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The year 2019 marked the 70th anniversary of the diplomatic relations between China and Russia and saw profound changes rarely seen in a century unfolding in the world. It is at such a critical historic juncture that President Xi Jinping paid a state visit to Russia, where he decided with President Vladimir Putin to upgrade the China-Russia relationship to a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination for a new era. The decision sends a clear signal to the world that China and Russia will lead the way in building a new type of international relations, and thus contributing to world stability and injecting new impetus to global development. The China-Russia relations have since embarked on a new journey and embraced greater opportunities for growth.

Ushering in a New Era with New Thought

What defines the China-Russia relationship is the top-level strategic planning from the two presidents,
which underpins the resilience of the bilateral ties. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Xi has set great store by integrating China’s development with global progress and aligning the fundamental interests of the Chinese people with the long-term interests of all humanity, with a view to forging benign interactions and a new type of relations between China and the rest of the world.

During his visit to Russia in 2013, the first foreign visit he made as the Chinese president, President Xi reached the important consensus with President Putin that the two countries will firmly support each other in protecting their core national interests, seeking development and rejuvenation, pursuing a path suited to national conditions and managing domestic affairs. They also agreed that China and Russia should encourage other major countries to go beyond the zero-sum mentality. Specifically, countries need to respect each other politically, pursue mutual benefits in economic exchanges, value trust and inclusiveness on the security front, learn from each other culturally, and expand common ground while setting aside ideological differences—they need to develop a new type of major-country relations featuring long-term steady and sound development. Facts have proven that rapid and steady development of China-Russia ties requires the nurturing and stewardship from the two presidents, and the relationship is a vivid illustration of China’s commitment to Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy.

**China and Russia champion openness and win-win cooperation.** Russia firmly supports the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) proposed by President Xi. The two heads of state issued the *Joint Declaration on Construction of the Silk Road Economic*
Belt and Construction of Eurasian Economic Union, and President Putin attended both the first and second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation as a guest of honor. The two countries support each other’s major international cooperation initiatives and have worked in tandem to advance connectivity and institutional arrangements on trade and investment, which have produced significant outcomes. The two countries also call on the global community to share development opportunities, support the building of an open world economy, protect the rules-based multilateral trade regime centering on the WTO, oppose unilateralism and protectionism, and pursue robust, sustainable, balanced and inclusive growth of the world economy.

China and Russia set the pace for the building of a new type of international relations. Peace, stability, development and win-win cooperation is the prevailing trend of the times. Those who fail to follow the trend have no future. Over the past 70 years since the establishment of diplomatic ties, China and Russia have gone through ups and downs in their interactions and finally fostered a state-to-state relationship that serves the fundamental interests of both countries, a relationship featuring non-alliance, non-confrontation and non-targeting at any third party.

This has accelerated the growth of the China-Russia relationship into one with the highest level of mutual trust, coordination and strategic value among major-country relations, which contributes significantly to development and rejuvenation of the two countries and to world peace, stability and progress. The success of China-Russia relations lies in their adherence to the trend of our times and to the principles of mutual respect, equity, justice and win-win cooperation. The relationship speaks
volumes that win-win cooperation is possible as long as members of the international community respect each other, interact on an equal footing, accommodate both their own interests and those of other countries, shoulder responsibilities together and handle international affairs through consultation.

**China and Russia lead the way in developing global partnerships.** Both countries have made the establishment of a comprehensive, diverse and multi-dimensional network of global partnerships a goal of their foreign relations. They expand cooperation platforms for emerging markets and developing countries by spearheading the SCO cooperation and actively engaging in BRICS and “BRICS Plus” cooperation. China’s support for the Greater Eurasian Partnership and Russia’s support for BRI cooperation contribute to global cooperation and synergy between regional integration mechanisms. The two countries play important roles in the G20 and the UN and are deeply engaged in global governance. The friend circle of China and Russia is expanding and it helps cement the irreplaceable role of the two countries in promoting world multi-polarity, advancing economic globalization, tackling global challenges and upholding regional and global peace and stability.

**China and Russia share the vision of building a community with a shared future for mankind.** Based on his deep reflection on the future of humanity, President Xi put forward the vision of building a community with a shared future for mankind. In 2013, he initiated the idea for the first time in a speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and it was well-received by the global community. President Putin shares a similar vision. At the 2017 Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club, he
stressed that trying to stay immune from the impact of global challenges is just unrealistic in today’s world and that it requires global response to make the world peaceful and prosperous.

During President Putin’s state visit to China in 2018, the vision of building a community with a shared future for mankind was for the first time written into the joint statement issued by the two presidents. The vision has been included in other bilateral political documents since then as an important part of international coordination between the two countries. Committed to sharing a common future with the rest of the international community, China and Russia have become the most active forces for the reform of the international system and the most dynamic drivers for improving global governance.

**Outlining a New Vision for the New Era**

It is the shared aspiration of the two countries and peoples to take the bilateral relations to an even higher level. The Joint Statement made by the two presidents in June 2019 elevated the relationship to a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination for a new era. It also outlined the overarching goal, fundamental principles and direction of bilateral cooperation, drawing a blueprint for the new era.

**The two countries will stand in solidarity.** Mutual support has always been the centerpiece of China-Russia relations. In the new era, both countries will render each other even stronger strategic support. The two sides will, as always, show firm support for each other’s efforts to uphold one’s own sovereignty, security, territorial integrity and other core interests; for each other’s choice
of development path suited to one’s national circumstances; for each other’s development and revitalization; and for each other’s management of one’s own affairs. The two countries will further enhance cooperation in safeguarding their respective sovereignty, security and territorial integrity and addressing various traditional and new security threats and challenges. Neither China nor Russia will allow any force to use its territory for activities against the other, or interfere in the other’s internal affairs.

**The two countries will further synergize their development.** Connectivity in policy, infrastructure, trade, finance and people-to-people exchange will be significantly enhanced. The two countries will maintain close coordination and strategic collaboration on national development strategies and jointly set out the principles, course and specific steps of cooperation in various fields to realize common development.

**The two countries will explore new ways of cooperation.** Keeping in mind the trend of the times and the development needs of both sides, the two countries will further tap the potential and nurture growth drivers in their cooperation for more benefits. Besides traditional areas including trade, energy and investment, the two countries will take a long-term strategic perspective to look into new possibilities and models of collaboration. Persistent efforts will be made to enhance cooperation for greater economic and social benefits.

**The two countries will work together to pursue benefits for all.** China and Russia will jointly safeguard the principles of multilateralism, forge a new type of international relations and build a community with a shared future for mankind. As major
countries, both will share their wisdom, play their part and shoulder their responsibilities in international affairs. Through extensive cooperation with other countries, China and Russia will firmly uphold the UN-centered international system and the global order based on international law. The two countries will push forward the reform of the global governance system and promote world peace, stability and sustainable growth for the common interests of mankind.

**Generating New Driving Forces from the New Vision**

As a Chinese saying goes, “a thousand-mile journey starts with the first step”. China and Russia will see to it that the bilateral ties in the new era set off to a good start in 2020. The two presidents, in messages of new year greetings to each other, outlined this year’s goal for developing the bilateral relations: taking the all-round cooperation to a new high to inject more impetus into their respective development at home. This year, the two countries will launch the Year of Scientific and Technological Innovation and jointly celebrate the 75th anniversary of the victory of the anti-Fascism war and the founding of the United Nations. Both sides will make all-out efforts to translate what the leaders have agreed upon into fruitful cooperation to the benefit of the two peoples.

There will be four highlights in China-Russia relations this year.

**First, more solid political mutual trust.** Guided by head-of-state diplomacy, China and Russia will continue to engage in multi-dimensional strategic coordination in a back-to-back and
shoulder-by-shoulder fashion through exchange mechanisms and multilateral platforms. Both countries have identified their bilateral relations as a priority on the diplomatic agenda and firmly support each other’s rejuvenation and development. Facing bullying practices from certain hegemonic country like containment, suppression, sanctions, coercion, interference, smearing and attempts to drive a wedge between China and Russia, both countries will make unremitting efforts to consolidate the bilateral ties, strengthen communication and coordination, offer each other support and tackle threats and challenges together.

Political mutual trust between the two countries has been further enhanced through their joint response to COVID-19 that caught all by surprise since early this year. President Putin sent a message of sympathy to and made a phone call with President Xi and spoke in public to express his firm support to China. The two governments have sent urgently needed medical supplies to each other based on the situation of fighting the virus and exchanged expert groups for sharing experience. The cooperation against COVID-19 has been a vivid testimony to the high-level and distinctive China-Russia relations.

**Second, increasingly intertwined interests.** Greater synergy will be fostered between the Belt and Road Initiative, the Eurasian Economic Union and the Greater Eurasian Partnership, especially in enhancing connectivity. The two countries will take the opportunity of the Year of Scientific and Technological Innovation to work more closely together to step up joint research in scientific innovation for breakthroughs in such frontier areas as big science, big data, artificial intelligence and 5G technologies. China and Russia will also endeavor to launch more joint projects of aviation,
aerospace, smart manufacturing and energy integration and actively carry out technical exchanges and industrial cooperation to enhance the competitiveness of both countries.

**Third, joint efforts to uphold equity and justice.** China and Russia, as two countries that played a crucial role in prevailing over Fascism and maintaining the post-war international order, will call on the international community to remember history and cherish peace and the hard-won achievements. The two countries will actively participate in the celebration of the 75th anniversary of the UN, firmly uphold its authority and support a strengthened role for the UN. They will also jointly champion multilateralism, safeguard equity and justice in international relations and contribute to the improvement of global governance.

**Fourth, an even stronger bond between the two peoples.** The Chinese and Russian peoples have developed lasting friendship through their joint fight against the Fascist aggression. Now the smokeless battle against COVID-19 has again elevated such friendship. The Russian mainstream media have been running reports and articles in support of China’s fight against the disease, highly commending China’s actions and significant progress and voicing strong confidence in and support for Wuhan and the country at large. It is quite touching to see the video clips on various social media platforms of Russian people from all walks of life cheering “Stay strong, Wuhan! Stay strong, China!” Staff of the Moscow Zoo and Russian kids actively participated in online and offline outreach activities of “Isolate the Virus, Not Love”. Russian artist Yana Gelman gave her oil paintings “the Line of Destiny” as a gift to the Chinese embassy in Russia, symbolizing the perseverance and mutual assistance of the two countries.
Such examples abound. The Chinese people have reciprocated the goodwill by supporting Russia in its combat against the virus through various ways. Heilongjiang and other provinces bordering Russia and cities in other parts of China have helped their sister cities in Russia through sub-national channels. Chinese businesses such as Alibaba have provided badly needed protective equipment to Russia. As the Chinese saying goes, families and neighbors always wish the best for each other. There is every reason for China and Russia, two neighboring great nations, to carry forward the friendship from generation to generation by standing in solidarity with each other.

The China-Russia relationship in the new era is underpinned by rich experience, guided by inspiring thoughts and based on profound people-to-people ties. It boasts strong internal driving forces and follows the trend of the times. It will keep developing from strength to strength, set a fine example of contemporary state-to-state relations and contribute to the cause of human progress.
Global governance concerns the international order. The world is in the middle of changes. With the profound shift of international balance of power, the world is entering an important period of restructuring and reordering. As China sees it, the world is experiencing changes unseen in a century. In this context, it is imperative for countries to build a more equitable and reasonable international political and economic order and, in particular, to strengthen global economic governance and reform the global governance system. As countries have different values, historical experiences and interests, they have their own visions and blueprints for the global order.

Let’s look at history. Since 1648 when the Westphalia System was established, the West has been dominating the order of the modern world. The framework of the existing international order was established by Western countries after the end of the Second World War, mainly led by the US. But over the

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* Mei Zhaorong is former Chinese ambassador to Germany and former president of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs.
past 70 plus years since then, a large number of former colonies and semi-colonies have become politically independent sovereign states. As economic globalization continues, a group of developing countries and emerging market countries have been on a collective rise, growing to be a major force in the global economy. Under such circumstances, the international order as a superstructure must be reformed to facilitate the harmonious development of international relations and human progress. The existing international order has three increasingly prominent deficiencies.

First, under-representation. The existing international system and order mainly reflect the interests and aspirations of developed countries in the West. The wider developing world and emerging market countries are under-represented in global affairs and international organizations. Their interests and aspirations cannot be effectively safeguarded. With three quarters of the world population, if these countries’ voices go unheeded and their rights and interests cannot be upheld for too long, such a system and international order won’t be sustainable.

Second, the existing international order is not adequately equitable and reasonable. One important reason for the anti-globalization surge is that the Western-dominated economic globalization, while having promoted the free allocation of resources and boosted social productivity, has led to wealth gaps, unbalanced development, and social polarization. The anti-globalization and protectionism that have emerged under such circumstances won’t help to solve problems. The real way out lies in the reform of the global governance system and the establishment of a new order to make globalization open, inclusive, beneficial to all, and shared by all.
Third, the existing order is ineffective. In today’s world, global challenges are increasing, including financial crisis, climate change, pandemics, terrorism, and cybersecurity. In the face of these transnational issues, no country can stay unaffected and solve these issues alone. There must be international cooperation to meet these challenges.

In short, without reform, the existing order will fall short of effectively solving emerging challenges. To build a new international order is both a prevailing trend and an inevitable result of the shifting international balance of power.

To reform the international system and build a new international political and economic order that is equitable and reasonable is not only necessary, but also possible. Good progress has been made towards this end in the past few years. A case in point is the Paris Agreement on climate change. Although President Trump has announced the US withdrawal from the agreement, most of the countries insist on its implementation. In 2016, the United Nations approved the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, setting 17 Sustainable Development Goals, which embody the important principles of justice, inclusion, equality and sustainability. It is another important achievement after the MDGs towards a new order in the development area. Also in 2016, the executive board of the International Monetary Fund officially approved the 2010 quota and governance reform plan. This shows that the international community is fully aware of the necessity of reforming international organizations and the international economic governance system.

China calls for the reform of the global economic governance
system and the establishment of a new international order. But this does not mean reinventing the wheel but reforming and improving the existing system. A new order won’t be established overnight. As the process is essentially about adjusting interests, it won’t be free from resistance. It requires determination, confidence, patience and perseverance to press ahead.

To build a new international order, there seem to be three priorities.

First, a shift must be made from old concepts to new ideas. The cold war mentality, zero-sum game and law of the jungle must be replaced by new ideas, such as win-win cooperation, working in concert, consultation and collaboration for shared benefits, and building a community of shared future for mankind.

Second, old mechanisms must be reformed and new ones must be made. In many aspects, existing international organizations, institutions, mechanisms and platforms can no longer adapt to the changes in social productivity and the international situation, and must therefore be reformed. It is thus important to promote greater democracy in international relations, increase the representation and say of developing countries and emerging market countries in international organizations, and establish new organizations and institutions to adapt to the changing times. The newly established Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank is a successful example, as it is not to replace the World Bank and Asia Development Bank, but to act as a complement.

Third, old rules must be updated and new ones must be made. Since rules-making reflects will and interests, competition and
wrangling are inevitable. Complicated and demanding as it is, it is of great significance.

In the face of profound changes in the international situation, especially the growing uncertainty and instability in international order and international situation, the 19th CPC National Congress put forward new thinking, ideas and measures for China’s diplomacy. It is made clear that China’s diplomacy must serve domestic economic development and at the same time make more active contribution to the world. On major issues concerning peace and development, China must speak out and put forth its solutions. The 19th congress also set two overarching goals for China’s diplomacy: working toward a new model of international relations and a community of shared future for mankind. A new model of international relations means that a new path must be blazed. And at the core of it is mutual respect, fairness, justice, and win-win cooperation. Mutual respect means that one should not interfere in other’s internal affairs or impose its will on others. Fairness and justice calls for the abandonment of the law of the jungle. Win-win cooperation means that the zero-sum mentality must be ditched. The vision for a community of shared future for mankind is built on the following understanding. There is only one earth. People on this planet come from different cultures, races, religions and social systems. They have the awareness of helping and depending on each other like passengers in the same boat. A community of shared future for mankind is all about building an open, inclusive, clean and beautiful world of lasting peace, common security and shared prosperity. This is also an extension of the five-in-one principle for China’s domestic development. It provides a Chinese solution to global challenges. The two goals are a testament to China’s commitment to pursuing peaceful development and win-
win cooperation on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-
existence and never to seeking hegemony. Grounded in these ideals,
China adopts the policy of building partnerships, not alliances.
These new ideas are also the context in which China proposed the
Belt and Road Initiative. This platform for international economic
cooperation focuses on building infrastructure and aligning the
development strategies of countries along the routes to spur growth
and achieve shared prosperity. Therefore, China has since the very
beginning undertook to follow the principle of consultation and
collaboration for shared benefits. It also made clear that the BRI is
a public good and a Chinese initiative that will create opportunities
and deliver benefits for the world.
India, China’s neighbor to the southwest, is a major country in South Asia with a population of more than 1.3 billion and a developing country that is on a fast rise. An important member of many international organizations, India is significant for China’s diplomacy. For historical and realistic reasons, however, China-India relations have all along experienced ups and downs. The 2017 stand-off in Doklam on the border plunged bilateral relations to a trough. At a time when the world is going through changes unseen in a century, how to properly manage its relations with India is a big challenge for China on the diplomatic front. Chinese and Indian leaders had informal meetings in 2018 and 2019, one in Wuhan and another in Chennai. The informal meeting mechanism was thus established. Can such a mechanism ensure stable growth of China-India relations? How should the two countries improve bilateral relations? These
questions deserve close scrutiny and in-depth research.

I. How should current China-India relations be evaluated?

China and India are two emerging economies that are rising almost simultaneously. Their relations are crucial for peace, stability, development and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the world at large. That said, the relations are extremely complicated, characterized by both cooperation and competition. As important members of BRICS and G20, the two countries have many shared interests on global issues, such as reform of the global financial system, climate change, and international trade negotiations. They are also engaged in close cooperation on regional affairs, including the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), counter-terrorism, and the Afghanistan issue. China is one of India’s largest trading partners. Two-way trade and Chinese investment in India has delivered a strong boost to the Indian economy.

It should also be admitted that there remain outstanding issues of historical legacy between China and India. The most prominent one is the boundary issue. Disputes have occurred from time to time on the border. As the boundary issue has been often played up by Indian media, causing no small damage to bilateral relations. On top of that, the China-Pakistan relations, Dalai Lama, India’s trade deficit with China, water resources, among others, also stand as impediments to relations between the two countries. In the past one year or so, the first and foremost issue in China-India relations has been trade imbalance, which has been assigned political significance by India.
The growing gap in their national strength and China’s increasing economic activities in South Asia and the Indian Ocean, especially the advance of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in the past few years, have added to the concerns of India’s strategic community. India has seen as threats China’s economic activities and Chinese fleets’ escort missions in South Asia and the Indian Ocean and even China’s scientific investigation activities in the high seas of the Indian Ocean. Many Indian strategists hold the view that the deterioration of China-India relations over the past few years has been purely the result of Chinese actions and that the problems between the two countries are structural ones.

As an observer of international issues, the author believes that the many issues between China and India have to do with the thinking and mentality on the Indian side. First, India has been obsessed with the “scientific boundary” designed by British colonialists. The information and education campaigns pursued by the Indian government since the 1962 border clash has instilled in its people hostility and distrust towards the Chinese. Second, other factors at play include India’s self-perception as a power, its view on spheres of influence, nationalistic sentiments and its understanding of the world situation and China-US relations. The elite strategists in India are deeply worried about their country’s growing gap with China and believe that China, as it is under pressure from the US, should make compromises to India. That’s why after Modi took office in 2014, India has demanded China accept its various requests. On the other hand, China failed to give serious consideration to what India may feel and think when it pursues normal economic cooperation with South Asian and Indian Ocean countries and advances the BRI to help these countries develop their economies and societies. The Doklam standoff can
be seen as the culmination of India’s dissatisfaction and distress at China’s South Asia and Indian Ocean policy.

II. How was China and India able to establish the informal meeting mechanism?

The Doklam standoff pushed China and India to the brink of war and plunged their relations to a trough. Such a result is the last thing the two countries want to see. China never sees India as a rival and still less wants to make it an enemy. India, on its part, wouldn’t get practical benefits from other countries if it turned China into an enemy. On the contrary, it may forfeit its position to maintain a balance on the world stage. From another perspective, India’s tough position on China reveals the fact that it is coming close to the US. But closer India-US ties may undermine its relations with Russia. To contain China’s influence in South Asia, India has put pressure on its neighbors, causing backlashes in countries like Nepal and the Maldives. As a result, India’s relations with its neighbors have been under stress. Opposition parties including the Indian National Congress have blamed the foreign policy of the Modi administration and the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) for putting India in such an awkward position.

On global and regional issues, India still has much to look to China. As Trump trashed multilateralism, free trade and the global trading system, India wants to work with China to promote globalization and free trade, not to mention their cooperation on climate change, SCO, BRICS, New Development Bank (NDB) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). In 2017, China-India bilateral trade totaled US$84.5 billion. Since 2014, China’s direct investment in India has increased substantially, including
a significant amount in its business start-ups. A sound economic relationship with China is vital for India. It hopes to get Chinese investment in infrastructure. In the face of the election and downward economic pressure, the Modi administration wanted to improve relations with China. This is the broader context of the informal meeting in Wuhan, which was essentially an ad hoc move for Modi to improve the foreign policy environment, win the election and boost the economy.

After Modi got a landslide victory in the election and before the second informal meeting, some serious disturbances appeared in China-India relations. This has to do with the rising nationalism of the Hindus as well as the trade war and geopolitical competition between China and the US. India assumes that under enormous pressure from the US, China must get along well with India and other countries in its neighborhood so as to focus on dealing with America. Therefore, India hopes to exploit such dynamics to ask for China’s support to its domestic and foreign policies and accept some of its requests to boost India’s international standing and public morale at the time of a sluggish economy. India unilaterally changed the legal status of the India-controlled Kashmir and turned it and Ladakh into centrally administered regions, which undermined China’s territorial integrity. In the Pangong Tso region, India provoked a standoff with Chinese troops and conducted a large-scale military exercise on the border. The Indian side even went so far as to assign political significance to the issue of trade imbalance.

The international community, especially those in the West, were not optimistic about the second informal meeting between the two leaders. In the run-up to the meeting, many Western and
Indian media outlets played up the differences between China and India and threw a damp on the meeting, expecting it to be canceled or delayed. Some even hoped to see another rupture in China-India relations. Much to the surprise of Western media and those in India who do not want to see further growth of China-India relations, the informal meeting between the two top leaders took place as scheduled with a great success. The two leaders agreed to hold the next meeting in China next year. This demonstrates their long-term vision and strategic insight about China-India relations as well as regional and global situation.

There are mainly two reasons for the success of the Chennai meeting. First, Prime Minister Modi appreciates the statement made by President Xi in Wuhan that the world is experiencing changes unseen in a century and his deep insight about the historical juncture of China-India relations. The dialogue between China and India’s top leaders is a dialogue between two modern yet ancient Oriental civilizations that each boast a history of several thousand years. It is also a dialogue between two major emerging economies. To revitalize the two ancient civilizations and Asian civilizations at large is the most important strategy of the two countries. China wants to put its relations with India in the broader context of a community of shared future in Asia and more also a community of shared future for mankind. Both China and India are of the view that they should never fall into the trap as prescribed by the Western logic of geopolitical confrontation. This is a precondition for the success of the second informal meeting in Chennai. Prime Minister Modi particularly wanted to make the Chennai meeting successful. Just like the gathering of 50,000 people in the US, for the Modi administration, the informal meeting between Chinese and Indian leaders is also a symbol of
India’s rise as a power.

Moreover, the economy has become Modi’s biggest challenge after he won the re-election. India wants to improve its trade deficit with China and draw in Chinese investment. The two sides accommodated each other’s biggest concerns during the consultations before the meeting. In Wuhan, President Xi made a proposal on “China-India Plus”, which is an indication that China would accommodate India’s interests while pursuing economic cooperation with countries in South Asia and the Indian Ocean. In Chennai, India showed a particular interest in trade imbalance between the two countries. China was sensitive to India’s concerns and made it clear that it hopes to see India’s economic growth and will take all steps possible to reduce trade deficits. China pledged to further open its market to competitive Indian products and industries, establish a China-India high-level economic and trade dialogue, seek greater synergy between the two countries’ development strategies, and explore the establishment of manufacturing partnerships. Ultimately, the two leaders didn’t let historical disputes prevent bilateral relations from going forward. Rather, they chose to look at the larger picture of national development strategies and shifting global dynamics, and explored ways to manage and finally resolve differences through exchanges between institutions and peoples and by strengthening communication and deepening mutual understanding.

III. How important are the informal meetings between Chinese and Indian leaders?

If the informal meeting in Wuhan was more on an ad hoc basis, then the success of the Chennai meeting shows that the
mechanism of informal meetings between top Chinese and Indian leaders is operational on a regular basis. Such a mechanism is important in three ways.

First, the mechanism provides an ultimate safeguard and anchor for China-India relations. The Doklam standoff before the Wuhan meeting pushed the relations to low ebbs. After the meeting, the relations not only recovered, but also warmed up a bit. Before the Chennai meeting, tensions emerged in China-India relations because of India’s unilateral action to change the legal status of the part of Kashmir under its control, the standoff between Chinese and Indian troops in Pangong Tso, India’s plan to conduct a large-scale military exercise on the border, and trade deficit, among others. As a result, many thought the Chennai meeting was unlikely to take place. It, however, did happen. President Xi was warmly received in Chennai and Mamallapuram. The meeting was a great success. This proves that the two leaders are steering China-India relations with personal commitment. The informal meeting provides an ultimate safeguard so that even if issues occur, bilateral relations won’t get off track and lead to conflicts between the two countries.

Second, the informal meetings in Wuhan and Chennai point the way forward for China-India relations, which are now driven by the top leaders of the two countries. During their meeting in Wuhan, the two leaders had a thorough exchange of views and reached important consensus on international situation, China-India relations, and cooperation between the two countries across the board. They identified the historic juncture where the world, China and India were in, set out important guiding principles for bilateral relations, and drew the blueprint for cooperation in all
areas. In Chennai, the two leaders set the direction for China-India relations, made a strategic and long-term plan for the relations in the 100 years ahead, and injected strong impetus into the relations, so that China and India will work together to revitalize the two civilizations. The two leaders covered confidence-building issues, for example how to view each other’s development and properly resolve their differences. They also set the direction for cooperation in specific areas such as military, economy, trade and culture, and set the priorities for cooperation in regional and international affairs.

Third, the establishment of the mechanism of informal meetings between Chinese and Indian leaders shows that China truly sees India as a power in the same league. In past, many Indian friends complained that China belittled India and did not view it as a power. Such a view will be baseless in the future. Except India, Chinese leaders have never had informal meetings with leaders of other countries. President Xi gave a warm welcome to Prime Minister Modi in an informal format. This is not only a way to show respect to India, but also to give support to Prime Minister Modi and his BJP party before the re-election. President Xi overcame difficulties to attend the second informal meeting in Chennai, which was also to support Prime Minister Modi’s political agenda. After the re-election, Modi worked to create an atmosphere for India’s rise as a power and strengthen the central government’s authority over local governments. It is for this reason that he gathered 50,000 people during his visit to the US. President Xi’s visit to Chennai was a tremendous support to Prime Minister Modi in a way that, as President Xi said, China and India should “light up each other”.

IV. What does the future hold for China-India relations?

The Chinese and Indian leaders’ informal meetings in Wuhan and Chennai pointed the way forward for the two countries’ relations. The two governments, however, must be cool headed that despite the ultimate safeguard, China-India relations are still fragile. To develop the relations, they must overcome obstacles, seek consensus and find new drivers of growth.

There are evident obstacles that hold back China-India relations. First, the relations are driven by the top leaders and must be supported and understood by people of all walks of life in the two countries. There should be support from not only the cultural and economic communities, but also the strategic community. Only with such support can the consensus of the leaders be implemented. That said, many elites in India’s diplomatic and strategic communities still hold on to the patterns of thinking established over the past several decades: the obsession with the “scientific boundary”, the mindset of regional hegemony, the notion of sphere of influence, the so-called democratic values, and the cold war mentality. With a tendency to blow things out of proportion, they often use sensitive issues to apply pressure on the other side. When their demand is not satisfied, they would choose to put bilateral relations on hold. Such a way of diplomacy will invariably impede efforts to deliver what the leaders have agreed on. After the two informal meetings, some elites in India’s strategic community still claim that China didn’t make substantive compromises.

Second, the elites in India’s strategic community believe that China-India relations should be free from the constraint of
a third party. In other words, China-India relations should not be put under the broader framework of China-US relations. But in reality, India’s strategic and diplomatic communities try to use third parties, the so-called changing times, and China-US strategic competition to apply pressure on China. India also asks China to give up its normal cooperation with Pakistan and other South Asian counties and takes it as a test of China’s commitment to improve relations with India. Such a way of doing things is hard to change and will bring uncertainties to China-India relations.

Third, the nationalistic sentiment in the Indian society is a negative factor for China-India relations. There have been calls to overtake China economically, take protectionist measures, and boycott Chinese goods. Such manifestations of nationalism are in no way good for bilateral relations. In the meanwhile, many of the nationalistic policies taken by the Indian government are likely to cause negative spillovers, damaging India’s relations with China and other neighbors and jeopardizing peace and stability in the region.

V. How to take forward China-India relations?

In the face of tremendous uncertainties worldwide and the changes that are unseen in a century, China and India should uphold the Wuhan spirit, build a new model of major-country relations, and work together for peace and prosperity in Asia and the world. The last thing they should do is to further complicate the situation in the region.

First, at a time when the US is advancing the militarized Indo-Pacific strategy and building military blocs in the region
amid intensifying geopolitical competition, China and India have the responsibility to jointly safeguard regional peace and stability. This is the necessary condition for the two countries to develop. The Pacific and the Indian oceans are international waters and not spheres of influence of any country. All parties should work together to maintain their peace and tranquility. It is necessary for China and India to pursue dialogues on maritime order and security and explore a non-bloc based regional security architecture of openness, inclusiveness, democracy, and equality. Such an architecture can involve outside powers. But regional countries should not work with outside countries to make and impose a set of rules on other countries in the region.

Second, in the face of trade protectionism, anti-globalization and geopolitical competition that hinder regional economic cooperation, China and India should join hands to build a new architecture of open economies and regional economic cooperation. Not joining the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) is a wrong decision made by the Indian government, as India will miss out on the last opportunity to get integrated into the globalization process. China’s economic activities in South Asia and the Indian Ocean are warmly welcomed, as these countries want foreign investment to help them with infrastructure and socioeconomic programs. When it comes to the Belt and Road Initiative, countries around the world should cooperate. India’s Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) can be well aligned with China’s BRI.

Lastly, confronted with non-traditional threats like ethnic and religious conflicts, territorial disputes along the border, as well as climate change and water resource crisis, China and India, two
ancient civilizations, should lead by example to jointly tackle these problems. They should show sincerity and resolve the boundary issues through negotiation and consultation, and increase mutual understanding through people-to-people exchanges and inter-civilization dialogues. The two countries should adapt to and accommodate each other, draw the lessons of Western countries, and learn from the spirit of compromise as displayed by Germany and France after the Second World War. China should give serious consideration to India’s feelings and aspirations, though this does not mean it should unconditionally accept all demands from India. India, on its part, should learn to stand in other’s shoes and consider whether its demands are legitimate when developing relations with China. All in all, both China and India should take a measured approach to handle their relations.
Strengthening free trade cooperation among China, Japan and the ROK is in the interests of the three countries and is an important step towards economic integration in the Asia-Pacific. The 8th China-Japan-ROK Summit at the end of 2019 published the China-Japan-ROK Cooperation Vision for the Next Decade, drawing up a strategic plan to deepen cooperation among the three countries and setting a positive tone for upgrading their economic and trade relations. However, in view of the global economic slowdown, intensifying geopolitical and economic frictions in the region, and the urgency of the COVID-19 epidemic, China, Japan and the ROK still face difficulties and challenges down the road in their economic and trade cooperation.

I. Seizing New Opportunities for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China, Japan and the ROK

The proposal on closer China-Japan-ROK economic and trade cooperation, especially the establishment of

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a China-Japan-ROK free trade area (FTA), was officially made at the leaders’ meeting held at the end of 2002. Over the years, the governments and academic communities of the three countries have studied its feasibility and evaluated its impact on their own industries. To enhance their capacity to counter risks from outside the region in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, the three countries committed to pursue closer economic and trade cooperation and prioritize the FTA negotiation process. Since 2013, China, Japan and the ROK have completed 16 rounds of free trade talks. Despite the consensus reached on many issues, they are yet to make substantial breakthroughs. At present, the positive dynamics in China-Japan-ROK relations have created new favorable conditions for closer economic ties among them.

1. China-Japan relations continue to warm up. The Abe administration has been active in improving relations with China for mainly two reasons. First, as Trump is fervently pursuing unilateralism, Japan would get limited benefits if it still focused its diplomacy on the US. Therefore, it has to be pragmatic. Second, the Abe administration hopes to boost Japan’s economy through China’s development. The stimulus policies guided by “Abenomics” have almost exhausted their effectiveness. Issues that have constrained the Japanese economy, such as long-term protracted deflation, falling productivity, and decreasing population, defy an easy fix. To sustain the momentum of economic expansion, Abe hopes to take advantage of China’s continued growth and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) to expand economic cooperation with China in industrial production capacity, public finances, financial services, and third-party markets.

First, China-Japan political relations have been improved.
In 2018, Premier Li Keqiang attended the 7th China-Japan-ROK Summit and paid an official visit to Japan. This is the first official visit by a Chinese leader to Japan since Premier Wen Jiabao’s last trip in 2011, showing that bilateral relations returned to the normal track. Shortly afterwards, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe visited China, which was also the first visit by a Japanese leader to China in seven years. The Abe administration shifted to a positive attitude towards the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the BRI and made clear its willingness to cooperate with China under the BRI. During the 2019 G20 summit in Osaka, President Xi and Prime Minister Abe reached 10 points of consensus.

Second, two-way trade stopped falling and started to grow. China-Japan trade had been in the doldrums for several years. It dropped by as much as 15.3% in 2015 and didn’t reverse the decline until 2017. In 2018, their trade in goods totaled US$303 billion, in which Japan’s exports to China increased by 6.8%, standing at US$149.7 billion, and its imports from China were US$180.7 billion, up 4%. China remains Japan’s second largest export market, narrowing the gap with the US, Japan’s top export destination. China also continues to be Japan’s largest source of imports. In 2019, there was some fluctuation in China-Japan trade growth due to the intensifying China-US trade frictions. Statistics currently available show that two-way trade was RMB2.17 trillion, a modest increase of 0.4%.

Third, mutual understanding on security has been deepened. China and Japan has increased security and defense exchanges. In 2018, they reached the MOU on Maritime and Aerial Communication Mechanism and launched the maritime and aerial communication mechanism to avert accidental clashes at sea and
in the air and prevent such incidents from escalating into serious military conflicts. This is an important progress made by China and Japan in recent years in managing their territorial disputes, forestalling the impact on bilateral relations, and getting over the security dilemma. In April 2019, the frigate of Japan’s Maritime Self-Defense Force made an appearance at the international shipwatching ceremony held in Qingdao. In August, the China-Japan Strategic Dialogue that covers defense, diplomacy and other topics resumed after a suspension of seven years. In October, the Chinese missile destroyer “Taiyuan” made a port call on Japan. In December, the Chinese and Japanese defense ministers met again. During the same period, the Abe administration rarely mentioned or toned down its rhetoric on the South China Sea and the Indo-Pacific strategy.

2. China-ROK relations have been repaired at a fast pace. When Park Geun-hye was in office, China-ROK relations once reached the highest point since the two countries had established diplomatic ties. The relations, however, took a nosedive after the US and the ROK officially announced the deployment of the THHAD missile defense system on the Korean peninsula. After Moon Jae-in came to power in 2017, he started to make mends to China and undertook not to deploy the THHAD system, not to join the American missile system, and not to develop the trilateral military alliance with the US and Japan. His administration also confirmed that it had no intention to harm China’s security interests. China-ROK relations thus made a turnaround, bringing about rapid growth in two-way trade. In 2018, their trade in goods was US$268.64 billion, up 11.9% year-on-year. The bilateral relations recovered at a fast pace mainly due to the following factors:
First, the Chinese and Korean economies are highly interdependent. China is the ROK’s largest trading partner, while the ROK is China’s third largest trading partner, fourth largest final export destination, and largest source of imports. The ROK’s economic growth has benefited from the huge Chinese market, which is the largest for Samsung, Hyundai and other Korean consortia. China has a demand for Korean technologies, products and market. The two sides have particularly close cooperation in the electronics industry.

Furthermore, the “New Northern Policy” and “New Southern Policy” promoted by the Moon Jae-in government resonate with China’s BRI. Both countries have an interest in exploring wider economic cooperation in third-party markets such as Southeast Asia and South Asia.

Finally, in the broader context of the Korean Peninsula, the Moon Jae-in administration has pursued a moderate policy towards the DPRK, and China commends the policies and actions of the two Koreas to seek reconciliation and cooperation. China and the ROK share the same position on denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula, defusing tensions in the region, and creating an external environment conducive to regional peace and prosperity.

3. The icy Japan-ROK relations began to thaw. This round of deterioration in Japan-ROK relations was triggered by the issue of compensation for “comfort women” and forced Korean laborers during the Second World War. In October 2017, the ROK’s supreme court ruled in favor of the right of forced laborers used by Japan during the Second World War to claim damages. Later, the ROK declared the Comfort Women Agreement unconstitutional and
dissolved the Reconciliation and Healing Foundation the following year. In so doing, the ROK abolished the previous understandings and agreements reached with Japan on related issues. The disputes between the two sides on issues of historical legacy and in the political field once again escalated, and turned into economic and trade conflicts. In July 2019, Japan announced controls on the export to the ROK of fluorine-containing polyimide, semiconductor photoresist and hydrogen fluoride for high-purity semiconductors. It went further to strengthen export controls by removing the ROK from the “white list” of preferential trade treatment. These moves dealt a heavy blow to the electronics industry of the ROK, which was compelled to take countermeasures. Though the two countries have been locked in a confrontational mode, there have emerged signs of easing. They have maintained ministerial dialogues and other channels to prevent the relations from worsening. Japan has slightly relaxed its export control on the above-mentioned semiconductor materials to the ROK. And the ROK renewed the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA) with Japan and put on hold the lawsuit against Japan at the WTO.

The current state of relations between China and Japan, China and the ROK, and the ROK and Japan are not perfect. On the whole, however, they are in the best position since the start of free trade negotiations. The Trump administration’s “America First” policy of trade protectionism has exerted great pressure on China, Japan and the ROK and their collaboration on industrial chains, prompting the three countries to seek cooperation. At the Chengdu summit, the leaders of the three countries affirmed at the top political level their commitment and objectives to resolve differences, upgrade trade liberalization, and promote regional economic integration.
II. New Challenges for China-Japan-ROK Economic and Trade Cooperation

As mentioned earlier, the process of economic and trade cooperation between China, Japan and the ROK is characteristically driven by external crises. At present, the complex economic and political situation in the world and the Asia-Pacific once again brings the three countries closer together to seek new ways to deepen and upgrade economic and trade cooperation to cope with changes and crises. Compared with more than ten years ago, major shifts have taken place in the three countries’ respective strength and standing. They are confronted with new difficulties and greater challenges in economic and trade cooperation.

1. Changes in the economic and trade interdependence of the three countries. In general, the interdependence among the three countries is weakened and out of balance. The 2008 global financial crisis stimulated an interest in China, Japan and the ROK to join hands and explore the establishment of a free trade area to mitigate external shocks and improve their overall well-being. Since then, the trade between and among China, Japan and the ROK has continued to grow in absolute terms, but their respective shares in global trade has changed significantly. In 2007, the trade in goods between China and Japan and between China and the ROK accounted for 13.47% and 8.24% of China’s total trade respectively. In 2018, the figures dropped to 12% and 6.1%. China’s dependence on Japan and the ROK for trade has declined, while Japan and the ROK has relied more on the Chinese market. From 2007 to 2018, the share of trade with China in Japan’s total trade rose from 17.74% to 21.37%, while the share of trade with China in Korea’s total trade climbed from 19.9% to 23.56%.
During the same time frame, Japan-ROK trade saw its share fell from 6.1% to 5.69% in Japan’s foreign trade, and from 11.2% to 7.42% in ROK’s foreign trade, slight decreases in their respective international trade. In addition, the intra-regional trade growth between China, Japan and the ROK has long been under 20%, far lower than 64% in the EU, 50% in NAFTA, and 24% in ASEAN.

2. The three countries are competing more intensely in the industrial sectors. China, Japan and the ROK are all global manufacturing powerhouses. In some industries, such as electronics, they are part of the industrial chain and highly complementary. Trade among them has therefore been dynamic. Japanese companies are in a monopolistic position on the upper stream of the semiconductor production chain, while Korea is strong in high-tech memories, panels and components. Chinese companies produce low-tech materials and components and take up the packaging and assembling jobs. Taking Huawei P30 Pro smart phone as an example. In the cost of one set, Japanese and Korean components take 23% and 7.7%, while the Chinese mainland accounts for 38.1%. However, as China improves its technologies and moves fast up the global value chain, China is catching up with Japan and Korea in automobiles and components and the petrochemical industry. Agriculture is the sector that all the three countries take great care to protect. Japanese and Korean interest groups in agriculture have long been staunch forces against any free trade agreement. At present, Japan’s weighted average tariff rate on imported goods is only 2.45%, but the tariffs on food and vegetables are 12.66% and 17.75% respectively. The ROK has gone even further. Its weighted average tariff rate on imported goods is only 4.83%, while that on food and vegetables is 14.40% and 112.36% respectively. It is therefore difficult for China, Japan
and the ROK to open their markets to each other’s agricultural products. Japan and the ROK have become increasingly competitive in such industries as culture, entertainment and e-sports, where they have established strong footholds.

3. The geopolitical and economic environment is complicated. The US regards the Asia-Pacific, especially East Asia, as the frontier of its global strategy. Its relevant policy adjustments have a great impact on the political and economic environment in the region and the cooperation between China, Japan and the ROK. In response to a stronger China, the US formulated and implemented a “pivot to the Asia-Pacific” strategy towards the end of the Obama administration and pushed for the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) to maintain its dominant position in the regional order. At the end of 2017, the Trump administration clearly defined China as a “competitor” in its National Security Strategy report. In its subsequent efforts, the US has scaled up involvement in Asia-Pacific affairs and pursued all-round policies and actions to contain China. At present, the US has adjusted its economic and trade relations with China, Japan and the ROK, and redistributed economic benefits in the region. While negotiating with China amid intensifying trade frictions, the US has modified the free trade agreement with the ROK and concluded the US-Japan trade agreement and US-Japan digital trade agreement, all to serve its own interests. After two years of negotiations, China and the US signed a trade deal, marking a new stage in the structural adjustment of their economic and trade relations. The most urgent issue in China-US economic and trade relations has shifted from the concerns over “decoupling” to “recoupling” under new conditions. On the other hand, the US is steadily taking forward the Indo-Pacific strategy and is closely cooperating with India,
Japan and other major countries. While strengthening military and political deployment, the US intends to add economic dimensions to this strategy by mobilizing investment and formulating the “Blue Dot Network” plan. Moreover, issues such as the Korean Peninsula, the South China Sea and the Taiwan Strait also bear on the core interests of all parties concerned and become factors of instability that foreign forces can use at any time to hamper economic and trade cooperation between China, Japan and the ROK.

III. Practical Ways to Promote China-Japan-ROK Economic and Trade Cooperation

At present, China has been proactive in coordinating the economic and trade cooperation among the three countries. First, the root cause of this economic and trade conflict between Japan and the ROK has not been resolved. It is put on hold for the time being, making it difficult for their relations to make any substantial improvement in the short term. By contrast, China’s relations with Japan and the ROK have been steadily improving. Second, Japan and the ROK rely heavily on the Chinese market and have a strong demand for industrial collaboration. The impact of the COVID-19 epidemic on electronics, automobiles and other industries once again highlights China’s pivotal role in the value chain of the region. Third, Japan and the ROK are keen to cushion off the impact of US trade protectionist policies and seek a bigger say in making new international trade rules.

1. Expanding new areas of trilateral cooperation in new areas such as digital trade. China-Japan-ROK free trade negotiations may accelerate, but it is difficult to reach a package free trade
agreement in the near future. Apart from political and historical issues, the three countries still have divergent expectations for liberalization and facilitation in areas like trade in goods, trade in services and bilateral investment. Japan and the ROK held six rounds of free trade negotiations before 2005, but got nowhere. China and Japan have yet to start free trade talks. The China-ROK FTA is outdated and has yet to be upgraded.

At present, the traditional economic and trade relations among the three countries are undergoing adjustment. But as the foundation of industrial cooperation is stable, it is difficult to bring about disruptive changes. In order to maintain the vitality of the trilateral economic and trade cooperation, it is imperative to start discussions on issues, especially digital trade, that represent the new direction of global economic and trade activities. As early as in 1998, the WTO began to make rules on IT-enabled cross-border transactions. In recent years, digital trade has grown rapidly worldwide, making a sweeping impact on the traditional ways of trade, models of value creation, trade in services, international trade patterns, and economic integration. According to the WTO, global e-commerce transactions were valued at a staggering US$ 27.7 trillion in 2016. In 2019, 76 WTO members announced the launch of e-commerce or digital trade negotiations. The formulation of global digital trade rules is being led by the US and EU in two models. The trade agreements reached or revised by Japan and the ROK with the US and EU all contain digital trade.

Globally, China, Japan and the ROK are all front-runners in the digital economy, with robust IT infrastructure and a complete ecology of digital industries. Since the financial crisis, the three countries have made a series of plans to accelerate the digital
economy. Japan released the White Paper on Manufacturing Industries and the Integrated Innovation Strategy. The ROK published the Five-year Plan for Innovative Growth Engines. At present, among the three countries, only China and the ROK include digital trade in their free trade agreement. Whether China, Japan and the ROK can reach consensus in this field at an early date will determine how their economic and trade cooperation will grow in breadth and depth.

In future free trade negotiations, the three countries need to hold in-depth discussions on key issues in digital trade, such as intellectual property protection, tariffs, cross-border data flow and localization of data storage, personal information protection, and cyber-security. At present, China, Japan and the ROK are the Asian centers of the global industrial chain, accounting for about one fifth of global trade. It is estimated that the compound growth rate of e-commerce in China, Japan and the ROK will reach 12%, 7% and 6.2% respectively between 2018 and 2022. If the three countries can make a breakthrough in digital trade rules, it will help to build an Asian hub of the global digital economy and make them well-placed in the formulation of new international trade rules.

2. Promoting trilateral cooperation among China, Japan and the ROK through multilateral mechanisms such as the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP). The level of economic and trade cooperation between the three countries is closely related to the process of economic integration in the Asia-Pacific. In November 2019, the third RCEP leaders’ meeting was held in Bangkok, Thailand. A joint statement was issued, announcing that RCEP member states had concluded negotiations on all 20 chapters of the text and virtually all market access issues
and would sign the agreement in 2020.

The RCEP is highly tolerant towards the different expectations of China, Japan and the ROK on free trade. Japan is involved in several regional cooperation processes, including Comprehensive Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), RCEP, China-Japan-ROK economic and trade cooperation. It is not only a major driver of the higher-level CPTPP and an important participant of RCEP, but also plays a key role that affects the effectiveness of China-Japan-ROK cooperation. Japan thinks the RCEP is on low standards, and places more premium on the CPTPP, which it sees as the cornerstone to strengthen its economic and diplomatic influence in the cooperation process of the Asia-Pacific and a trendsetter in global free trade rules making. However, the total GDP of the 11 member countries of CPTPP only accounts for 13% of the global GDP, with limited scale and influence. Japan looks forward to playing a leading role in its membership expansion, so as to enhance its say in regional affairs and rules making. At present, the ROK has concerns over the CPTPP led by Japan and Australia, believing that some of its clauses will hurt its agricultural and auto industries. That is why it has stayed aloof. As for the RCEP, the ROK does not expect it to generate much trade growth in view of its standards and level of free trade. In fact, the ROK has signed bilateral free trade agreements with all RCEP members except the Philippines and Thailand.

However, at a time when China, Japan and the ROK are yet to reach a high-standard free trade agreement, the RCEP can provide the three countries with trade and investment facilitation and liberalization equivalent to a free trade area, and help to mitigate or avert the impact of historical issues on bilateral economic and
trade cooperation. Moreover, in the long run, the geopolitical and economic influence supported by the RCEP’s huge market, scale of trade and the potential of its major economies should not be underestimated.

3. Creating synergies between the BRI and the regional development plans of Japan and the ROK. In response to the BRI, Japan and the ROK have shifted from doubts and concerns to engagement and interaction. In 2017, the Secretary-General of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan attended the BRI Forum for International Cooperation. After that, Prime Minister Abe made positive comments on the BRI and raised the possibility of linking it with the Indo-Pacific Strategy. In May 2018, the two sides signed an MOU on third-party market cooperation between Chinese and Japanese enterprises, which helps to mitigate the vicious competition between enterprises of the two countries on BRI-related markets. On the whole, Japan has mixed feelings towards BRI. On the one hand, it hopes to hedge against the BRI with the help of the US-led Indo-Pacific strategy. On the other hand, it hopes to seize the economic opportunities created by the Chinese initiative. At the same time, it wants be an independent power in making regional development plans. So it chooses to use the “Indo-Pacific concept” to be less confrontational.

In order to seek economic and diplomatic breakthroughs, the Moon Jae-in administration hopes to expand its economic relations to Russia, Mongolia and China in the north and to Southeast Asia in the south, especially ASEAN and India. Accordingly, it has put forward the “New Northern Policy” and “New Southern Policy” and made a comprehensive and concrete plan for aligning the two policies with the BRI. However, the “New Northern Policy” is
constrained by the situation on the Korean Peninsula, US-Russian relations and other factors, while the southern policy has been more dynamic.

The regional development plans of China, Japan and the ROK thus converge in ASEAN. This is also consistent with the economic law of industrial relocation. The fast-growing ASEAN market has a strong demand for infrastructure such as transportation and electricity, which provides good conditions for trilateral cooperation. China, Japan and the ROK can bring into play their comparative advantages, seek common ground while reserving differences, and establish a model of benign competition and cooperation for win-win results.

In this connection, the BRI can be improved in three respects. First, transparency. It should be open and transparent. Information such as bidding and financing should be open and accessible. The bidding procedures should be open and competitive. Second, market principles. Businesses should be at the driver’s seat. And the market should play an active role in resources allocation. Innovative models of competition and cooperation should be developed in third-party markets to avoid exclusive operations. Third, institution building. China may explore the possibility of building interaction and cooperation mechanisms with Japan and the ROK on project planning, operation and management.
Just as 2018 was a year of downturn for China-US economic relations, 2019 was a watershed in the world economy. In the year past, the global macroeconomic environment experienced unprecedented challenges, as evidenced by the protectionist and unilateral measures taken by advanced economies and the failures in the international economic governance mechanisms. At the start of 2020, the outbreak of COVID-19 hit the Chinese economy, exerting mounting pressure on global growth and bringing considerable uncertainties.

Following the 3.8% growth in 2018, the fastest in the past 10 years, the world economy slowed down sharply in 2019 to its lowest level since 2000. In October 2019, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) revised down by a big margin its forecast for the global growth of 2019 to 3%, calling it a steep fall after the synchronized rebound across the world since 2017, a

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level that was not far from a global recession (2.5% is defined by the IMF as the threshold of recession). IMF Managing Director Kristalina Georgieva warned of a synchronized slowdown in 90% of the world and a decline to the lowest level since the dawn of this century.

Advanced economies experienced a notable slowdown. The moderation in the euro zone exceeded expectation. As early as in February 2019, the European Central Bank (ECB) projected a significant slowdown across the euro zone because of “the perfect storm” that had gathered due to weak global trade and chaotic Brexit. As forecast by the ECB, the real GDP growth in the euro zone in 2019 and 2020 was 1.1% and 1.2% respectively, a drop of 0.6 and 0.5 percentage point compared with the projection in December 2018 and both far below the 1.8% of 2018. The IMF put the blame on weak exports in the euro zone since 2018. Across the euro zone, the Italian economy came to a standstill in 2019; Germany grappled with a technical recession, with an expected growth of only 0.5%; the French was in a comparatively better shape, expecting a growth of 1.2%. Japan downgraded its growth forecast, the first time in three years. The OECD projected Japan’s growth to be 0.8% and 0.7% in 2019 and 2020 respectively, lower than the 1.1% registered in 2018.

As the world’s largest economy, the US was the bright spot among advanced economies in recent years. However, the uncertainties and risks are growing. According to the statistics published by the US Department of Commerce, the real annualized GDP growth of the four quarters of 2019 was 3.1%, 2%, 2.1% and 2.1% respectively, putting the whole year’s growth at 2.3%, while the Federal Reserve projected a growth of 2.2%, all significantly
lower than the 2.9% of 2018 and far below the 3% target set by the Trump administration.

On February 20, 2020, the White House published a 435-page presidential annual economic report, lavishing praises on the Trump administration and boasting of unexpected growth, robust labor market, rising wages, and record-low unemployment. However, the COVID-19 epidemic started to spread rapidly across Europe at the end of February and the beginning of March. Italy rushed to lock down the country, while the American financial market was seized by panic. In mid-to-late March, with soaring numbers of confirmed cases, the US became a new epicenter of the global pandemic after Europe. The impact of the epidemic on the American economy quickly spread from the financial market to the real economy.

The US stock market turned from bull to bear. At the end of 2019, the Dow Jones Industrial Average reached a new all-time high of 28,600 points, up 22.3% for the whole year, the best annual performance since 2017. The S&P 500 Index rose 29.2% to a record of nearly US$6 trillion gains in market value, making 2019 a “landmark year” above 3,200 points. At the end of the year, the technology-heavy Nasdaq index broke through 9,000 points for the first time, rising 35.2% for the whole year, the best annual performance in six years. Over the past ten years, the S&P 500 Index has risen 189.72%, the Dow Jones Industrial Average 173.67% and Nasdaq 295.42%. However, the spread of COVID-19 in Europe and the US has precipitated the Wall Street into a “bear market” at the fastest speed in history. Beginning in late February, the three major US stock indexes began a nosedive. The Dow Jones Industrial Average surged to nearly 30,000 points on February 12.
and then fell more than 20% in less than 25 days, faster than the 1929 Wall Street stock crash. It further slipped to around 22,000 points at the end of March, losing 27%. From March 9 to 18, the US stock market triggered the circuit breaker mechanism four times (only five times since 1987). The market panic index soared, the US debt interest rate plummeted, liquidity drained, and market confidence was dented.

**Growth momentum has weakened.** First of all, the manufacturing sector is in a slump. According to the data released by the US Department of Commerce on October 29, the added value of the manufacturing sector accounted for 11% of American GDP in the second quarter, falling to a 72-year low. As of November 2019, the manufacturing PMI had been below the boom line of 50 for four consecutive months, signaling the contraction in America’s manufacturing sector. Over the past three years, the Trump administration has called for revitalizing manufacturing, but its share in the US economy has been on a continuous decline. The ongoing spread of the epidemic and the disruption to the supply chains have taken a heavy toll on American manufacturing, especially automobile, machinery and precision instrument sectors. Ford, General Motors, Fiat Chrysler and Honda have all shut down their American factories. Boeing is on the verge of bankruptcy, with production stagnating and stock price plummeting. Second, the service sector, which accounts for 70% of the US economy, has been hit hard. In February, the PMI for the service sector was only 49.4, the first contraction since 2016. Tourism, movies, aviation, transportation and other sectors bear the brunt. Third, the bursting of the US stock market bubbles has strengthened the negative “wealth effect” and hit consumption and investment. On March 24, the US Department of Commerce announced that orders
for core capital goods fell 0.8% in February, double the market expectation, indicating that corporate investment shrank further. In March, the University of Michigan Consumer Confidence Index dropped to 89.1 from 101 in February, the lowest since October 2016 and the largest monthly decline since October 2008. US consumer spending is expected to moderate in the first quarter and to contract even more sharply in the second quarter. In addition, the slumping global demand under the impact of the epidemic, the obstructed international flow of people and goods, and the rising dollar index have all suppressed the global demand for US goods. The US Economic Consultancy Bureau predicted that US exports would shrink by 3% in the first quarter of 2020 and face a gloomy prospect in the second and third quarters.

Unemployment soared. In the week from March 15 to 21, the number of Americans applying for unemployment benefits for the first time shot up to 3.28 million, almost five times the record (695,000) set in October 1982. The Bank of America estimated that at least 3.5 million people will lose their jobs in the second quarter, averaging more than 1 million a month, far exceeding the 750,000 a month in 2008. The St. Louis Federal Reserve predicted that the unemployment rate in the US might reach 30% in the second quarter, while Goldman Sachs forecasted 9% for the whole year.

The US has limited policy space for “counter-cyclical regulation”. The American economy grew by nearly 3% in 2018. The Federal Reserve raised interest rates four times, gradually raising the target range of the federal funds rate to 2.25% to 2.5%. In 2019, the Federal Reserve made a complete reversal, making three consecutive interest rate cuts, bringing it back to 1.5% to 1.75%. Since the beginning of March 2020, in response to the
financial market panic caused by the epidemic, the Federal Reserve has taken forceful measures, cutting the federal fund interest rate, bank reserve ratio and overnight repurchase rate to around zero. While purchasing municipal bonds in large quantities, it announced plans to buy unlimited government bonds and mortgages. At present, the Federal Reserve has purchased and held almost all kinds of assets except corporate bonds, stocks and exchange-traded funds (ETFs). On March 25, the total assets of the Federal Reserve expanded to an unprecedented US$5.3 trillion. American think tanks pointed out that fiscal policy may be more effective than monetary policy in dealing with this shock. However, the American government does not have much space for fiscal policy. At the end of March 2020, the US Congress passed a US$2.2 trillion economic stimulus package, which may further increase the financial and debt burdens on the government. In 2019, the US federal government’s fiscal deficit ratio reached 4.7% of GDP, close to the level during the 1990-1991 recession. The Moody’s estimated that the US budget gap will reach US$2.1 trillion in 2020 and US$1.8 trillion in 2021, surpassing the record of US$1.5 trillion in 2009. At present, US federal debts total US$23.08 trillion, accounting for 112% of GDP, seriously restricting the government’s ability to launch expansionary fiscal policies such as infrastructure construction and secondary tax reform.

In addition, there are a series of structural problems plaguing the US economy. America’s population growth hit a century-low. The data released by the US Census Bureau on December 30, 2019 showed that as a result of the falling birth rate, the increasing number of deaths, and the slowdown of international immigration, the US population increase hit a record low in a century. According to the Census Bureau, the American population grew by nearly
0.5%, or 1.5 million, from 2018 to 2019, standing at 328 million. As reported by the Associated Press, the natural increase of the American population (births minus deaths) was less than 1 million for the first time in a few decades because of the aging of the baby boomers, the oldest of whom turned 70 years old in the past few years. Such a trend will only continue, making it hard to sustain economic growth and undermining the potential for growth.

The wealth gap is widening in the US, with the rich getting richer while the poor becoming poorer. The United States is the only developed country where millions of people are in hunger. Statistics from the US Census Bureau in 2018 show that 39.7 million people are still poor in the country, at least 500,000 people are homeless every night, and 65 million people give up treatment because of high medical expenses. Among western countries, the US has the widest wealth gap, which has worsened in recent years. The richest 10% of American households hold nearly 75% of the total household net assets in the country. From 1989 to 2018, the bottom 50% households saw almost zero growth in their wealth. The economic growth in the US in the past decade, especially the “extreme prosperity” of the capital market, has not benefited the majority of the people. More than 85% of the richest 10% of Americans own stocks, but most Americans feel that their wages and the value of their homes don’t keep up with the investment of the rich.

America’s unilateral trade policies have made a deeper dent on its own businesses, which have lost confidence in America’s economic prospects. The Business Roundtable, which comprises CEOs of large US corporations, recently reported a seven-consecutive-quarter decline in the economic outlook
indicator, a measure of corporate executives’ confidence. 68% of the respondents indicated that they wouldn’t increase capital investment, while 60% had no plan for enlarging recruitment in the coming half a year.

It is expected that this round of economic growth cycle in the United States will come to an abrupt end soon, due to the combined effects of the COVID-19 pandemic as well as periodic and structural factors. This round of economic expansion began in June 2009 and has lasted 127 months, the longest cycle of expansion in US history, exceeding the 120-month period in the 1990s. However, the growth is mainly driven by ultra-loose monetary policy. The shadow of “high debt”, “high bubbles” and “low growth” has persisted. As such, the average real growth is only 1.6%, the lowest in the 12 growth cycles after World War II. In fact, since the second quarter of 2019, the American economy has slowed down, with the sometimes inverted yield curves of long-term and short-term treasury bonds, which portends recession. Affected by the epidemic, the US economy will stagnate in the first quarter and may fall sharply in the second and third quarters. The Bank of America, Goldman Sachs, Morgan Stanley and St. Louis Federal Reserve respectively forecast that the US economy will shrink by 12%, 24%, 30% and 50% in the second quarter, far worse than during the 2008 financial crisis. For the whole year of 2020, the US economy is likely to slide into negative growth, depending on how the US will contain the epidemic and how the world will collaborate. It is widely expected in the market that the epidemic in the US will be brought under control in the third quarter, and the suppressed consumption and investment demand will bounce back. Based on this, the S&P, Bank of America, Fitch, and Goldman Sachs respectively forecast that the US economy will
grow by -0.5%, -0.8%, -1% and -3.8% for the whole year.

Major emerging economies have witnessed a synchronized slowdown. As a result of falling investment, slumping consumption and weak job growth, India finds itself in the most protracted recession since the republic was founded, with a growth of merely 5.4% in the first half of 2019. In the second quarter, the economy decelerated to 5%, the fifth consecutive quarter of slowdown and a six-year low. On October 4, the central bank of India downgraded its growth forecast from 6.9% to 6.1%. On October 10, the credit rating agency Moody’s revised its prediction for India’s growth from 6.2% to 5.8%. Moreover, the IMF predicted 0.4% and 1.1% for Mexico and Russia’s growth in 2019 respectively, 0.5 and 0.1 percentage point lower than in 2018. South Africa’s growth was 0.7%, the same as last year. Brazil did slightly better, picking up pace from 0.8% to 0.9%.

On the whole, five prominent changes have taken place in the world economic ecology.

The world economic growth is entering a period of deceleration. Constrained by a number of factors, including population aging, education inequity, growing inequality, anti-globalization sentiments, energy and the environment problems, as well as high debt levels, global productivity has come down substantially and stayed in the negative territory for the past few years. The world economy is transitioning from “making the pie bigger” to “dividing it fairly”. New areas and drivers of growth have yet to take hold. In October 2019, the World Trade Organization (WTO) downgraded this year’s trade growth forecast by a great margin, from 2.6% to 1.2%, the slowest since 2009. As
predicted by the OECD, the real growth of the world economy in the coming five years will fall below 3% for the first time in nearly 20 years. According to the World Bank, the potential growth of the world economy in the next 10 years will be lower than that of the past 30 years. The world economy is getting onto the track of low growth, low interest rate, low inflation and high debt levels.

**The US and the Western world are putting up an economic Berlin Wall. Unilateralism is gaining momentum.** In recent years, the disadvantaged groups in the US and Europe are growing in size. Social divisions are deepening, populism is spreading, and tolerance towards the outside world is diminishing, as evidenced by high barriers and tough conditions that have been set for international economic exchanges. Through additional tariffs, tighter foreign investment screening, technology blockades, and financial sanctions, these countries squeeze the living space for others’ and their own businesses. Trade policies are getting tough. The US is where this round of trade war began. America’s trade protectionism and unilateralism is so strong with such profound spillovers that the global economic order will evolve at a faster pace. Foreign investment review is tightening. The surge of outbound investment from emerging economies has been met with exclusionary polices adopted by the US and Europe, such as tighter foreign investment review regimes, broadening scope of “national security”, and explicit bans on foreign investment in areas that fall outside the sensitive category of infrastructure. The US went further to update its export control list to prohibit foreign businesses from specific government-subsidized programs.

America’s unilateralism, decoupling and threatening other countries to take its side are in essence “erecting walls”. So is
Brexit, which was a “black swan” in the beginning but has grown into a “gray rhino” after a protraction of three years. It is premature to say the uncertainties associated with Brexit are over. With or without a deal, the day when Brexit is completed is the day when high walls are erected.

**Emerging economies are diverging in a way that is unseen in many years.** Growth potential is being curtailed. Emerging economies are mostly export oriented, depending much on external demand. As the international atmosphere sours for economic cooperation, emerging economies bear the brunt. In the face of an America that works to keep China down, some of them are forced to take sides, compounding their confusion about the development path to choose. Growths are divergent. In October 2019, the IMF predicted that the Mexican, Russian, Brazilian and South African economies would picked up pace slightly from the low patch of 0.4% to 1.1%. Emerging economies in Asia, including Vietnam and the Philippines, will continue to benefit from the supply chain restructuring and expect a growth of 6.5% and 6.2% respectively in 2020. The economic prospects of Venezuela, Argentina and other Latin American countries allow no optimism. In January, India’s growth in 2019-2020 may be downgraded substantially to below 6%. Competition among emerging economies is on the rise. In the broader context of global slowdown and falling market demand, the climate for cooperation among emerging economies is worsening. Concerned about the competition from China, India turned away from the RCEP. Brazil gave up the WTO developing country status that entitles it to special and differentiated treatment, a move that will hamper the coordinated efforts of BRICS to promote WTO reform.
There has been an unprecedented influx of liquidity on the capital market. Since 2019, over 30 countries and regions, including the US and the EU, have started to cut interest rates. Major countries are so addicted to loose monetary policies. In the face of an increasingly unfamiliar environment at home and abroad, they resort to unconventional measures, such as quantitative easing, negative interest rates, perpetual bonds, and commission fee abolition. As a result, the global financial market is distorted, assets are rapidly inflated due to negative interest rates, capital is not channeled to the real economy, and investors are seeking new speculative opportunities. Global debts are therefore scaling up, with growing risks of asset price crash. According to the US statistical standards, the supply of broad money exceeded US$15.3 trillion, twice the size in 2008 when the financial crisis hit. According to the IMF, the number of low-income countries that are grappling with high debt risks or facing imminent debt risks grew from 13 in 2013 to 32 in 2019.

The shifting global economic governance mechanisms and policies are unlikely to provide buffers and safeguards for world economic growth. The US-led liberal international order is falling apart, while a new balanced and reasonable international order is yet to take shape. In international affairs, the previously predominant economic logic is giving way to ideological, political, and security considerations, undermining the rationale for international economic cooperation.

President Trump has severely disrupted the normal operation of several multilateral institutions by withdrawing US membership, delaying appointments, and blocking budget. At the end of 2019, the WTO appellant body came to a standstill and may become
dysfunctional in 2020 due to insufficient funding. Between mid
October 2018 and mid May 2019, WTO members introduced 38
trade-restricting measures, involving US$339.5 billion in trade.
According to the Global Trade Alert, the first 10 months of 2019
witnessed the biggest decline in trade and investment facilitation
measures in seven years. At the same time, the G20, which was
at the core of post-crisis international economic governance, has
seen its role diminished. With its capacity in macro-economic
coordination limited, the international financial reform spearheaded
by the G20 has come to a standstill. Currency competition is
intensifying and unilateral acts of financial bullying are frequent.

In an international economic environment of complexities
and uncertainties, China should seek to reshape international
rules and respond to America’s unilateralism and protectionism
through international cooperation. Bilaterally, China signed the
phase one trade deal with the US on January 13, 2020, which
is beneficial to the two economies and the stability of the world
economy. China should also actively strengthen its relations with
the EU, consolidating shared interests on climate change and WTO
reform, steadily advancing negotiations on China-EU Investment
Agreement, and addressing EU’s concerns about China’s industrial
subsidies, market access and technology transfer. At the regional
level, China should unite with ASEAN to conclude the RCEP as
early as possible and push for substantial progress on China-Japan-
ROK FTA talks. At the multilateral level, to tackle the impasse
of the WTO appellant body, China should initiate discussions
on a temporary mechanism with influential members such as the
EU, Japan, Canada, India and Brazil, and explore the possibility
of an alternative that excludes the US. China should promote
international cooperation against tax evasion and on rules of
digital tax. At the same time, China should be firmly opposed to the discriminatory trade agenda pushed by the US and the West. It should also seek the recognition by more countries of its market economy status in response to the “poison bill” introduced by the US against so-called non-market economies.

The unexpected COVID-19 outbreak has increased the downward risks for the Chinese economy. The survival of small and medium-sized enterprises is at peril, making employment a challenging issue. On February 20, the IMF Managing Director made the prediction that the Chinese economy, affected by the epidemic, would show a V shape, falling abruptly before making a swift rebound after the virus is contained. Another scenario should not be ruled out, i.e. the economy would be in a U shape if the impact lasted longer. According to officials of the US Treasury Department, China’s growth under the impact of the epidemic would fall in the first quarter and then make a strong rebound. If the situation worsens, the impact would be more profound. And the impact depends on how the epidemic is contained. International organizations like the IMF and the World Bank agree that the fundamentals of the Chinese economy remain unchanged in the long run and that the government has sufficient policy space to respond.

That said, we should never lower the guard. If the spread of COVID-19 is not contained promptly, it will add to the uncertainties in the already fragile recovery of the world economy. Before the epidemic, the IMF has predicted that global growth will accelerate from 2.9% in 2019 to 3.3% in 2020 and 3.4% in 2021. The epidemic has already increased volatility on the global market and caused disruptions to industrial and supply chains.
The IMF Managing Director has been conservative in her recent statements, saying that it is too early to make accurate predictions of global growth when the epidemic is still rampant. On February 19, the IMF warned that the COVID-19 epidemic may undercut the extremely fragile recovery of the world economy that had been expected in 2020. Analysts also issued alerts that the epidemic may have an impact on the economy no smaller than the 2008 international financial crisis did. Many in the industry still believed that as central banks around the world embarked on quantitative easing at the start of 2019, the China-US trade war has a lesser impact, and China is working to mitigate the risks to the world economy through its control efforts, emerging market may become engines of growth and stabilize the global economy.
On January 9, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), met with Dr. Farid Shafiyev, Chairman of the Center of Analysis of International Relations (AIR Center). The two sides exchanged views on bilateral relations, institutional cooperation and regional hotspot issues. Mr. Akram Zeynalli, Ambassador of Azerbaijan to China, and Amb. Ou Boqian, Vice President of the CPIFA, were present at the meeting.
President Wang Chao Meets with Singaporean Ambassador to China

On January 14, President Wang Chao of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) met with H.E. Lui Tuck Yew, Singaporean Ambassador to China. The two sides exchanged views on China-Singapore relations, international situation and other issues of common interest.

The 6th Meeting of China-Australia High Level Dialogue Held in Sydney, Australia

On Jan 20, the 6th Meeting of China-Australia High Level Dialogue, co-hosted by the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, was held in Sydney, Australia. Amb. Li Zhaoxing, Honorary President of the CPIFA and Hon. Jon
Howard, former Australian Prime Minister headed the Chinese and Australian delegations respectively. Mr. Wang Chao, President of the CPIFA, Amb. Cheng Jingye, Ambassador of China to Australia, officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China and Ministry of Commerce of China, Ms. Frances Adamson, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia, Amb. Graham Fletcher, Ambassador of Australia to China as well as more than 30 representatives from political, academic and business fields of the two countries attended the meeting. The two sides had in-depth discussions on bilateral political relations, economic, trade and investment cooperation, international and regional issues and people-to-people exchange. Mr. Simon Birmingham, Minister of Trade, Tourism and Investment of Australia delivered a speech at the welcoming dinner of the dialogue.

China-Australia High Level Dialogue is an annual “Track 1.5” dialogue mechanism and its establishment was announced by both Governments during President Xi Jinping’s visit to Australia in November 2014 with the CPIFA and the Department of Foreign
Affairs and Trade of Australia as its co-hosting organizations and officials in charge of diplomatic, economic and trade affairs and representatives from business and academic fields of the two countries as its participants.

**Chairpersons of the China-Germany Dialogue Forum Promote Cooperation of the Researchers from China and Germany Against the Novel Coronavirus Outbreak**

Recently, Mr. Wan Gang, Chinese Chairman of the China-Germany Dialogue Forum, had a phone communication with Ms. Annette Schavan, German Chairman of the Forum. Both of them called for cooperation among researchers from China and Germany against the Novel Coronavirus outbreak. With their joint efforts, high-level experts in the field of virus research of two countries held a video conference on February 2. They shared information and discussed potential cooperation opportunities in related fields.

**Executive Chairman of “Global Bridges” Sends a Letter of Condolence**

On 10th Feb, Dr. Beate Lindemann, Executive Chairman of “Global Bridges”, sent a letter of condolence to Ambassador Madam Ou Boqian, Vice President of CPIFA, and expressed German friends’ support when China is battling against novel coronavirus outbreak. She hoped the colleagues and families of CPIFA were well.
Message of Solidarity from the France-China Foundation to Support China in Fighting Against the Novel Coronavirus

Since the outbreak of the novel coronavirus epidemic, many alumni of Chinese-French Young Leaders Forum have been deeply concerned about the situation, whether they are affected by it, fighting against it, or finding ways to support. Many, either personally or through their companies or institutions, are giving assistance by donating personal protective equipment to China or by supporting scientific research efforts. The France-China Foundation, by posting an official statement on its website, expresses its heartfelt sympathy and concerns with what the Chinese people are going through. It believes that the measures taken by the Chinese government to contain the spread of the virus are effective and calls for stronger cooperation between the Chinese and French government to clear the virus. The Foundation itself is currently uniting forces to organize a donation of medical equipment from France.

Former French Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin Records Video to Support Wuhan

On February 11, H.E. Mr. Jean-Pierre Raffarin, former French Prime Minister, who had visited China as scheduled during the SARS period, sent a video message. He believed that under the leadership of the Chinese government, the Chinese people would overcome the Novel Coronavirus epidemic as soon as possible.
Former Prime Minister of Italy, Former President of EU Commission Romano Prodi Expresses Sympathy and Support for Wuhan

Recently, H.E. Mr. Romano Prodi, Former Prime Minister of Italy and Former President of EU Commission, expressed sympathy and support for Wuhan in a special video. He said the Chinese government had taken extraordinary measures to combat the epidemic which he believed would be overcome soon. He had full confidence that China would win this battle against the coronavirus.

Former European Political Leaders Support China’s Fight Against Novel Coronavirus Outbreak via Videos

Recently, the former President of Bulgaria H.E. Mr. Rosen Plevneliev, the former President of Bulgaria H.E. Mr. Peter Stoyanov, the former Prime Minister of Czech Republic H.E. Mr. Jan Fischer, the former Prime Minister of Croatia Ms. Jadranka Kosor, the former Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina Zlatko Lagumdzija express their support on China in fighting against the novel coronavirus outbreak via short videos through NGIC (Nizami Ganjavi International Center). The politicians announced in the videos “we are standing side by side with our friends in China”.

NGIC Shows Support on China’s Battle Against Novel Coronavirus Outbreak in the Letter to President Wang Chao

Recently, the Co-Chair of NGIC (Nizami Ganjavi International Center), the former President of Latvia H.E.Ms. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, the former Secretary General of Arab League H.E.Mr. Amre Moussa, the former Prime Minister of Bosnia and Herzegovina H.E.Mr. Zlatko Lagumdzija, and the Secretary General of NGIC Mr. Rovshan Muradov sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, the President of CPIFA, expressing sympathies at the moment in China’s fight against novel coronavirus outbreak, admiring and supporting Chinese government’s determination and measures. NGIC believes that the Chinese government and people will surely overcome the epidemic as soon as possible and wish the patients will recover soon. They also hope all aspects of China will be back on normal track at an early date. NGIC has already donated 200 thousand masks to China, and is proactively preparing to donate more medicinal protective equipments.

BEAC Shows Support on China’s Battle Against Novel Coronavirus Outbreak in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 11th February, Mr. Alistair Michie, Secretary General of British East Asia Council (BEAC), sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of CPIFA. Mr. Michie expressed that BEAC has been closely following the recent outbreak and development of the novel coronavirus in China. They sent their sincere sympathies to Chinese people and friends at CPIFA and believe
that Chinese people will win the combat against the epidemic.

Nepali Ambassador to China Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 17th February, H.E. Mr. Leela Mani Paudyal, Nepali Ambassador to China, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).

Amb. Paudyal applauded the Chinese government’s quick and resolute action in order to control the spread of the outbreak at home and aboard and said it deserved special appreciation. He also said China’s economic losses and social sacrifices resulted from the strict measures against the epidemic would be remembered. He expressed sincere appreciation for the support extended by the Chinese government to the Nepali nationals living in China, and reaffirmed that the Nepali people will stand strong with the Chinese people in their fight against the virus with the belief that the epidemic will soon be overcome.

Amb. Paudyal also expresses his appreciation to CPIFA for its valuable contributions over the years in deepening the friendship between the peoples of two countries.

Former Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, Chairman of New Zealand China Council Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 20th February, Rt.Hon. Sir Don McKinnon, Former Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand, Chairman of New
Zealand China Council sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).

Sir McKinnon expresses his deep condolence and sympathies to all those who are affected by the COVID-19 in China and says he has no doubt that China will get through the challenging time.

At the end of the letter, he says “Kia Kaha Wuhan, Kia Kaha China” which means “Be strong Wuhan, be strong China” in Maori.

Former President of Mexico Ernesto Zedillo Expresses Sympathy and Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19

On February 21, H.E. Mr. Ernesto Zedillo, Former President of Mexico, sent a letter to President Wang Chao, saying that China, its people and government are working admirably hard to contain COVID-19. He assured President Wang Chao that China had the sympathy and solidarity of many friends all over the world, including himself. He expressed his wish that the emergency would soon be over.

Indonesian CSIS Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 21, Dr. Jusuf Wanandi, Vice Chair of Board of Trustees of Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Indonesia, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).
Dr. Wanandi commended the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese People under the leadership of President Xi Jinping to overcome the COVID-19 outbreak and expressed appreciation for what China had done to contain and mitigate the effects of the virus for the region and world.

Dr. Wanandi reaffirmed that Indonesia, and CSIS particularly, would stand by China against the outbreak. He also hoped that CSIS and CPIFA would strengthen cooperation facing the common challenge.

He attached his article named “Wuhan, Jiayou” published as an editorial on the Jakarta Post on February 7.

Chairman of Centre for International Law of NUS Tommy Koh Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 24, Amb. Tommy Koh, Chairman of Centre for International Law of National University of Singapore (NUS), sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), expressing goodwill for China’s fight against novel coronavirus outbreak on behalf of the Singapore delegation to the China-Singapore Forum and the Centre for International Law.

Amb. Koh reaffirmed that China enjoyed support from the people and government of Singapore, and believed that China was doing everything to contain the outbreak and find vaccine and cure for the virus.

Amb. Koh also pointed out that faced with globalization and the growth of tourism, international cooperation and domestic preparedness were both needed to combat such outbreaks.
Director of Korea East Asia Culture Center Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 24, Mr. Roh Jae-Heon, Director of Korea East Asia Culture Center, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).

Roh applauded the Chinese government’s efficient, orderly, quick, and effective action in order to control the spread of the outbreak, which was worth learning by countries including South Korea. He said that the government, which shared timely information and continued to carry out public health education, showed its charm of being a responsible major country.

Roh believed that the challenge the outbreak had posed to China’s economic and social development would be temporary, and the fundamentals sustaining sound economic growth had not changed. He expressed his confidence in China's economic and social development, being sure that China would win the fight against the epidemic under the leadership of President Xi Jinping and would embrace new opportunities for social development and reform after this severe test.

Roh added that the center had donated 20 million South Korean Won (approximately 115,000 yuan) to Chengdu through Chinese Embassy in South Korea, reaffirming that Korean people would stand firmly with the Chinese people during times of hardship in fighting the virus.
President of Korea Foundation Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 24, Mr. Lee Geun, President of Korea Foundation, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).

Lee highly appreciated Chinese government and its people’s responses in fighting the COVID-19. He commended that the Chinese Communist Party with President Xi Jinping at its core and the State Council, took scientific measures during this “war without smoke”. Meanwhile, Chinese people were united as one and numerous medical staffs persisted fighting in the battlefront despite the risk. He quoted President Moon Jae-in: “China’s difficulties are our difficulties”, assuring that South Korea would spare no effort to support and cooperate with China in this fight against the viral epidemic.

Lee firmly believed that a deeper friendship and mutual understanding would be achieved between the Korea Foundation and the CPIFA. He looks forward to meeting with President Wang Chao at an early date to discuss cooperation between the two institutions.

INSS Expresses Sympathy and Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19

On February 25, Maj. Gen.(ret.) Amos Yadlin, Executive Director of the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS), sent a letter to President Wang Chao, saying that the Israeli friends at INSS are with the Chinese people when China is
going through a difficult health crisis, which he wish would soon be overcome. He also believed the cooperation between the two institutions would continue and the friendship would stay intact.

Honorary President of the France China Foundation, French Ambassador to India Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 21st February, H.E. Mr. Emmanuel Lenain, Honorary President of the France China Foundation and French Ambassador to India, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA).

On behalf of the French side, Mr. Lenain showed full support for the Chinese government’s efforts to combat the epidemic and expressed sincere sympathies for the Chinese people. Mr. Lenain said that solidarity and cooperation between the Chinese and French government were even more needed than ever in these times of hardship.

Mr. Igor Ivanov Expresses Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 21, Mr. Igor Ivanov, President of Russian International Affairs Council, the former Secretary of the Security Council and the former Foreign Minister of Russian Federation, expresses support on China’s battle against COVID-19 in letter to President Wang Chao.
Mr. Ivanov says, under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, Chinese people stand united in face of a new challenge. The huge work deployed in China to fight against the virus has been deeply respected and admired. There is no doubt that China will soon overcome the difficulties.

No matter how hard the wind blows, the mountain will not bow to it. China will continue to successfully implement its grandiose plans for social and economic development, make contributions to international security and cooperation. At this historical period, Russia and China, with bilateral relations entering a new era, will go shoulder by shoulder to further the comprehensive partnership of strategic coordination.

The Former Foreign Minister of Kyrgyzstan, the Former Secretary General of SCO Mr. Muratbek Imanaliev Expresses Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 20 February, Mr. Muratbek Imanaliev, former Foreign Minister of Kyrgyzstan and former Secretary General of SCO, expresses support on China’s battle against COVID-19 in letter to President Wang Chao.

Mr. Imanaliev said that the difficulties caused by novel coronavirus are temporary. He believes that under the leadership of Chinese leaders, Chinese people will surely overcome the novel coronavirus.
Chairman of Azerbaijan Center of Analysis of International Relations Mr. Farid Shafiyev Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On 25 February, Mr. Farid Shafiyev, Chairman of Azerbaijan Center of Analysis of International Relations (AIR Center), shows support on China's battle against COVID-19 in the letter to President Wang Chao.

Mr. Shafiyev highly appreciates that Chinese side shared the relevant information on the epidemic with Azerbaijan. Since the novel coronavirus outbreak, AIR center has been keeping a close eye on the developments. Azerbaijan people stand next to Chinese people in the battle against the COVID-19, hoping it will be quickly put under control and all aspects of the society will soon get back to the normal.

Mr. Shafiyev is looking forward to further strengthening the communication and cooperation with CPIFA.

Letter from Lord Charles Powell to President Wang Chao on China’s Fight Against Coronavirus Infection

On 24 February, Lord Charles Powell, independent member of the House of Lords of the UK, sent a letter to President Wang Chao to express his sympathy with Chinese people of confronting the coronavirus infection and admiration on the resolve shown by the Chinese authorities under President Xi Jinping’s leadership in overcoming it.
David Miliband Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On February 25, Rt. Hon. David Miliband, former British Foreign Secretary, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), in which he extended the gratitude for receiving the briefing paper on China’s fight against novel coronavirus outbreak.

Miliband also expressed concerns on Chinese citizens suffering from the disease and sympathy for those who have died from the disease. He hopes China will contain the epidemic soon with supports from the WHO and the international community.

Letter From The Chairman of the China-Britain Business Council to President Wang Chao About China’s Combat Against Coronavirus Infections

On 27 February, Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, Chairman of the China-Britain Business Council, sent a letter to President Wang Chao. In his letter, Sir Cowper-Coles commended the tireless efforts of Chinese government and people to fight against COVID-19. And he also expressed his admiration for the courage and fearlessness of medical workers.

Former US Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright Wrote to President Wang Chao on China’s Battle Against the COVID-19 Outbreak

On March 4, the Honorable Madeleine K. Albright, former US Secretary of State and Chair of Albright Stonebridge
Group, wrote to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on China’s battle against the COVID-19 outbreak.

Ms. Albright expressed her deepest concerns and support to the people of China at this most distressing time. She praised the “incredible efforts” China has been taking to contain the spread of the virus and said that the Albright Bridgestone Group will continue to do what they can to support.

**Former Prime Minister of Australia Kevin Rudd Wrote to President Wang Chao on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 Outbreak**

On February 29, the Honorable Kevin Rudd, Former Prime Minister of Australia wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), expressing his appreciation for President Wang’s earlier letter briefing him on the latest development in China’s battle against COVID-19 outbreak. Mr. Rudd said, the Coronavirus is a challenge for our common humanity and the world. This is a time when all countries should be putting aside their political and geopolitical differences in order to address a common challenge together.
Sri Lankan Minister of Mahaweli, Agriculture, Irrigation and Rural Development, Minister of Internal Trade, Food Security and Consumer Welfare, and State Minister of Defence, Shows Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 in the Letter to President Wang Chao

On March 3rd, the Hon. Chamal Rajapaksa, Sri Lankan Minister of Mahaweli, Agriculture, Irrigation and Rural Development, Minister of Internal Trade, Food Security and Consumer Welfare, and State Minister of Defence, sent a letter to President Wang Chao, saying he is fully confident that the Chinese government led by President Xi Jinping will take control of the situation and bring back normalcy in China in the very near future. Sri Lankans are united with China during these difficult times. The great people of China who have been resilient in the past will emerge stronger and overcome this health emergency. He is pleased that the only Chinese national who fell ill in Sri Lanka with the COVID-19 virus was cared for by Sri Lanka doctors and had a full recovery and reunited with her family in China. Further, Sri Lanka also organized special prayer sessions to invoke blessings on the people of China who are affected by the COVID-19 virus.

Letter from the Hon. Yohei Kono, President of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International Trade and former Speaker of Japan’s House of Representatives, to President Wang Chao on China’s Fight Against Coronavirus

On March 3rd, the Hon. Yohei Kono, President of the Japanese Association for the Promotion of International...
Trade and former Speaker of Japan’s House of Representatives, sent a letter to President Wang Chao.

He expressed his sympathy to the people who infected COVID-19 and died of the disease, and expressed his solidarity to the Chinese people. He believes the Chinese government and people will be united led by the Chinese leaders and take active measures to overcome the epidemic.

He also briefed about the situation in Japan against the COVID-19.

**Former Prime Minister of Egypt Essam Sharaf Expresses Sympathy and Support on China’s Battle Against COVID-19 once again**

On March 5, former Prime Minister of Egypt Essam Sharaf expressed sympathy and support on China’s battle against COVID-19 once again by sending a short message, saying that the Chinese leaders are doing their best. China lovers all over the world are praying and supporting China. We are sure that China will get over this difficulty soon.

**US and Canadian Organizations Expressed Support for China’s Battle Against COVID-19 Outbreak**

Recently, Amb. Sig Rogich, Chairman of the US-China Transpacific Foundation, Mr. Glenn Lau-Kee, Chairman of the US-Asia Institute, Ms. Mary Sue Bissell, President of the US-Asia Institute, Dr. Wang Chi, President of the US-China Policy Foundation, Dr. Ernestine Wang, Director of Programs of the
US-China Policy Foundation, Prof. Gordon Houlden, Director of China Institute, University of Alberta, Canada and Ms. Marsha Lefkovitz, Executive Director of the US-Asia Foundation respectively wrote to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs, expressing their support for the efforts made by the Chinese government in fighting COVID-19 and their condolences to the Chinese people who suffered in the epidemic.

Amb. Sig Rogich said, “I respect the delicate nature of how the issues are treated in China and how well President Xi has responded,” and “I am praying for quick success as the world works together to find a treatment for COVID-19.”

Mr. Gleen Lau-Kee and Ms. Mary Sue Bissell said, “We are confident that China will overcome this epidemic as China has withstood numerous challenges over the years.”

Dr. Wang Chi and Dr. Ernestine Wang said, “We have been following the news report closely about COVID-19 and believe the Chinese people will come together and overcome this difficult period.”

Prof. Gordon Houlden said, “My colleagues and I are deeply concerned about this health crisis and wish the people suffering from COVID-19 quick recovery to full health.”

Letter from H.E.Dr.Péter Medgyessy to President Wang Chao on China’s Fight Against COVID-19

H.E.Dr.Péter Medgyessy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, sent a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on March 9th. In the letter, Dr. Medgyessy extended his respect and appreciation
to Chinese people for their heroic fight against COVID-19 under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, the results of which are taking shape in China. He was convinced that China will be able to eliminate the economic consequences of the epidemic and China’s achievements in this fight can serve as an important lesson for combating similar epidemics in the world for the coming decades.

Dr. Medgyessy looks forward to further strengthening exchanges and cooperation with CPIFA.

**Dr. Henry Kissinger Wrote to President Wang Chao on China’s Fight Against COVID-19**

Dr. Henry Kissinger, former Secretary of State of the United States, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on March 23, in which he thanked President Wang for writing to brief him on China’s efforts of fighting against the COVID-19, and expressed his appreciation for what China has done in the battle. Dr. Kissinger said “...how much I respect the dedication and skill with which your government has managed it. Indeed, we can learn from you, as we are now in an earlier phase of a similar crisis. Hopefully we will learn from this the importance of common solutions to a variety of issues around the world. My conviction about that has not been altered but has indeed been strengthened”.

Mr. Henry Paulson, Former US Secretary of Treasury Wrote to President Wang Chao on the Fight Against COVID-19

Mr. Henry Paulson, former Secretary of Treasury of the United States, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on March 29, in which he thanked President Wang for his letter of good wishes on the COVID-19 outbreak in America, and expressed his appreciation for what China has done in the battle against the virus. Mr. Paulson said, “The Chinese People united to defeat the virus and set a very good example for the world. Now America needs to do the same and I am optimistic that we will do so”, “…the corona virus shines a bright light on how inter-connected our world is and how important it is for our two countries to work together”.

Dr. Robert A. Kapp, Former President of the US-China Business Council Wrote to President Wang Chao on the Fight Against COVID-19

Dr. Robert A. Kapp, former President of the US-China Business Council, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on March 27, in which he thanked President Wang for his letter of good wishes on the COVID-19 outbreak in America. Dr. Kapp said, “We all are facing a new and threatening environment, in which common efforts, shared commitments, and mutual sacrifices will be essential”.

Former US Secretary of Commerce Penny Pritzker Wrote to President Wang Chao on the Fight Against COVID-19

Ms. Penny Pritzker, former US Secretary of Commerce, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on March 30, in which she thanked President Wang for his letter of good wishes on the COVID-19 outbreak in America. Ms. Pritzker said, “I appreciate your good wishes as we are working to contain and manage the COVID-19 pandemic here in the United States. I certainly agree that this situation, once again, demonstrates the need for greatly enhanced international coordination and cooperation on this and a range of other critical global issues”.

Letter from Chairman of the Centre for International Law of NUS Tommy Koh to President Wang Chao on Singapore’s Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) sent a letter to Amb. Tommy Koh, Chairman of the Centre for International Law of National University of Singapore (NUS), expressing sincere support and solidarity from the Chinese side on Singapore’s battle against COVID-19.

On March 26, Amb. Tommy Koh replied a letter to President Wang Chao, deeply appreciating China’s support to Singapore at this critical stage.

Amb. Koh said, although Singapore is experiencing a spike of imported cases with thousands of citizens and permanent
residents coming back from the US, UK and other countries, Singaporean people are confident to defeat the virus by standing in solidarity.

Amb. Koh also pointed out the importance of containing the impact of COVID-19 on economy. He said the Singaporean government is determined to do whatever it takes to preserve jobs, prevent business from collapsing and keep the economy from grinding to a stop while tackling with the pandemic.

**Letter From the Director of Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs to President Wang Chao About China’s Fight Against COVID-19**

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), wrote to Ambassador Ezzat Saad, Director of Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) to express sympathy and solidarity from China when the COVID-19 pandemic is spreading in Egypt. On March 19th, Amb. Saad wrote back to President Wang Chao to express his congratulations on China’s successful campaign in fighting COVID-19.

He says in his letter that he personally and all the Egyptians are confident in China’s capacity to defeat the virus due to the wisdom, patience and the scientific approach taken by the government and the people of China. It’s no wonder that while the epidemic is increasing in all the countries in the world, it is decreasing only in China. China has a lot offer to the international community as a whole in its fight against this virus.
Letter from Chairman of the China-Britain Business Council to President Wang Chao on UK’s Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) sent a letter to Sir Sherard Cowper-Coles, Chairman of the China-Britain Business Council, expressing sincere sympathy and support for UK’s battle against COVID-19.

On 30th March, Sir Cowper-Coles replied a letter to President Wang Chao to express his sincere thankfulness of President Wang and CPIFA. Sir Cowper-Coles said they have been overwhelmed by the kindness shown by both Chinese government as well as the business and individuals. “A friend in need is a friend indeed.” It is good to know that China is now getting back to work and UK, too, will reach that stage. There is so much that the UK and China can do together. He is looking forward to working ever more closely with their Chinese colleagues in the future.

Letter from Chairman of the Global Bridges to President Wang Chao on Germany’s Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) sent a letter to Dr. Beate Lindemann, Chairman of the Global Bridges, expressing sincere sympathy and support for Germany’s fight against COVID-19.

On 27th March, Dr. Beate Lindemann wrote back to President Wang Chao, expressing her sincere thankfulness to
President Wang and CPIFA. Dr. Lindemann spoke highly of China’s fight against COVID-19, which has achieved positive effects. Germany appreciates China’s support to Germany in its fight against COVID-19 and hopes the disease will be under control as soon as possible. Global Bridges would like to strengthen the communication and cooperation with CPIFA.

**Letter from France-China Exchanges Committee, CCI Paris Ile-de-France, on France’s Battle Against COVID-19**

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), sent a letter to Ms. Xiaoqing Pellemele, Secretary General of France-China Exchanges Committee, CCI Paris Ile-de-France, expressing sincere sympathy for France’s fight against COVID-19.

On 1st April, Ms. Pellemele wrote back to express her gratitude to President Wang Chao and CPIFA. Ms. Pellemele described China’s fight against COVID-19 as exemplary around the world. After the COVID-19 pandemic was brought under control at home, China quickly started to send aids to many countries worldwide, which demonstrates the sense of responsibility as a major country. She hopes that the cooperation between CPIFA and France-China Exchanges Committee, CCI Paris Ile-de-France, be strengthened after the end of the outbreak to make contributions to China-France relationship.
Letter from Former French Prime Minister to President Wang Chao on France’s Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), sent a letter to Mr. Dominique de Villepin, former French Prime Minister, expressing sincere sympathy for France’s fight against COVID-19.

On 27th March, Mr. de Villepin wrote back to President Wang Chao, expressing his gratitude to President Wang Chao and CPIFA. Mr. de Villepin said that China had shown the way to victory with a collective and determined reaction under President Xi’s leadership. French people appreciate the support provided by the Chinese government and people from all walks of life to France through this long journey. He is confident that the friendship between two countries will be strengthened throughout this crisis.

Letter from CSIS, Indonesia to President Wang Chao on Its Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) sent a letter to Dr. Jusuf Wanandi, Vice Chair of the Board of Trustees of the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) of Indonesia, expressing sincere support and solidarity from the Chinese side on Indonesia’s battle against COVID-19.

On April 3, Dr. Wanandi replied a letter to President Wang Chao, appreciating his support to Indonesia for the battle against COVID-19. He said in the letter that China set a heroic example for East Asia and the World in fighting against COVID-19 and
Indonesia was very much encouraged by China. He hopes that China and Indonesia should cooperate closer in the future. He also attached his two articles for The People’s Daily and the Shanghai Institute of International Studies (SIIS), which proposed how the international community should cooperate in this regard.

The Director of Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs Appreciates President Wang Chao’s Letter of Sympathy

On April 6th, Amb. Ezzat Saad, Director of Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs (ECFA) wrote back to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), in response to his recent letter and appreciated the support and solidarity from the Chinese side when COVID-19 pandemic is rapidly spreading in Egypt.

Amb. Saad says in his letter that the Egyptian government is doing its utmost in containing and combating the epidemic. We highly appreciates the valuable Chinese assistance to the Egyptian government in its fight against COVID-19. The Chinese experience in this regard is a source of inspiration for Egypt.

Former US Deputy Secretary of State William Burns Wrote to President Wang Chao on the Fight Against COVID-19

Amb. William Burns, former US Deputy Secretary of State and President of Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) on April 11, in which he thanked President Wang for his letter of good wishes on the COVID-19 outbreak in America. Amb. Burns said, “It reminds all of us vividly of the importance of our collective humanity, and of cooperation on global challenges”.

Mr. Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy Wrote to President Wang Chao on the Fight Against COVID-19

Mr. Paul Haenle, Director of the Carnegie–Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, wrote a letter to Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), on April 11, in which he thanked President Wang for his letter of good wishes on the COVID-19 outbreak in America. Mr. Haenle said, “I agree that US-China cooperation is critical in mitigating the spread of COVID-19 worldwide and addressing the deepening economic issues we face”.

Letter from Chairman of the Polish-Chinese Cooperation Forum to President Wang Chao on Poland’s Fight Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), sent a letter to Mr. Bartosz Michalak, Chairman of the Polish-Chinese Cooperation Forum, to show sympathy and solidarity on Poland’s fight against COVID-19.
On April 7, Mr. Michalak wrote back to express sincere thanks to President Wang Chao. In the letter, he pointed out that this is a new and dangerous situation for all the people across the world, not only in terms of health but also in terms of global economy. He strongly believed that at this moment it’s most important for the medics and all medical experts to fight with virus and help infected people but also on the international level to exchange the information in order to communicate observations and experiences gained in each country. Following Chinese strategy of a partial lockdown, Poland is one of the first countries in Europe that has implemented strict restrictions to prevent the virus spreading. Given the numbers of people infected and died in other European countries, Mr. Michalak believed this strategy is now paying off. He also highly appreciated the cooperation between China and Poland at such difficult times as the Chinese medical supplies are very important for Poland to fight against COVID-19.

Letter from H.E. Mr. Emmanuel Lenain, French Ambassador to India and Honorary President of the France-China Foundation, to President Wang Chao on France’s Battle Against COVID-19

Recently, Mr. Wang Chao, President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), sent a letter to H.E. Mr. Emmanuel Lenain, French Ambassador to India and Honorary President of the France-China Foundation, expressing sincere sympathy for France’s fight against COVID-19.

On April 10, Mr. Lenain wrote back to express his gratitude to President Wang Chao and CPIFA. Mr. Lenain said that the
steps taken by the Chinese government to contain COVID-19 are remarkably effective, thus boosting global confidence. During the fight against COVID-19, representatives of the “Young Leaders” Program from both China and France have shared their experiences and provided mutual support, making important contributions to our two countries’ joint efforts to promote closer international cooperation for the early containment of the pandemic.

**Letters from Former President of Cyprus, Former President of Malta and Other Celebrities to Vice President Li Huilai on the Battle Against COVID-19**

Recently, Mr. Li Huilai, Vice President of the Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA), sent letters to former politicians and celebrities in Cyprus and Malta to show sympathy and solidarity on two countries’ fight against COVID-19.

Former President of Cyprus H.E. Mr. Vassiliou, Former President of Malta H.E. Preca, Rector of European University Cyprus Prof. Gouliamos, Director of the Prometheus Research Institute Mr. Katsourides wrote back respectively to express sincere thanks to Vice President Li Huilai. They acknowledge that, under the leadership of President Xi Jinping and the Chinese government, the COVID-19 epidemic has been effectively controlled in China and they highly appreciate China’s assistance to Cyprus and Malta during the epidemic. They also hope the world put all efforts together as one human family to restore normality for all of humankind.
中俄关系迈上新征程

李 辉  中国政府欧亚事务特别代表，前驻俄罗斯大使

2019年，在中俄建交70周年的历史节点和世界百年变局的关键当口，习近平主席对俄罗斯进行国事访问，同普京总统共同做出发展中俄新时代全面战略协作伙伴关系的决定，释放出中俄引领构建新型国际关系，为世界稳定增添正能量、为全球发展注入新活力的明确信号。中俄关系站上新的历史起点，迎来更大发展机遇。

新思想开创新时代

中俄关系的一大鲜明特色是元首顶层设计和战略引领，这也是中俄关系“千磨万击还坚劲”的重要保障。中国共产党十八大以来，习近平主席即着眼于把中国的发展与世界的共同发展结合起来，把中国人民的根本利益与人类社会的长远利益统一起来，努力在中国与世界之间构建良性互动，形成一种新型的中国与世界的关系。2013年，习近平主席就任中国国家主席后将俄罗斯作为首个出访的国家，同普京总统就中俄之间“四个坚定支持”，即坚定支持对方维护本国核心利益、坚定支持对方发展复兴、坚定支持对方走符合本国国情的发展道路、坚定支持对方办好自己的事情达成重要共识，并商定中俄共同推动世界大国“超越零和博弈”，在政治上相互尊重、在经济上全面互利、在安全上互信包容、在文化上交流借鉴、在意识形态上求同存异，建立长期稳定健康发展的新型大国关系。实践证明，中俄关系快速健康发展离不开两国元首的精心呵护和战略引领，是习近平外交思想的生动体现和成功实践。

中俄是互利共赢开放路线的倡导者。习近平主席提出共建“一带一路”倡议，俄罗斯坚定支持。两国元首就丝绸之路经济带建设同欧亚经济联盟建设对接合作发表联合声明，普京总统作为主宾来华出席了两届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛。中俄相互支持对
方提出的重大国际合作倡议、推进互联互通建设和贸易投资制度化安排，对接合作取得重要成果。中俄呼吁国际社会分享发展机遇，支持构建开放型世界经济，维护以世贸组织为核心、以规则为基础的多边贸易体制，反对单边主义和保护主义，推动世界经济强劲、可持续、平衡、包容增长。

中俄是构建新型国际关系的先行者。和平稳定、发展进步、合作共赢是时代前进的方向。跟不上时代前进的步伐，早晚会被时代淘汰。中俄建交70年来，经历风风雨雨，最终探索出一条符合两国根本利益，不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方的国家关系模式。得益于此，中俄关系快速成长为“互信程度最高、协作水平最高、战略价值最高”的一组大国关系，为促进两国发展振兴，维护世界和平、稳定、发展作出重要贡献。中俄关系的成功经验，在于两国遵循相互尊重、公平正义、合作共赢理念，顺应了时代潮流。中俄关系模式昭示着，只要国际社会成员相互尊重、平等交往，将本国利益与各国利益结合起来，共同担当，商量着办事，就能够实现合作共赢。

中俄是发展全球伙伴关系的领跑者。中俄均将打造全方位、多层次、立体化的全球伙伴关系网络作为外交方针。两国共同引领上海合作组织建设，积极参与金砖国家和“金砖+”合作，为新兴市场和发展中国家合作拓展平台。两国相互支持“一带一路”建设和“大欧亚伙伴关系”建设，在全球范围内和区域一体化体制间搭建合作桥梁。中俄在二十国集团、联合国发挥重要影响，深度参与全球治理。中俄“朋友圈”不断扩大，为推动世界多极化、经济全球化，应对全球性挑战，维护地区和世界和平稳定发挥着不可替代的作用。

中俄是构建人类命运共同体的同路人。习近平主席深刻思考人类前途命运，形成构建人类命运共同体重要思想。2013年，习近平主席在莫斯科国际关系学院发表演讲，首次阐释了人类命运共同体理念，国际社会予以高度评价。普京总统秉持相近理念。他在2017年瓦尔代年会上发表讲话，指出独善其身在当代世界是不现实的追求，实现世界的安定与繁荣是整个国际社会的责任。2018年，普京总统对中国进行国事访问，“推动构建人类命运共同体”首度写入两国元首联合声明，并在以后的双边政治文件中继承延续，成为中俄国际协作的重要内容。中俄两国决心与国际社会同呼吸、共命运，“中俄组合”成为国际体系变革中最积极的因素和推动全球治理改革最活跃的动力。

新时代绘就新愿景

推动中俄关系在高水平上实现更大发展是中俄两国和两国人民的共同愿望。
2019年6月，习近平主席同普京总统发表联合声明，赋予中俄关系“新时代全面战略协作伙伴关系”新定位，并对两国关系下一阶段发展的总体目标、基本原则、合作方向作出全面规划和部署，描绘了新时代蓝图。

中俄将守望相助。相互支持是中俄关系的核心价值。新时代，两国将给予对方更富活力的战略支撑，将“四个坚定支持”贯彻始终。两国将进一步加强保障各自主权、安全和领土完整，以及应对各类传统和新型安全威胁与挑战的合作，绝不允许任何势力利用本国领土从事反对对方的活动，绝不允许任何势力干涉两国内政。

中俄将深度融通。两国将把政策、设施、贸易、资金、民心五个维度打通，就国家发展战略进行密切协调和战略协作，将共同规划各领域合作原则、方向和具体举措，全面实现共同发展。

中俄将开拓创新。两国将着眼时代要求和发展需求，进一步挖掘两国关系潜力和发展动能，提升各领域合作“含金量”。除经贸、能源、投资等传统领域以外，两国将进行长远战略考虑和规划，打开合作思路，创新合作模式，久久为功，持续推进合作，努力实现经济社会效益双丰收。

中俄将协力践行普惠共赢。两国将秉持多边主义原则，共同推动建设新型国际关系、构建人类命运共同体。两国将在国际事务中贡献大国智慧、发挥大国作用、承担大国责任，依托广泛国际合作，坚定维护以联合国为核心的国际体系和以国际法为基础的国际秩序，推进全球治理体系改革，促进世界和平稳定和经济可持续发展，维护人类共同利益。

新愿景产生新动力

千里之行，始于足下。2020年，中俄双方将努力为新时代双边关系开好局。习近平主席和普京总统互致新年贺电时，提出了今年双边关系发展目标，即引领两国全方位合作迈上新台阶，为中俄各自发展振兴助力增势。今年，中俄将启动科技创新年，将共同庆祝世界反法西斯战争胜利暨联合国成立75周年，双方将全力以赴，将领导人共识转化为丰硕合作成果，造福两国人民。

今年的中俄关系有四大看点。

一看政治互信愈加牢固。中俄将坚持以元首外交为引领、机制性交往为抓手，多边机制为平台，开展“背靠背”、“肩并肩”多维度全面战略协作。中俄均坚持把发展中俄关系作为本国外交优先方向，坚定相互支持对方振兴和强大。

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伎俩，两国将坚定不移巩固双边关系，加强沟通协调，相互策应支持，共同应对威胁与挑战。

年初以来，面临突如其来的新冠肺炎疫情，中俄携手合作应对，政治互信愈加牢固。普京总统通过向习近平主席致慰问电、打电话、公开发声等形式表达对中国抗疫的坚定支持。两国政府根据疫情形势发展及时向对方援助急需的医疗物资。双方还互派专家组交流抗疫经验。抗疫合作成为中俄关系高水平和特殊性的生动体现。

二看利益交融不断深化。双方将拓展“一带一路”同欧亚经济联盟、“大欧亚伙伴关系”建设对接合作，特别是打造互联互通新格局。中俄将通过科技创新年为契机，加强科技创新联合攻关，力争在大科学、大数据、人工智能、5G等前沿领域取得新突破，推动航空、航天、智能制造、能源一体化等领域项目落地，积极开展技术交流和产业合作，共同提升中俄竞争优势。

三看携手捍卫公平正义。中俄作为战胜法西斯和维护战后国际秩序的关键力量，将共同呼吁国际社会铭记历史、珍惜和平，维护来之不易的胜利成果。两国将积极参与纪念联合国成立75周年活动，坚定不移维护联合国权威，支持加强联合国作用，维护多边主义，捍卫国际公平正义，就完善全球治理献计献力。

四看人民友谊续谱新篇。中俄人民曾在共同抗击法西斯侵略的斗争中以鲜血和生命铸就牢不可破的友谊。在抗击新冠肺炎疫情这场没有硝烟的斗争中，两国友谊再次升华。俄主流媒体持续刊发支持中国抗疫的报道和文章，高度评价中国抗疫的积极努力和重要成果，表达对武汉及全中国人民战胜疫情的坚定信心和支持。俄社会各界友好人士纷纷自发起动中国全民抗疫行动，来自俄民众的“中国，加油！”“武汉，加油！”声音不绝于耳，令人感怀至深。莫斯科动物园和俄罗斯的小朋友们踊跃参加“隔离病毒，但不隔离爱”线上线下宣传活动，俄艺术家盖尔曼向中国驻俄使馆赠送寓意两国坚强互助的油画《命运之线》……中国人民投桃报李，通过各种方式向俄方抗疫表达坚定支持。黑龙江等毗邻省份及中国其他省市纷纷通过友城渠道向俄各地方提供援助，阿里巴巴等中方企业向俄方援助急需的防护物资。亲望亲好，邻望邻安。两大邻国，两个伟大民族，世代友好，守望相助，善莫大焉！

新时代中俄关系，有丰富经验积淀，有先进思想指引，有深厚民意基础，具备强大内生动力，顺应时代发展潮流，必将不断攀登新的历史高度，为当代国际关系树立标杆，为人类进步事业作出贡献。
推进全球治理体系改革

梅兆荣  中国前驻德国大使，中国人民外交学会前会长

全球治理关系到国际秩序问题。世界处在不断的变化之中，随着国际力量对比的深刻变化，世界正进入一个格局重组、秩序调整的重要时期。从中国的视角看，当今世界处于一个百年未有之大变局。建立更加公正合理的国际政治、经济秩序，特别是加强全球经济治理，推进全球治理体系改革，已成为摆在世界各国面前的紧迫任务。不同国家从各自的价值体系、历史经验和利益处境出发，对全球秩序怀有各自设想和蓝图。

从历史上看，自1648年威斯特伐利亚体系确立之日起，西方一直主导着现代国际秩序的话语权。特别是现行国际秩序的基本框架是二战结束后在西方国家，主要是美国主导下形成的。但战后70多年来，一大批原殖民地和半殖民地国家已成为政治上独立的主权国家。而随着经济全球化的发展，一批发展中国家和新兴市场国家已群体性崛起，成为全球经济中一支不容忽视的力量。在此情况下，国际秩序作为上层建筑也必须变革，才能适应国际关系和谐发展和促进人类进步的需要。而现行国际秩序的弊端越来越明显和突出，主要表现在三个方面：

一是代表性不足。现行国际体系和国际秩序集中代表了西方发达国家的利益和诉求，广大发展中国家和新兴市场国家无论在国际事务中或国际组织中的代表性都严重不足，其利益和诉求不能得到有效维护。而这些国家的人口占世界的四分之三，他们的声音和权益长期不能得到充分听取和有力维护，这样的治理体系和国际秩序就会不可持续。

二是现行国际秩序的公正性、合理性不足。当前逆全球化思潮急剧上升，重要原因之一是西方主导的经济全球化虽也推动了资源的自由配置，促进了社会生产力的发展，但同时也造成贫富悬殊和
发展失衡，社会向两极分化。在此背景下出现的反全球化和保护主义不是解决问题的钥匙，真正的出路是要推动全球治理体系改革，建立新的秩序以使全球化向开放、包容、普惠、共享的方向发展。

三是现行秩序的有效性不足。当今世界发展中的另一个突出现象，是跨国的全球性挑战增多，包括金融危机、气候变化、传染性疾病、恐怖主义、网络安全等。单个国家无论多么强大，既不能独善其身，也难以单独成功应对，而必须借助国际合作。

一句话，不改革现有秩序就不能有效应对层出不穷的新挑战。建立国际新秩序是形势发展的需要，也是国际力量对比发生变化的必然要求。

推动国际体系变革，建立公正公平的国际政治经济新秩序，不仅有必要，也是可能的。实际上，这些年来为此所作的努力已经取得了某些积极进展，关于气候变化的《巴黎协定》即是一例。尽管特朗普宣布退出该协定，但绝大多数国家坚持执行该协定。2016年联合国通过的《2030可持续发展议程》确定的17项可持续发展目标，体现了正义、包容、普惠、平等、可持续等重要原则，是继千年发展目标后在发展领域推动建立新秩序的又一重要成果。2016年国际货币基金组织执行董事会正式批准2010年份额及治理改革方案，也标志着国际社会已深刻认识到国际组织、国际经济治理体系推行改革的必要。

中国主张推动全球经济治理体系改革，建立新的国际秩序，但不是推倒一切、另起炉灶，而是现有体系的改革、健全和完善。新秩序的建立不可能一蹴而就，本质上是利益的调整过程，不可能没有阻力，要有决心、信心、耐心和恒心。

推动建立国际新秩序，似应集中做好三件事：

一是必须转变旧观念、梳理新理念。要坚决摒弃冷战思维、零和游戏和丛林法则，建立合作共赢、同舟共济、共商共建共享、构建人类命运共同体这些新理念。

二是必须改革旧机制、建立新机制。原有的国际组织、国际机构、国际机制和国际平台在许多方面已不能适应社会生产力发展的要求和国际形势的变化，必须进行改革。这就需要推动国际关系民主化，扩大发展中国家、新兴市场国家在国际组织中的代表性和发言权，同时有必要建立一些新的国际组织和国际机制来适应新形式的要求。新建立的亚投行，不是要取代世界银行和亚洲开发银行，而是补充其不足，就是这方面的一个成功例子。

三是要修改旧规则、制订新规则。规则制定体现意志和利益，难免会有博弈和斗争。这是一个复杂而费劲的工作，但意义重大。
面对国际形势的深刻变化，特别是国际秩序和国际关系的不确定性和不稳定性增多，中共十九大为中国外交政策提出了一系列新的思想、理念和举措，并规定中国的外交一方面要为国内经济发展服务，另一方面要更加积极地为世界作出贡献，特别是在涉及和平与发展的重大问题上，要更多地发声并提出中国的方案。十九大还确定了中国外交的两个总目标，即推动构建新型国际关系和推动构建人类命运共同体。构建新型国际关系，就是要走出一条有别于旧关系的新路子，其核心内容是相互尊重、公平公正、合作共赢。相互尊重，就是不干涉别国内政和不把自己的意志强加于人。公平公正，就是摒弃丛林法则。合作共赢，就是摒弃零和思维。构建人类命运共同体的出发点是：地球只有一个，地球上的人来自不同文化、种族、宗教和社会制度，他们必须建立同舟共济、相互依存的意识。人类命运共同体的核心内容，就是共同建立“持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容、清洁美丽的世界。”这五点也是中国国内建设“五位一体”思想的延伸和扩展。可以说，这也是解决全球性挑战的中国方案。这两个外交总目标反映了中国坚持走和平发展道路，在和平共处五项原则基础上同各国开展互利共赢的合作，永不称霸。基于这些理念，中国坚持结伴而不结盟的政策，即建立伙伴关系而不谋求结盟。亦基于这些新思想，中国提出“一带一路”倡议，作为国际经济合作的平台，重点是发展基础设施，通过连接沿线国家的发展战略创造更多的经济增长可能，实现共同繁荣。为此，中国从一开始就宣布“一带一路”建设实行“共商、共建、共享”原则，并指出“一带一路”建设是一个公共产品，是中国的倡议，但机会和成果属于世界。
中印领导人非正式会晤机制的建立及中印关系前景

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印度是中国的西南邻国，是一个人口超过13亿的南亚大国和正在迅速崛起的发展中国家，同时也是许多国际组织的重要成员，印度在中国外交布局中具有重要地位。但由于历史和现实原因，中印关系一直跌宕起伏，2017年的洞朗对峙事件曾使两国关系跌入低谷。在全球面临百年未有之大变局的时刻，如何处理好中印关系是中国外交的一大挑战。2018年和2019年，中印两国领导人分别在武汉和金奈举行了两次非正式会晤，建立了非正式会晤机制。中印领导人非正式会晤机制的建立能否确保中印关系平稳发展？两国应如何提升双边关系？这些都是我们需要密切关注、认真研究的课题。

一、如何看待当前的中印关系

中印两国是几乎同时崛起的两个新兴经济体，两国关系对于亚太和印度洋地区乃至全球的和平、稳定、发展和繁荣具有重要意义。但两国关系非常复杂，既有合作，又有竞争。作为金砖国家（BRICS）和二十国集团（G20）的两个重要成员，中印在国际金融体系改革、气候变化、全球贸易谈判等全球性问题上具有众多共同利益。同时中印两国在上海合作组织、反恐、阿富汗问题等地区问题上也有着密切合作。中国还是印度最大的经贸伙伴之一，双边贸易和中国对印投资为印度经济发展注入了巨大动力。

但必须承认的是，中印之间尚有许多未解决的历史和遗留问题。其中对两国关系影响最大的是边界问题。中印边界争端不时发生，印度媒体不断炒作边界问题，对两国关系的发展造成了重大伤害。除了边界问题，中巴关系、达赖喇嘛问题、印度对华贸易赤字问题、水资源问题等也阻碍着两国关系的提升。在过去将近一年的
时间里，贸易不平衡问题几乎成为中印关系中的首要问题，印方已将此问题提高到政治高度。

除此之外，随着中印两国实力差距的扩大和中国在南亚和印度洋地区经济活动的增加——尤其是最近几年来，随着“一带一路”（BRI）的推进，印度战略界对中国的担忧不断增长。对于中国在南亚和印度洋地区的经济活动以及与之相关的中国舰队的保驾护航行为，甚至中国在印度洋公海的科学考察行动，印度方面都认为是对它的威胁。印度很多战略界人士认为，中印关系过去几年之所以不断恶化，纯粹是由于中方行为导致的。他们认为中印两国的矛盾是一种结构性矛盾。

作为一个国际问题观察者，笔者认为，中印之间近几年之所以出现这么多问题，实际上主要与印方的观念和心态有关：一是由于印方对英国殖民者设计的所谓“科学边界”的执着，以及1962年中印边界冲突及其后印度政府长期的宣传和教育造成的印度人对中国的仇视和不信任。二是由于印度的大国心态、势力范围观念、民族主义情绪及印方对世界局势和中美关系的认知。印度战略界精英对中印实力差距不断扩大非常焦虑，同时认为中国在面临美国压力的情况下应该向印度让步。因此，从2014年莫迪上台之后，印度方面不断向中方提出各种各样的要求，并要求中国接受。另一方面，中国在与南亚及印度洋国家开展正常经贸合作、推进“一带一路”建设，满足这些国家经济社会发展需求的同时，确实没有认真考虑印度方面的心态和感受，顾及印度的感情。洞朗对峙就是印度对中国的南亚和印度洋政策所产生的不满情绪的集中爆发。

二、中印非正式会晤机制为什么能够建立

洞朗对峙使中印两国濒临战争的边缘，使两国关系陷入低谷。这种结果是中印两国都不希望发生的。对于中国来说，中国从未将印度作为主要对手，也不希望制造一个敌人；而对于印度来说，将自己变成中国的敌人并不能从其他国家那里得到切实的好处，反而将丧失在国际格局中左右逢源的地位。从另一个角度来说，印度对华政策强硬是印美关系接近的一个反映，但印美接近也损害了印俄关系。同时，印度为遏制中国在南亚国家的影响，对周边国家不断施压，引起尼泊尔、马尔代夫等国的反弹，印度与周边国家关系几乎陷入全面紧张。国大党等反对派对莫迪政府和印度人民党的对外政策所导致的外交被动局面大加挞伐。

另外，在全球和地区问题上，印度对中国有许多倚重。特朗普背离多边主义、反对自由贸易、破坏全球贸易体系，印度希望与中国合作推动全球化和自由贸易，加强在气候变化、上合组织、金砖国家和新开发银行，以及亚投行中的合
作。2017年，中印两国双边贸易额达到845亿美元。自2014年之后，中国对印直接投资大幅增加，其中大量投资进入印度初创领域。在经济上，中国保持良好关系对印度至关重要。印度特别希望中国支持其发展基础设施。在面临大选和经济下行压力的情况下，莫迪政府需要和中国改善关系。这是第一次武汉非正式会晤的背景，具有为实现改善外交环境、赢得选举、提振经济等目标的临时性安排的性质。

在莫迪凭借压倒性优势连任成功之后、中印领导人第二次非正式会晤之前，中印关系又出现了一些比较严重的问题。这与印度国内印度教民族主义情绪高涨密切相关，另一方面与中美贸易战和中美地缘政治竞争有关，印度认为在面对美国巨大压力的情况下，中国必须与包括印度在内的周边国家搞好关系，以集中精力对付美国。因此，印度希望利用这种态势要求中国支持某些外交政策，接受印度提出的一些要求，进一步提升印度的国际地位。在经济不景气的情况下，印度单方面改变印控克什米尔的法律地位，利益冲突，将印控克什米尔和拉达克列为中央直辖区，侵害了中国的领土主权；在班公湖地区，印方主动挑起与中国军队的对峙，并在边界地区举行大型军演；印方甚至将双边贸易平衡问题上升到政治的高度。

因此，对于第二次两国领导人非正式会晤，在会晤之前，国际社会——尤其是西方并不看好，许多西方媒体和印度媒体不断炒作中印之间的分歧，给中印领导人第二次非正式会晤大泼冷水，企图看到中印领导人非正式会晤取消或者推迟，甚至希望看到中印关系走向破裂的笑话。但出乎西方媒体及印度国内某些不希望中印关系进一步恶化的人士的预料，中印领导人非正式会晤不仅如期举行，而且非常成功。两国领导人还商定，明年的非正式会晤将在印度举行。这体现了中印两国最高领导人对中印关系和全球及地区局势的高瞻远瞩和战略胸怀。

金奈非正式会晤之所以成功举行，主要有两方面原因：一方面，莫迪总理对于武汉非正式会晤时习近平主席关于世界百年未有之大变局和中印所处的历史方位的分析有所领悟。中印两国最高领导人的对话是有着数千年历史传承的两大现代东方文明国家的对话，是两种新兴经济体的对话。实现部古老文明的复兴以及亚洲文明复兴是两国最大的战略。中国希望从建设亚洲命运共同体，乃至人类命运共同体的高度看待中印关系。中印都认识到，两国不能落入西方按照地缘政治对抗的逻辑设定的陷阱。这是第二次金奈非正式会晤最终能够成功举行的前提之一。莫迪总理其实特别希望金奈非正式会晤能够成功举行，与他在美国举办的5万人集会一样，对莫迪政府来说，中印领导人非正式会晤也是印度大国崛起的象征。

另外，经济问题已经成为莫迪连任之后最大的挑战，印度希望改善对华贸
易赤字，并吸引中国的投资。在会晤前的磋商中，双方最终照顾到了彼此重大关切。其实在武汉非正式会晤时，习近平主席就提出了“中印+”的设想，表明中国希望在与南亚和印度洋地区国家开展经济合作时照顾到印度的利益。在金奈会晤时，印方对中印贸易不平衡问题非常关注。中国体谅印方的关切，表示希望看到印度经济发展，希望采取一切可以采取的措施削减中印贸易逆差，因此中方允诺继续加大对印度优势产品和产业开放市场，同时建立中印高级别经贸对话机制，加强两国经济发展战略对接。最终，两国领导人没有让历史遗留的分歧成为两国关系前进的阻力，而是从国家发展战略和全球大变局的高度商讨如何通过机构与机构间的交流，人与人之间的交流，加强沟通，加深相互理解，从而管控分歧，并最终消除分歧。

三、中印领导人非正式会晤的意义

如果说武汉非正式会晤带有一些临时性安排的性质，那么金奈非正式会晤的举行及其成功则标志着中印两国最高领导人非正式会晤的机制化，其重要意义主要表现在三个方面：

首先，最高领导人非正式会晤机制成为中印两国关系发展的终极保障和“定海神针”。在武汉非正式会晤之前发生的洞朗对峙，使得中印关系跌入低谷，而武汉非正式会晤不仅使两国关系得以恢复，而且还有所升温。在金奈非正式会晤之前，中印两国关系又因为印度单方面改变印控克什米尔的法律地位、两军在班公湖地区发生对峙、印军计划在边界地区举行大型军演和贸易赤字等问题出现紧张，使外界很多人认为金奈会晤很难举行。但金奈非正式会晤最终顺利举行，习近平主席在金奈和马玛拉普兰受到热烈欢迎，会晤取得巨大成功，说明中印关系受到两国最高领导人的密切关注和亲自把控，非正式会晤已经成为中印关系发展的终极保障，即使双边关系中出现一些问题，也不至于脱轨，并引发两国冲突。

其次，武汉和金奈的非正式会晤为中印关系指明了发展方向，现在中印两国关系是最高领导人驱动下的关系。在武汉非正式会晤中，两国领导人就国际形势、中印关系以及两国各领域合作等充分交换意见，达成重要共识。明确了世界大势和中印所处的历史方位，进一步确立了发展中印关系的重要指导原则，进一步勾画了中印全面合作的宏伟蓝图。而在金奈非正式会晤中，两国领导人对中印关系把舵定向，从战略高度和长远角度规划中印关系百年大计，为中印关系发展注入强劲内生动力，携手实现中印两大文明伟大复兴。既谈及正确看待对方发展、妥处分歧等关乎信任构建的问题，也指明军事、经贸、人文等具体领域合作
方向，还为下一步在国际和地区事务中的合作标注了“重点”。

最后，中印两国领导人非正式会晤机制的建立，表明中国真正将印度作为平起平坐的大国对待。以前，很多印度朋友总是认为中国瞧不起印度，没有将印度作为大国看待。今后这种看法已经没有根据了。除印度外，中国没有与其他国家举行过领导人非正式会晤。习近平主席在武汉以非正式的方式热情接待莫迪总理，不仅是对印度的尊重，而且也是对即将迎来第二次大选的莫迪总理和印度人民党的支持。而习近平主席排除困难参加第二次金奈非正式会晤，也表明了对莫迪总理政治议程的支持。莫迪总理连任之后，努力营造大国崛起的气象，加强中央对地方政府的权威，莫迪总理访美时举行5万人的聚会是出于这一目的。习主席对金奈的访问也是对莫迪总理的巨大支持，印证了习主席所说的中印两国应“相互照亮”。

四、中印关系的前景

中印领导人在武汉和金奈的非正式会晤为两国关系的发展指明了方向。但两国政府都必须清楚的是，中印关系的发展虽然有了终极保障，但仍然十分脆弱。中印关系的发展需要克服障碍，寻找更多的共识和增量。

阻碍中印关系发展的因素是很明显的。首先，中印两国关系是最高领导人驱动型的关系，需要两国社会各界支持和理解，不仅需要文化界、经济界的支持，更需要战略界的支持。只有社会各界支持，特别是战略界的支持，两国领导人所达成的共识才能得以贯彻执行。但印度外交界和战略界的精英，他们中的很多人在过去几十年中已经形成了思维定势——对于所谓“科学边界”的执念、地区霸主心态、势力范围观念、所谓的民主价值观和冷战思维，以及贪得无厌，经常利用一些敏感问题向对方施压，一个要求得不到满足就立即搁置双边关系发展的外交做派，一个要求得不到满足就立即搁置双边关系发展的外交做派，无一不会对两国领导人所达成共识的落实造成阻碍。两次非正式会晤之后，印度战略界精英仍在不断宣扬中方并未做出实质性让步。

其次，印度战略界精英认为中印关系的发展应该摆脱第三方因素的制约，即使中国不应将中印关系置于中美关系的框架下。但在现实中，印度战略界和外交界又企图利用第三方因素，利用所谓的大变局时刻、利用中美战略竞争对中国不断施压；印度还不断要求中国放弃与巴基斯坦等南亚国家的正常合作，并以此作为中方改善对印关系的试金石。印度的这些行为方式很难改变，这将对中印关系的发展带来不确定因素。

最后，现在印度社会的民族主义情绪对中印关系的发展是一个不利因素。无
论是成天叫嚣要在经济上超过中国，还是在经济上采取民族保护主义政策，要抵制中国商品，印度的民族主义情绪都不利于中印关系的发展。同时，印度政府所采取的许多带有宗教民族主义色彩的政策很可能会产生负面的溢出效应，损害与包括中国在内的邻国的关系，不利于地区和平与稳定。

五、如何推进中印关系

在世界面临巨大不确定的情况下，在百年未有之大变局面前，中印两国应该共同发扬武汉精神，建立新型大国关系，一起为世界和亚洲的和平繁荣做出贡献，而不应该使地区局势进一步复杂化。

首先，面对美国提出军事化的“印太”战略，并推动地区军事集团建设，亚太地区地缘政治竞争日趋激烈的局面，中印两国有责任共同努力，维护地区和平与稳定，这是两国实现进一步发展的必要条件。太平洋和印度洋是国际公域，不是哪家的势力范围，应该由大家一起维护其和平安宁。中国和印度有必要开展海洋秩序和海洋安全对话，协商建立非集团化、开放包容、民主平等的地区安全架构，这一架构可以包括域外大国在内，但地区内国家不应与域外国家联合制定一套规则强加给域内其他国家。

其次，面对贸易保护主义、逆全球化和地缘政治竞争阻碍地区经济合作的问题，中印两国应该共同推动建立开放型经济格局和区域经济合作新架构。印度政府决定不加入区域全面经济伙伴关系协议（RCEP）是错误的，将使印度失去融入全球化进程的最后机会。中国的经济活动在南亚和印度洋地区实际上受到热烈欢迎，这些国家非常希望有外来投资帮助它们发展基础设施和经济社会事业。在建设“一带一路”方面，世界各国应该合作，印度的“地区同安共荣”（Security and Growth for All in the Region, SAGAR）计划与中国的“一带一路”倡议完全可以对接。

最后，面对民族宗教冲突、领土边界争端，以及气候变化、水资源危机等非传统安全威胁，中印两大文明古国应做出表率：共同应对非传统安全问题；真正拿出诚意，通过谈判和协商解决领土边界问题；通过人文交流和文明对话增进相互了解。中印两国应相互适应，相互妥协，吸取西方国家的历史教训，借鉴德法等国二战后相互妥协的精神。中国确实应该考虑印度的感受、印度的诉求，但并不等于无条件地接受印度的所有要求。印度在发展对华关系时也应该设身处地地考虑一下自己提出的要求是否恰当。中印两国在处理双边关系时需要把握好尺度和分寸。
中日韩三国加强自贸合作符合各自国家利益，是推进实现亚太地区经济一体化的重要步骤。2019年底，第八次中日韩领导人会议召开并发表了《中日韩合作未来十年展望》，拟定了深化三国合作的战略性规划，为中日韩经贸关系提质升级奠定了良好基调。但是，鉴于当前全球经济增速放缓、地区地缘政治经济摩擦加剧、新冠肺炎疫情形势紧张等，中日韩经贸合作前景也面临着困难与挑战。

一、把握中日韩经贸合作新机遇

中日韩经贸合作，特别是建立中日韩自贸区的构想早在2002年底召开的三国领导人会议上即已正式提出。三国政府及学界对其可行性及对各自产业、行业等的影响进行了长期研讨与评估。在2008年全球金融危机的冲击下，为增强抵御区域外风险的能力，三国将密切经贸合作，加速自贸区谈判进程列入政策选项。2013年以来，中日韩已完成十六轮自贸谈判，虽达成不少共识，但是尚未取得实质性突破。目前，中日韩关系中出现积极动向为三国密切经贸合作创造了新的有利条件。

（一）中日关系持续回暖。安倍政府较为积极改善对华关系主要基于两点，一是在特朗普强势的单边主义政策下，其以美为主的外交路线收获有限，不得不回归现实。二是希借助中国发展提振日本经济。“安倍经济学”各项刺激方案政策效果已接近极限，制约日本经济的长期通缩、生产力下降、人口减少等问题一时难以突破。为延续景气扩张势头，安倍希望借中国经济持续增长及推动“一带一路”倡议的东风，在产能、财政、金融、第三方市场合作
等领域拓展双方经济关系空间。

首先，两国政治关系改善。2018年，李克强总理出席第七次中日韩领导人会议并正式访日。这是继温家宝总理2011年访日以来，中国领导人首次正式访问日本，标志两国关系回归正常轨道。随后，日本首相安倍访华，也是7年来日本领导人首次访问中国。安倍政府对亚投行、“一带一路”倡议等态度转向积极，明确愿与中国在“一带一路”框架下开展合作。2019年，在大阪G20峰会期间习近平主席与安倍会面，双方达成十项共识。

再者，双边贸易止跌回升。中日贸易额连续数年低迷。2015年跌幅高达-15.3%。2017年止跌回升。2018年，中日双边货物进出口总额为3030亿美元。其中，日本对华出口1497亿美元，增长6.8%，自中国进口1807亿美元，增长4%。中国继续成为日本第二大出口贸易伙伴，与其第一大出口贸易伙伴美国之间的差距缩小；中国还继续坐稳日本第一大进口贸易伙伴地位。2019年，受中美贸易摩擦加剧等因素影响，中日贸易增长势头出现一定波动。据初步统计，中日贸易额为2.17万亿元，仅微增0.4%。

第三，安全谅解有所进展。中日两国安全防务交流增加。2018年，中日达成《中日海空联络机制备忘录》，启用防止偶发冲突的“海空联络机制”，以避免双方在海空域“擦枪走火”，以防演变为严重军事冲突。这是近年来中日在管控双方领土等领域分歧，防范两国关系受到冲击，突破安全困境方面的重要进展。2019年4月，日本海上自卫队护卫舰出席在青岛举行的国际观舰式。8月，涉及防务、外交等议题的中日战略对话时隔7年重启。10月，中国导弹驱逐舰“太原”号访问日本。12月，中日防长再度举行会谈。同期，安倍政府在南海、印太战略等问题上或少有谈及或调门降低。

（二）中韩关系加速修复。中韩关系在朴槿惠政府时期一度达到两国建交以来最佳水平，但当美韩正式宣布落户部署萨德导弹防御系统，关系迅速冷却。2017年，韩国文在寅政府上台开始改善对华关系，表达“三不”立场，即不追加萨德系统、不加入美国反导体系、不发展韩美日三方军事同盟，并确认无意损害中方安全利益。中韩关系实现转圜，贸易额快速回升，2018年，韩国与中国双边货物进出口额为2686.4亿美元，同比增长了11.9%。双方关系加速修复主要基于如下动因：

首先，中韩经济相互依赖程度高。中国是韩国第一大贸易伙伴，韩国是中国第三大贸易伙伴，第四大出口最终目的国，第一大进口来源国。韩国经济增长得益于庞大的中国市场，三星、现代等财团均以中国为第一大市场。中国对韩国技术、产品、市场有需求，双方在电子产品领域内合作关系尤为密切。
再者，韩国文在寅政府推行的“新北方政策”、“新南方政策”与中国“一带一路”倡议在较大程度上存在呼应，两国都有意探讨双方在东南亚、南亚等第三方市场开展更广泛经济合作的可能性。

最后，从当前朝鲜半岛局势来看，文在寅政府施行较为温和的对朝政策，中国肯定朝韩双方持续推进和解和合作的政策与行动。中韩在推动实现半岛无核化，化解地区紧张局势，创造有利于地区和平与繁荣的外部环境方面态度一致。

（三）日韩关系破冰。此轮日韩关系恶化的导火索是慰安妇、二战劳工补偿问题。2017年10月，韩国最高法院裁定支持二战时期遭日本强征的韩国劳工的索赔权。之后，韩国又宣布《慰安妇协议》无效，并于次年解散“和解与治愈基金会”，事实上废除了此前日韩在相关问题上的谅解与协议。双方在历史遗留问题和政治领域的矛盾再次激化，直至演变为经贸冲突。2019年7月，日本宣布对出口韩国的含氟聚酰亚胺、半导体光刻胶和高纯半导体用氟化氢三种材料实行管制，并正式将韩国排除出贸易优惠“白名单”，进一步加强对韩国出口管控。韩国电子产业等面临重大冲击，韩国政府也采取一系列反制措施。双方对立姿态保持至今，但已出现缓和迹象。两国通过部长级对话等渠道保持关系不至于继续恶化。日本随后适当放宽上述半导体材料对韩采取的出口管制措施。韩国也续签《日韩军事情报保护协定》，并暂停向世界贸易组织起诉日本。

当前中日、中韩、韩日关系虽不尽如人意，但总体来看仍是中日韩启动自贸谈判以来最有利的局面。特别是美国特朗普政府实行“美国优先”贸易保护主义政策，对中日韩及其产业链合作造成巨大压力，促使三国谋求合作动力增强。中日韩成都领导人会议由政府高层从政治上肯定并强化了三方化解分歧，提升贸易自由化水平，促进地区经济一体化的意愿和目标。

二、中日韩经贸合作面临新挑战

如前所述，中日韩经贸合作进程呈现较为明显的外部危机驱动型特征。当前，全球和亚太地区经济、政治形势复杂，推动三国再次走近，寻求深化、升级经贸合作新路径，以应对变局与危机。加之，与十几年前相比，中日韩三国各自综合国力及相对地位已出现较大改变，经贸合作前景面临新的挑战和更大挑战。

（一）三国经贸相互依赖关系变化。总体而言，三国相互依赖关系有所削弱和失衡。2008年全球金融危机激发中日韩抱团取暖的意愿，探讨建立自贸区以减少外部冲击，增进整体福利。之后，中日、中韩、日韩间贸易绝对数额仍在增长，但在各自全球贸易中的占比发生明显变化。2007年，中日、中韩货物贸易额

（二）三国产业相互竞争性增强。从全球范围来看，中日韩均已是制造业强国。在部分产业上，如电子行业，三国各为产业链上重要环节，互补协作的一面突出，区内贸易活跃。日本企业在半导体材料生产等上游占据相对垄断地位，韩国企业在科技含量较高的存储器、面板及元器件等方面占据相对优势，中国企业生产技术含量相对较低的材料、元器件等并完成封装、组装。以华为P30 pro手机为例，按照成本金额计算，在一部整机中，日韩提供的元器件占比分别为23%、7.7%，中国大陆本土占比为38.1%。但随着中国制造业技术水平提高，在全球价值链向中上游攀升速度加快，汽车及其零部件、石油化工等行业相对日本、韩国竞争力明显增强。至于农业，更是三国均致力于特别保护的行业领域。日、韩农业利益集团长期是反对任何自贸协定的主力。目前，日本对进口商品的加权平均关税税率仅为2.45%，但是对食品、蔬菜的税率则分别达12.66%和17.75%。韩国则更甚，对进口商品的加权平均关税税率仅为4.83%，对食品、蔬菜的税率分别达14.40%和112.36%。中日韩加大农产品市场相互开放程度难度不小。日、韩此前占据优势的文化娱乐、电子竞技等行业竞争性日益突出。

（三）地缘政治经济环境复杂化。美国将亚太地区，特别是东亚地区视为其全球战略的前沿地带，其相关政策调整对地区政治经济环境及中日韩合作关系影响巨大。鉴于中国综合国力迅速增长等因素，奥巴马执政后期，美国制定并实施“重返亚太”战略，试图推动有关国家缔结“跨太平洋伙伴关系协定”（Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement，简称TPP），维护其地区秩序的主导地位。2017年底，特朗普政府则在其《国家安全战略报告》中明确将中国定位为“竞争对手”，为其后加大与亚太事务介入力度，实施对华全面遏制政策与行动提供支持。目前，一方面美国全面调整与中日韩的经贸关系和地区经济利益分配格局，在与中国贸易摩擦持续加剧并展开紧张谈判的同时，美国依其意志推动与韩国修订《美韩自由贸易协定》，与日本达成《美日贸易协定》、《美日数字贸易协定》，基本满足其利益诉求。中美经贸谈判历时近两年，达成《中美政府经贸协

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议》，两国经贸关系结构性调整进程步入新阶段，中美经贸关系的最紧迫课题从“脱钩”的忧虑，转变为如何在新的条件下“挂钩”的问题。另一方面，美国逐步落实印太战略，密切与印度、日本等重点国家的协作关系，在加强军事、政治部署的同时，意图通过调动投资、制定“蓝点网络”（Blue Dot Network）计划等手段充实这一战略的经济内容。而且，朝鲜半岛、南海、台海问题等也牵动相关各方核心利益，成为域外力量随时可利用，牵制中日韩经贸合作进程的不稳定因素。

三、务实推进中日韩经贸合作

当前中国在协调三国经贸合作方面处于相对主动地位，一是导致此次日韩经贸冲突的根源没有解决，而是被暂时搁置，双边关系短期内难有实质改观。相比之下，中国与日本、韩国关系则稳中有升。二是，日本、韩国对中国市场依赖程度大，产业链协作需求强。此次新冠肺炎疫情对电子、汽车等产业的冲击再次突出了中国在地区价值链上承上启下的枢纽作用。三是，日本、韩国有对冲美国贸易保护主义政策冲击，并在国际贸易新规则制定方面争取更大话语权的意愿。

（一） 拓展数字贸易等三方合作新领域。中日韩自贸谈判或会加速，但近期达成一揽子自贸协定难度大。除了受到政治、历史问题纠缠外，三方对货物贸易、服务贸易、双边投资等领域的自由化、便利化水平期待差异仍大。日韩曾在2005年前进行过六轮自贸谈判，无果而终。中日自贸谈判则从未正式启动。中韩自贸协定则因其落后于实际而尚待更新。目前，三国传统经贸关系正在经历调整，但产业合作基础稳固，难以出现颠覆性变化。为保持三方经贸合作的活力，亟待就代表全球经贸活动发展新方向的议题，特别是数字贸易展开讨论。世贸组织早在1998年即着手建章立制，对通过信息技术进行的跨境交易行为加以约束。近些年来，数字贸易在全球范围迅猛增长，对传统贸易方式、价值增长模式、服务贸易发展、国际贸易格局、经济一体化进程等产生全面而深刻的影响。据世贸组织研究估计，2016年，全球电子商务交易价值即已高达27.7万亿美元。2019年，76个世贸组织成员宣布启动电子商务或数字贸易谈判。全球数字贸易规则制定正由美、欧主导并形成了两种模式。日、韩与美、欧达成或修订的贸易协定中均有关于数字贸易的内容。从全球范围看，中日韩均处于数字经济发展的前列，信息技术基础设施较强，数字经济生态较为完善。金融危机以来，三国均制定了一系列加速发展数字经济的规划。日本发布《日本制造业白皮书》《集成创新战略》等；韩国发布了《创新增长引擎五年计划》等。目前，三国之中，仅中韩之
间通过自贸协定对数字贸易内容有所涉及，中日韩可否早日就该领域达成共识，将直接影响三国经贸合作关系发展的广度和深度。在今后中日韩自贸谈判中，三方亟待就数字贸易中的关键议题，如知识产权保护、关税征收、跨境数据流动与数据存储本地化、个人信息保护、网络安全等展开深入讨论。目前，中日韩是全球产业链的亚洲中心，贸易总额在全球贸易中占比约1/5。据预测，2018-2022年，中日韩电子商务的复合增长率将分别达12%、7%和6.2%。三国如能在数字贸易规则方面取得突破，将有助于打造全球数字经济的亚洲枢纽，在国际贸易新规则制定方面确立有利地位。

（二）通过RCEP等多边机制带动中日韩三边合作。中日韩经贸合作水平与亚太地区经济一体化发展进程密切相关。2019年11月，第三次《区域全面经济伙伴关系协定》（Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership，简称RCEP）领导人会议在泰国曼谷召开，发表了第三次领导人会议联合声明，宣布RCEP成员国已结束全部20个章节的文本谈判以及实质上所有市场准入问题谈判，并将在2020年签署协定。RCEP对中日韩关于自由贸易的不同时期具有较强的包容性。日本跨CPTPP、RCEP、中日韩经贸合作等区域合作进程，既是水平较高的CPTPP的主要推手，也是RCEP的重要参与者，还是影响中日韩合作成败的关键角色。目前，日本认为RCEP标准不高，更为重视CPTPP，将其视为在亚太区域合作进程中加强自身经济、外交影响力的基石，并认为其更能体现未来全球自由贸易规则的发展趋势。但CPTPP的11个成员国GDP总量仅占全球GDP的13%，规模和影响力具有局限性。日本期待在未来扩员计划中发挥主导作用，借此提升其对地区事务和规则制定的话语权。韩国目前对日本、澳大利亚等主导的CPTPP有所忌惮，认为有关条款将损害其农业、汽车等行业利益，至今与之保持距离。至于RCEP，鉴于其自贸标准和水平，韩国对其能够带来的贸易利益增量评估不高。而且，事实上，韩国已与除菲律宾、泰国之外的RCEP所有成员签有双边自贸协定。

但是，RCEP可在中日韩尚未达成高水平自贸协定的情况下，为三国提供相当于自贸区的贸易、投资便利与自由，并减缓或回避历史问题等对双边经贸合作关系的冲击。而且从长远看，RCEP巨大的市场、贸易规模及其主要经济体的发展潜力所支持的地缘政治经济影响力不可低估。

（三）鼓励“一带一路”项目与日韩区域发展规划对接。几年来，日韩对于“一带一路”倡议的态度由初期的疑惑、观望转为接触、互动。2017年，日本自民党干事长等出席“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛。随后，安倍首相积极评价“一带一路”倡议，并提出印太战略与“一带一路”倡议相互联系的可能性。2018年5月，双方签署中日企业开展第三方市场合作的备忘录。双方企业“一带
“一带一路”沿线第三方市场恶性竞争的局面有所缓和。总体上，日本对“一带一路”心态复杂，一方面希望借助美国主导的印太战略对冲“一带一路”的发展势头，另一方面希望把握“一带一路”倡议所创造的经济机遇。同时，又想在区域发展路线方面展现大国的政策自主性，着意使用“印太构想”，减少对抗意味。韩国文在寅政府为寻求经济、外交突破，视其经济关系向北方的俄罗斯、蒙古、中国等以及向南方的东南亚地区，特别是东盟、印度拓展，相应地提出了所谓“新北方政策”与“新南方政策”，并就实施两项政策与“一带一路”倡议对接提出全面具体设想。但是，韩国推动“新北方政策”受朝鲜半岛局势、美俄关系等因素牵制较大，南向政策则较为活跃。于是，中日韩三国的区域发展设想规划在东盟地区出现较高程度的重合。这一状况也符合产业转移的客观规律。目前，东盟市场成长迅速，对交通、电力等基础设施建设需求旺盛，为开展三方合作准备了有利条件。中日韩可各自发挥比较优势，求同存异，建立良性的竞合模式，实现共赢。为此，我亦可考虑从三个方面推动优化“一带一路”倡议，一是透明化。增加开放度、透明度，项目的招投标、融资等信息应公开易得，竞争程序公开，更具竞争性等。二是市场化。发挥企业自主性和市场配置资源的积极作用，创新在第三方市场的竞争合作模式，避免排他性运作方式。三是机制化。与日韩等国家就项目规划、运作、管理等探讨建立互动合作机制的可行性。
论当前世界经济生态之丕变

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如果视2018年为中美经济“大清算”的一年，2019年更像是世界经济“分水岭”的标志年。这一年，全球宏观经济环境的严峻前所未有，发达经济体日益诉诸保护、单边主义手段，国际经济治理机制趋向失效。2020年伊始，新冠疫情突如其来，对中国经济形成直接冲击，世界经济增长承压加大，面临新的较大不确定性。

世界经济刚于2018年取得十年来最快增速（3.8%），2019年便掉头向下，大幅放缓至2000年以来最低增幅。2019年10月，国际货币基金组织（IMF）将2019年全球经济增速大幅下调至3%，称这是2017年全球同步回升后的一次严重倒退，且距全球经济衰退已然不远（IMF将2.5%定义为“衰退门槛”）。总裁格奥尔基耶娃警告，全球90%的地区同步放缓，全球经济增速恐跌至本世纪以来最低。

发达经济体明显放缓。欧元区经济放缓超预期。欧洲央行早在2019年2月就预测，因全球贸易疲软和英脱欧乱局等内外风险形成“完美风暴”，欧元区将“显著放缓”。据欧央行最新预测，欧元区2019和2020年实际GDP仅增1.1%和1.2%，较2018年12月预测分别下降0.6和0.5个百分点，均远低于2018年的1.8%。IMF指出，2018年以来欧元区出口疲弱是重要制约因素。欧元区中，意大利2019年将陷入经济停滞；德国面临技术性衰退，预计仅增长0.5%；法国相对较好，预计增长1.2%。日本三年来首次下调经济形势评估。OECD预测，日本经济2019、2020年分别增长0.8%、0.7%，低于2018年1.1%。

美国作为全球头号经济体，是近年来发达经济体中表现最亮丽的，但经济走势变数增大，风险持续升高。据美国商务部公布的数据显示，2019年四个季度美国实际GDP按年率计算分别增长3.1%、
2%、2.1%、2.1%，全年增长2.3%；美联储预计，2019年增长2.2%，均明显低于2018年2.9%的增速，距离特朗普政府3%的增长目标则更远。

2020年2月20日，美国白宫网站发布长达435页的总统年度经济报告，对特政府施政“大加赞美”，报告称美国增速超出了预期，劳动力市场强劲，薪资水平上涨，失业率创历史新低。然而，2月底3月初开始，新冠疫情在欧洲迅速蔓延，意大利紧急实施全国“封城”，美金融市场恐慌蔓延。3月中下旬，美确诊病例大幅攀升，并取代欧洲成为全球疫情“震中”，疫情对美国经济的冲击迅速从金融市场向实体经济扩散。

美国股市从“疯牛”转为“熊市”。2019年底，道琼斯工业指数再创历史新高，至28600点，全年上涨22.3%，为自2017年以来的最佳年度表现；标普500指数2019年的涨幅为29.2%，市值创纪录增加近6万亿美元，可谓是“标志性的一年”，至3200点上方；年末科技股为主的纳斯达克指数首次冲破9000点，全年上涨35.2%，创下6年来最佳年度表现。标普500指数十年来累计上涨189.72%，道指累涨173.67%，纳指累涨295.42%。但是，新冠疫情在欧美的蔓延令华尔街史上最快速度跌入“熊市”。2月下旬开始，美国三大股指开始掉头向下。道琼斯指数2月12日一度冲高至近30000点，此后在不到25天的时间内跌超20%，超过1929年华尔街股市崩盘时的速度，3月底更滑至22000点左右，跌幅约27%。3月9日至18日，美国股市四度触发熔断保护机制（1987年至今一共仅五次），市场恐慌指数飙升，美国债利率暴跌，市场流动性严重短缺，市场信心遭受重挫。

增长动力减弱。首先，制造业疲不能兴。2019年10月29日，美国商务部发布的数据显示，第二季度，美国制造业增加值占美国GDP比重为11%，降至72年来新低。截至2019年11月，美国制造业PMI已连续四个月处于荣枯线50以下，意味着制造业已经陷入收缩。过去三年，特朗普政府呼吁大力重振美国制造业，但制造业占美国比重反而下降。此番，受疫情蔓延和供应链断裂影响，美国制造业，特别是汽车、机械、精密仪器等部门受到重创，福特、通用、菲亚特·克莱斯勒、本田等均关停在美国工厂；波音公司生产停滞、股价急跌，陷入破产边缘。其次，占美国经济总量七成的服务业受到直接冲击。2月份服务业采购经理人指数仅为49.4，为2016年以来首次萎缩，旅游、电影院线、航空、交通等部门遭受较大冲击。再次，美国股市泡沫破灭强化负“财富效应”，打击消费和投资。3月24日，美国商务部公布的2月核心资本货物订单下滑0.8%，降幅比市场预期高出一倍，显示企业投资萎缩加剧。3月，美国密歇根大学消费者信心指数从2月的101降至89.1，为2016年以来最低，创自2008年10月以来最大单月跌幅。预计，一季度美国消费支出将温和下降，二季度将出现更大幅度的收缩。此外，疫情下
全球需求萎缩、国际人员与商品流动遇阻、美元指数节节攀升，均打压美国商品的全球需求。美经济咨商局预计，2020年一季度美出口将萎缩3%，二、三季度也不乐观。

失业大幅飙升。3月15日至21日的一周中，美国首次申请失业救济的人数飙升至328万，几乎是1982年10月创下的纪录（69.5万）的5倍。美国银行预计，二季度至少350万人失业，平均每月100多万，远超2008年每月75万。圣路易斯联储预测，二季度美国失业率或达到30%，高盛则预测全年将达到9%。

美国“逆周期调节”的政策空间有限。2018年美国经济增速接近3%，美联储顺势进行了4次加息，将联邦基金利率目标区间逐步提升到2.25%至2.5%。2019年美联储利率走势出现“180度大转弯”，连续3次降息，将利率下调到1.5%至1.75%的水平。2020年3月初以来，为应对疫情引发的金融市场恐慌，美联储重拳出击，将联邦基金利率、银行准备金率、隔夜回购利率等降至零附近；在大规模购买市政债券的同时，宣布将“无上限”购买国债和抵押贷款。目前，除企业债、股票、交易型开放式指数基金外，美联储已购买和持有几乎所有类别资产。3月25日，美联储资产总额膨胀至创史无前例的5.3万亿美元。美智库指出，应对本次冲击，财政政策或许比货币政策更加有效。但是，美国政府能够腾挪使用的财政政策空间也并不富裕。2020年3月底，美国国会通过2.2万亿美元的经济刺激计划，恐进一步加剧美国政府的财政和债务负担。2019年美国联邦政策财政赤字率已达到GDP的4.7%，接近1990-1991年衰退时的水平。穆迪估计，2020年美预算缺口将达2.1万亿美元，2021年将达1.8万亿美元，超过2009年1.5万亿美元的纪录。目前，美联储债务总额已达23.08万亿美元，占GDP的112%，严重制约政府推出基建、二次税改等扩张性财政政策的能力。

此外，困扰美国经济的还有一系列结构性问题。例如，美人口增长率创百年新低。2019年12月30日，美国人口普查局发布数据，由于出生率下降，死亡人数增加以及国际移民来美趋势的放缓，过去一年美国人口增长率创近一百年来新低。根据人口普查局数据，美国从2018年到2019年人口增长了将近0.5%，即约150万人，今年全美人口为3.28亿。美联社称，由于“婴儿潮”一代的人口老龄化，美国人口的自然增长（出生人数减去死亡人数）在数十年来首次少于100万，而“婴儿潮”一代年龄最大的成员在过去几年中达到70岁。随着大量的“婴儿潮”人口不断老龄化，这种趋势将继续下去，经济增长难以为继，增长潜力严重受损。

美国经济肥了富人，瘦了穷人，贫富差距进一步扩大。美国是目前唯一一个有数百万处于饥饿状态的发达国家。2018年美国人口普查局的统计数据显示，
美国仍有3970万贫困人口，每晚至少有50万人无家可归，有6500万人因医疗费用过高而放弃治疗。西方国家中，美国的贫富分化最为严重，且近年来不断加剧。美国最富有的10%的家庭占有全部家庭净资产的近75%；1989年至2018年，最底层50%的家庭财富净增长基本为零。近十年美国经济增长，特别是资本市场的“极度繁荣”与大部分民众无关：最富有的10%美国人中有超过85%的个人持有股票，但多数美国人感到自己的工资和房价赶不上富人的投资。

美国单边主义贸易政策对本国企业打击更加明显，企业对美国经济前景越来越缺乏信心。美国大型企业高管组成的“商业圆桌会议”最近公布的数据显示，反映美企高管信心的经济前景指数连续7个季度下滑。其中，68%的企业高管表示不会在未来半年增加资本投资，60%的高管表示不会在未来半年扩大招聘。

预计在新冠疫情、周期性和结构性因素的共同作用下，美国此轮经济增长周期将很快戛然而止。美国经济此轮扩张始于2009年6月，迄今127个月，为美国历史上最长扩张周期，超过上世纪90年代的120个月。但是，此轮增长主要建立在超宽松货币政策之上，难以摆脱“高债务”“高泡沫”“低增长”阴影，平均实际增速仅为1.6%，为二战后12次增长周期中最低。实际上，从2019年二季度起，美国增速已然下滑，长期国债收益率多次倒挂，衰退信号频现。受疫情冲击，美国经济一季度陷入停滞，二、三季度或大幅下行。美国银行、高盛、摩根士丹利、圣路易斯联储分别预测，二季度美国经济将萎缩12%、24%、30%和50%，远超2008年金融危机冲击。2020年全年，美国经济大概率陷入负增长，具体幅度取决于美国国内疫情防控效果、国际合作力度等因素。市场普遍预测，三季度美国经济有望得到控制，前期积压的消费和投资需求将反弹性释放。基于此，标普、美国银行、惠誉、高盛等分别预测，美国全年经济增速将为-0.5%、-0.8%、-1%和-3.8%。

大型新兴经济体集体滑坡。印度由于投资下滑、消费放缓、就业增长乏力，已处于“建国以来最持续衰退”，2019年上半年仅增5.4%。其中，三季度下滑至5%，为连续五个季度放缓，并创近6年新低。10月4日，印度央行将2019年增速预期从6.9%下调至6.1%。10月10日，评级机构穆迪将印度增速从6.2%降至5.8%。此外，IMF预测墨西哥和俄罗斯2019年增速仅为0.4%和1.1%，较2018年分别减缓0.5和0.1个百分点；南非为0.7%，与上年持平；巴西略有起色，从0.8%微增至0.9%。

整体看，当前世界经济生态呈现五大明显变化：

**世界经济增长开始步入减速期。**受人口老龄化、教育不均等、不平等加剧、反全球化思潮、能源环境问题及债务高企等因素拖累，全球劳动生产率增速大幅
放缓，近年来连续出现负增长，世界经济正快速从“做大蛋糕”向“分蛋糕”转变，新的增长点和增长动力尚不明。2019年10月，世贸组织（WTO）将本年度世界贸易增速从2.6%大幅下调至1.2%，为2009年以来最低。据经合组织预测，未来5年，世界经济实际增速将在近20年来首次降至3%以下。世行称，未来10年世界经济潜在增速将低于过去30年。世界经济正滑入低增长、低利率、低通胀、高债务轨道。

美西方经济“柏林墙”越筑越高。单边主义趋强。近年来，美欧诸国失势群体扩大，社会对立加剧，民粹思潮蔓延，对外包容度下降，为国际经济交往设置“高门槛”和“严条件”。美西方从征收关税、严审投资、封锁技术、金融制裁等方面，大力挤压他国及彼此间企业的生存空间。贸易政策趋硬。美是本轮全球贸易战的策源地。美国这一波贸易保护和单边主义势头甚！外溢影响盛！将使全球经济秩序呈现加速演变态势。外资审查趋严。近年来，随着新兴经济体对外投资的迅猛上升，美欧外资政策排外性增强，包括严格外资审查制度、宽泛解释“国家安全”、明确禁止敏感基础设施等特殊领域的外国投资。美进一步更新技术出口管制清单，禁止外企参与特定的政府补贴项目。

美国的单边主义、脱钩或威胁他国选边站是建墙，本质上英国脱欧也是建墙。脱欧本来是个“黑天鹅”，拖了3年拖成了个“灰犀牛”。认为英国脱欧不确定性已消除的说法还为时尚早！无论有无协议脱欧，可以说，英国脱欧完成之日，或就是高墙竖起之时。

新兴经济体阵营呈现多年来未见之分化。增长潜力受抑。新兴经济体多为出口导向型经济体，经济增长高度依赖外部需求，随着国际经济合作氛围持续转差，新兴经济体受较大冲击。同时受美对华遏制影响，部分新兴经济体被迫“选边站队”，面临发展道路选择的困惑。增长分化。IMF2019年10月预计，墨西哥、俄罗斯、巴西、南非等有望从0.4%—1.1%低增长区间小幅上升。亚洲新兴经济体，包括越南、菲律宾等将继续受益于产业链调整，2020年增速有望分别达到6.5%、6.2%。而委内瑞拉、阿根廷等拉美国家经济前景不容乐观，1月或大幅下调2019—2020年印度经济增速至6%以下。内部博弈上升。由于世界经济增速放缓，市场整体需求下降，新兴经济体间合作“小气候”转差。新兴经济体间合作“小气候”转差。印度担心中国竞争压力而拒绝加入RCEP（区域全面经济伙伴关系协定），而巴西主动放弃其在WTO中属于发展中国家的“特殊和差别待遇”，不利于金砖国家以统一步调推进WTO改革。

资本全球放水史无前例。2019年来，包括美国、欧盟在内的全球超过30个国家或地区先后宣布降息。主要国家对货币宽松的“毒瘾”难戒，面对越来越不熟
悉的内外环境，采取许多非常规举措应对包括量化宽松、负利率、永续债、停收佣金等导致全球金融市场生态畸变，负利率资产迅速膨胀，虚实脱离、资金空转日益严重，投机资本不断寻找新的集结地，推动全球债务规模持续攀升，资产价格崩盘风险飙升。美国统计口径下的“广义货币”已经超过15.3万亿美元，比2008年金融危机发生时翻了一倍多。IMF数据称，处于高债务压力风险或面临债务压力风险的低收入发展中国家数量已从2013年的13个增加到2019年的32个。

全球经济治理机制和政策“大转弯”，难以提供世界经济增长的“缓冲”与“保险”。当前，美主导的自由主义国际秩序正在消解，而新的平衡、合理的国际秩序尚未形成。国际事务中，经济逻辑的主导性明显下降，意识形态和政治安全逻辑重要性上升，国际经济合作理念基础受到明显侵蚀。

特朗普利用“搞退出”“拖任命”“卡预算”等做法，严重干扰多个国际多边机构的正常运行。2019年底，世贸组织上诉机制停摆，2020年或由于资金不足而部分瘫痪。从2018年10月中旬至2019年5月中旬，世界贸易组织成员共实施38项新贸易限制措施，涉及贸易额3395亿美元。“全球贸易预警”组织指出，各国2019年前10个月推出的促进贸易和投资政策措施出现7年来最大降幅。与此同时，危机后曾处于国际经济治理核心的G20效用大为降低；宏观经济协调能力有限，国际金融改革停滞不前，货币竞争越演越烈，单边“金融霸凌”频繁上演。

面对复杂不确定的国际经济环境，中国积极参与国际规则重塑，以国际合作应对美国的单边主义、保护主义。双边层面，2020年1月13日，与美达成第一阶段贸易协定，对中美两国经济、世界经济稳定都有利；积极运筹中欧关系，巩固双方在气候变化、WTO改革等方面共同利益，稳步推进中欧投资协定谈判，尽力缓解欧对我产业补贴、市场准入、技术转让等领域疑虑。地区层面，联合东盟力促RCEP尽快签署，推动中日韩自贸谈判取得实质性进展；多边层面，针对WTO上诉机构瘫痪，推动与欧、日、加拿大、印度、巴西等有影响力成员方就临时机制进行讨论，探索建立不包括美国的替代方案。中国可推动国际反避税合作和数字税规则尽快形成。同时，积极反制美西方力推的歧视性经贸议程，争取更多国家对中国市场经济地位的承认，对冲美针对所谓非市场经济的“毒丸条款”。

当前，突如其来的新冠疫情增大中国经济下行风险。中小企业面临生存危机，就业问题尤为突出。2月20日，国际货币基金组织（IMF）总裁格奥尔基耶娃预测指出，疫情对中国经济的影响将呈V形曲线，先是急剧下降，然后在疫情得到控制后迅速反弹，但不排除可能会出现另一种情况，即呈U型曲线走势，对经济的影响会持续更长时间。美国财政部官员表示，受疫情影响中国经济增速将在第一季下降，然后大幅反弹，但疫情若进一步恶化，影响可能会更大。疫情对经
济影响的大小也取决于疫情防控的进展和成效。IMF、世界银行等国际机构均认同，中国经济向好趋势没变，政府有足够的政策空间应对疫情。

需要警惕的是，新冠疫情呈现的蔓延之势如不能及时遏止，将致本来脆弱复苏的世界经济面临更大的不确定性。IMF之前预计，世界经济增速将从2019年的2.9%上升至2020年的3.3%和2021年的3.4%。疫情冲击下，全球市场震荡加大，产业、供应已现“掉链”风险。IMF总裁格奥尔基耶娃最新表态趋于保守，指出在疫情爆发的情况下要准确预测全球经济增长为时尚早。2月19日，IMF警告指出，新冠疫情可能会破坏全球经济预计在2020年出现的“极其脆弱的”复苏。也有分析警告，新冠疫情对经济的影响，可能不亚于2008年国际金融危机带来的冲击。但多数业内人士指出，由于2019年全球央行陆续实施量化宽松，美中贸易战影响降低，加之中国防控疫情的努力正有效降低世界经济面临的风险，新兴市场或将成为经济增长引擎，进而带动全球经济增长趋稳。
BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THE CPIFA

The Chinese People’s Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) was established on December 15, 1949, the same year of the founding of the People’s Republic of China. As the first institute devoted to people-to-people diplomacy of the PRC, CPIFA was founded at the initiative of the late Premier Zhou Enlai. Premier Zhou Enlai and the late Vice Premier Chen Yi both once served as the Honorary President of the Institute.

The purposes of CPIFA are to enhance people-to-people friendship, to facilitate state-to-state relations, and to pursue world peace, development and cooperation. To this end, CPIFA takes the initiative to establish and maintain relations with prestigious political and social activists, parliaments, think tanks, media, etc., to carry out dialogues and communications on bilateral relations, major international and regional issues based on the exchange mechanism of Track II diplomacy, to conduct public diplomacy activities by hosting and organizing some major forums and conferences, to study international situation and foreign policies, and to publish the English quarterly journal, Foreign Affairs Journal.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC), guided by Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era and Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy, CPIFA is committed to “making friends for the country” by taking concerted actions with China’s overall diplomacy, expanding foreign exchanges, telling Chinese stories, promoting interaction between China and the rest of the world, and facilitating the building of a community with a shared future for mankind.

To date, CPIFA has hosted the visits of over 30,000 guests of 4,000 plus delegations including foreign prestigious statesmen, parliament members, think tanks, media, etc. The Institute maintains contacts with famous statesmen, diplomats, social activists, entrepreneurs, experts and scholars on international studies from over 120 countries and has established more than 20 bilateral dialogue and exchange mechanisms.