大国责任与担当。

今年是中美建交40周年。40年中美关系的发展变化超过了当年任何最大胆的预测，不仅给两国带来巨大利益，也在很大程度上改变了世界。40年中美关系发展历程给我们最大的启示就是中美合则两利，斗则俱伤，合作比摩擦好，对话比对抗好。当前中美关系正处于建交以来最复杂敏感的时期，中美关系未来走向攸关两国和世界的前途命运。正如习近平主席所指出的，我们有一千个理由把中美关系搞好，没有一条理由把它搞坏。借此机会我想指出：

第一，美国当前面临的问题，不是中国之过。9·11事件后，美国发动阿富汗和伊拉克战争，深陷中东乱局，耗资数万亿美元，导致战略透支。2008年国际金融危机暴露了美国经济社会深层次矛盾，经济失衡、贫富分化、基础设施老化等问题都各有其因，但都不是中国造成的，不能把中国当替罪羊。

第二，以加税、脱钩相威胁，不是解决问题的“药方”。中方一直诚心诚意同美方进行经贸谈判，管控分歧，但谈判应该是平等的，结果应是平衡的、互利的，体现相互尊重、互谅互让，照顾各自合理关切。在涉及中国主权和尊严的问题上，中国必须维护自己的核心利益。中国决不会接受一个限制自身发展、阻挡中华民族复兴的屈辱协议。中方维护自身正当合法利益的决心和意志是坚定的。极限施压也好，冷战威胁也罢，都吓不倒我们。

第三，把中国当敌人，不是理性之举。中美经贸摩擦的背后，是一个如何从战略上认识对方的问题。中美两国作为世界第一大和第二大经济体，利益高度交融，合作领域广阔，应该相互促进、共同发展，把中国视为敌人是十分愚蠢的，后果也将是灾难性的。“让美国再次伟大”和中华民族伟大复兴这两个历史进程完全可以并行不悖，中美完全可以相互成就，共同“伟大”。

日前，习近平主席与特朗普总统在大阪举行成功会晤，两国元首就事关中美关系发展的根本性问题交换了意见，为下阶段两国关系发展定调把舵。双方同意继续推进以协调、合作、稳定为基调的中美关系，并宣布重启经贸磋商。这些重要共识向国际社会发出了积极和正面信号，也受到各方的欢迎和支持。我们要按照两国元首确定的原则共识，牢牢把握双边关系发展的正确方向，在相互尊重、互利互惠的基础上加强战略沟通，增进相互了解，拓展各领域合作，妥善管控分歧，推动中美关系行稳致远，造福两国和世界。

今年是中华人民共和国成立70周年。70年砥砺奋进，70年风雨兼程。在中国共产党的领导下，中国人民自力更生、艰苦奋斗，创造了举世瞩目的伟大成就。中国跃升为世界第二大经济体，4亿多人跨入中等收入行列，近8亿人脱贫。
到2020年年底要实现现有标准下农村贫困人口全部脱贫。中国从此将告别绝对贫困，这是人类发展和减贫史上的伟大奇迹。明年，我们将全面建成小康社会，实现第一个百年奋斗目标，中国人民对美好生活的向往正逐渐变成现实。

中国的发展对世界是机遇和贡献，绝不是什么挑战和威胁。习近平主席已多次向世界庄严承诺，中国开放的大门不会关上，只会越开越大。日前在二十国集团领导人大阪峰会上，习近平主席又宣布了一系列对外开放新举措。相信世界将见证，中国不会构筑任何高墙，也不会和任何国家脱钩。相反，中国的关税水平会更低，负面清单更短，市场准入更便利，市场规则更透明。一个更加开放的中国，将继续同世界形成更加积极的互动，也将给世界创造更多机遇，作出更大贡献。

“登高壮观天地间，大江茫茫去不还。”站在21世纪第三个十年的历史关口，面对激流险滩和狂风骤雨，中国这艘巨轮将继续乘风破浪、坚定笃行，为世界大变局注入更多稳定性、为国际秩序变革贡献更强正能量、为全球发展提供更大新动力。
BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THE CPIFA

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.