

China's Economic Diplomacy Entered the New Era

By Zhang Jun*

China's economic diplomacy in 2017 was unveiled with President Xi Jinping's important speech at the opening session of the World Economic Forum annual meeting in Davos. The speech captured broad interest of and resulted in in-depth studies by the global political, business, media and academic communities. It is generally agreed that President Xi's reassuring and encouraging speech provided the answer to fundamental issues concerning the complex situation of world economy and economic globalization, charted the course for the confused international community and helped various parties reach consensus, demonstrating the responsibility and leadership of China as a major country.

This was an episode of President Xi's diplomatic activities in recent years, and also an epitome of China's economic diplomacy in the new era. In recent

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years, China successfully hosted the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Beijing and the G20 Summit in Hangzhou. President Xi's economic diplomacy can be found on many important international occasions such as the UN Sustainable Development Summit, BRICS Summit, G20 Summit and APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting, where he proposed China's initiatives, solutions and ideas. China's economic diplomacy now stands at a new historical starting point with more distinct features of the time.

I. Guiding World Economy

Since the outbreak of international financial crisis in 2008, the international community has been actively exploring effective ways for recovery, yet has not seen much progress. The world economy faces increasing uncertainties and instability with slow growth, lackluster global trade and investment, rising trend of protectionism and de-globalization, accelerated restructuring of global industrial, supply and value chains and major changes in the geopolitical landscape. China now ranks second in total economic volume, first in manufacturing and trade in goods, and third in utilizing foreign investment and making outbound investment. For the world economy, China is not only an anchor, but also an engine and tractor. China is also seeking measures and ways to get the world economy out of trouble and actively sharing China's solutions with various parties. On many important occasions, based on China's own development experience and ideas, President Xi took the pulse of the world economy and provided a holistic prescription with distinct Chinese features addressing both symptoms and root causes.

First, China has targeted the root causes. The Chinese people emphasize targeting the root causes to cure the disease. In his speech at the World Economic Forum annual meeting in Davos, President Xi pointed out three critical issues as the root causes of the problems facing the world economy, namely lack of robust driving forces for global growth, inadequate global economic governance and uneven global development. He also proposed a new way to lift the world economy out of trouble by calling for building a dynamic growth model, a model of open and win-win cooperation, a model of fair and equitable governance and a model of balanced and inclusive development. In the speech, President Xi also addressed the rising trend of de-globalization by giving an in-depth elaboration on the law and characteristics of economic globalization. He called on various sides to recognize that economic globalization is a double-edged sword and that we should guide economic globalization, rebalance the process of economic globalization and ensure that different countries and different groups of people all share the benefits of economic globalization. The speech has played an important role in helping countries build confidence in the future of economic globalization and work together to make it more inclusive.

Second, China is committed to innovation-driven growth. The slow growth of world economy is mainly due to the lack of internal driving forces, and the fundamental solution lies in breaking the bottleneck by releasing and developing productive forces through innovation. With China's initiative, the 2016 G20 Hangzhou Summit discussed the topic of innovation for the first time and formulated a G20 Blueprint on Innovative Growth, calling on various parties to seize the opportunities brought by innovation, digital economy and new industrial revolution and

to reach consensus on the priority areas, guiding principles and indicators of structural reform. These unprecedented moves in the G20 history have laid a solid foundation for unleashing the growth potential of world economy and ushering in a new round of world economic growth.

Third, China emphasizes openness and win-win cooperation. With deep integration of the world economy, a community of shared future is formed in which countries are interdependent with intertwined interests. Only by sharing opportunities and interests through opening-up and cooperation can we realize win-win outcomes. In his speech in Davos, President Xi emphasized that China will remain committed to growing an open global economy, practice and promote global cooperation based on openness and vigorously build a global network of free trade arrangements. Thanks to China's efforts, the 2014 APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Beijing made the important decision to kick off the process of a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) and endorse the Beijing Roadmap, marking a concrete step in the establishment of the FTAAP. In 2016, facing the setbacks in the global opening-up and cooperation and the Asia-Pacific regional cooperation, President Xi, at the APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting in Lima, called on various parties to stick to the set agenda and translate consensus into concrete and effective actions to realize the FTAAP at an early date, showing China's firm support to advance the open economy of the Asia-Pacific.

II. Championing Global Development

As the world's largest developing country and an important representative of emerging market countries, China is fully

aware of the far-reaching implications of development and has been actively committed to advancing shared development in the world. At the United Nations Sustainable Development Summit in September 2015, President Xi advocated equitable, open, all-round and innovation-driven development, called for greater international development cooperation and announced a series of practical measures in support of such cooperation, which demonstrated China's role as a responsible and constructive major country in the process. President Xi and other world leaders adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development at the summit, charting the course for the development of countries and international development cooperation in the future.

A year later, China championed development again at the Hangzhou Summit, which set a record in the G20 history in terms of the number of participating developing countries and the distinctly pro-development agenda and outcomes. For the first time in the G20 history, the Hangzhou Summit put development at a prominent place in the global macro policy coordination framework, adopted the G20 Action Plan on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and took collective actions in support of the industrialization of African countries and the Least Developed Countries, which was fully recognized and widely acclaimed by developing countries. Not long after the summit, China released its National Plan on Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, amplifying the positive effects of the Hangzhou Summit. It has become one of the highlights in national plans on implementation of the 2030 Agenda, and advanced in tandem domestic and international development agendas.

China has been playing a positive role in working for an early entry into force and implementation of the Paris Agreement on climate change, an important consensus in international development cooperation. At China's initiative, a presidency statement on climate change was issued during preparations for the Hangzhou Summit for the first time in the G20 history, in which all members pledged to sign and implement the Agreement at an early date. Under China's thoughtful presidency, the presidents of China and the United States deposited the instruments of joining the Paris Agreement with then UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon during the summit, demonstrating the exemplary role of the two countries in addressing climate change. In his speech in Davos, President Xi reiterated China's firm support for the Paris Agreement and called on all signatories to stick to it instead of walking away from it as this is a responsibility countries must assume for future generations. These actions have highlighted China's strong sense of responsibility in addressing climate change.

III. Improving the Model of Economic Governance

The global financial crisis has demonstrated that global economic development is unbalanced and the reform of the international financial system has lagged far behind. It has also highlighted the importance and urgency to further strengthen and improve the global economic governance system. The global economic governance system can only provide stronger support to global growth when it adapts to the new global economic landscape and its requirements. As the balance of global economic powers is taking on significant and profound changes, it has become ever more urgent to put in place a global

economic governance system that is more equitable, reasonable, reliable and efficient. The most salient feature of the current changes is that China and other emerging market countries have been gradually taking up the central place on the world stage. This has been decided by their rising economic strength and global influence and also represents the trend of the reform and development of the global economic governance system.

By hosting the G20 Hangzhou Summit, China has made a successful attempt to take a more active part in global economic governance and accelerate the reform of the system. At the opening ceremony of the B20 Summit, President Xi expounded for the first time a comprehensive vision of global economic governance which is based on equality, oriented toward openness, driven by cooperation and aimed at shared benefits. President Xi also called for joint efforts to ensure equitable and efficient global financial governance, open and transparent global trade and investment governance, green and low-carbon global energy governance and inclusive and interconnected global development governance. These proposals have drawn a blueprint for improving the global economic governance system. During its presidency, China vigorously encouraged the G20 to remain relevant and responsive to the changing times, which laid a solid foundation for transforming the G20 from a crisis response mechanism to a long-term governance mechanism and expanding its focus from short-term policy response to a combination of short-, medium- and long-term policymaking, consolidated its status as the premier forum for international economic cooperation, and provided sound institutional safeguard for global economic stability and recovery.

China has been actively promoting the reform of the international financial institutions. During China's G20 presidency, with its strenuous efforts, the long-delayed IMF quota reform plan was followed through, the RMB was included in the SDR currency basket of the IMF, and the International Financial Architecture Working Group, which had been dormant for years, was relaunched. These major breakthroughs in the reform of international financial institutions have greatly increased the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries.

China is also an active participant in the establishment of new international economic and financial mechanisms which have complemented the current global economic governance system and international financial institutions. At China's initiative and with its efforts, the BRICS New Development Bank was formally inaugurated, the first international financial institution independently founded by developing countries since World War II; the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank was formally put into operation, which, with its 57 founding members from countries of all sizes from the five continents, has injected new impetus and vigor into the development of international infrastructure and connectivity.

With vision, mechanisms, actions and concrete outcomes, China has been pushing forward the reform of global economic governance. Taking into account both its own development needs and common interests of all countries, China has been spearheading the reform and improvement of the global economic governance system.

IV. Supporting National Development Strategies

Foreign affairs are an extension of domestic affairs. To support and promote development has always been the aim and purpose of economic diplomacy. As China becomes ever more integrated into the world, what happens in and outside the country has been more closely interconnected. This means both greater responsibilities and good opportunities for us to support China's development through economic diplomacy.

First, we worked to create a favorable external environment through economic diplomacy. In the past few years, China successfully held multilateral economic summits, engaged intensively in global economic governance, and advanced the reform in the international financial system. These efforts have boosted China's institutional power in global economic governance and carry great significance in stabilizing the external economic environment, safeguarding China's development interests and expanding space for growth both in the immediate future and in the long run.

Second, we focused on mutually beneficial cooperation to help advance economic transformation at home. Under the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, we took active steps to strengthen complementarity between development strategies of China and relevant countries, deepen practical cooperation in trade, investment, infrastructure, among other fields, and enhance people-to-people exchange, which produced important cooperation agreements and outcomes. China has engaged actively in international cooperation in production capacity and

signed agreements with over 30 countries in this field, giving a strong boost to the transformation and upgrading of domestic economic and industrial structure. China made good use of major home diplomacy events to inject vitality and energy into development at sub-national levels. Cities like Hangzhou refreshed their economic and social positions after hosting such major events, putting into reality the goal of “upgrading a city by hosting an international forum”.

Third, we leveraged various mechanisms to safeguard interests of and expand space in China’s going-global efforts. There are currently over 30,000 firms operating overseas. The Chinese people made 122 million trips to other parts of the world in 2016. The Chinese Foreign Ministry and Chinese embassies and consulates have acted proactively to provide information and legal services to overseas Chinese companies, strengthen oversight on major projects, and fully protect the lawful rights and interests of Chinese businesses and citizens abroad. The Chinese diplomatic missions in foreign countries have taken full advantage of their overseas presence to deliver timely information on relevant countries regarding their policies for economic development and priority areas of cooperation to provinces and cities in China and link up Chinese firms with foreign partners. The foreign ministry has translated new ideas into practice, putting forth the global promotion events, a new hallmark platform for provinces and cities such as Ningxia, Guangxi, Shaanxi, Sichuan, Guizhou and Yunnan, to explore cooperation opportunities with foreign countries without crossing borders and for diplomatic envoys from around the world to reach Chinese localities without leaving Beijing.

V. Sharing China's Development Philosophy

China's rising economic standing and international influence triggered ever-growing reflections and studies in the rest of world on China's economic mode and development path. Many ask: What are the secrets for China's fast economic growth? Can the Chinese economy be transformed successfully? What are the prospects for the Chinese economy? On multiple major international occasions such as economic summits, President Xi elaborated on the Chinese path from both angles of history and reality and in comparison with the paths of other countries. He articulated the philosophy of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, revealed the essence of the miracle of Chinese growth and shared China's experience with the world. The "Chinese stories" resonate across the globe, showcasing China's confidence in its path, theories, institutions and culture.

At the opening ceremony of the B20 Summit in Hangzhou, President Xi gave a full review of how China was integrated into the world through 38 years of reform and opening up, shared China's experience on development with other countries, and attributed China's success to trail-blazing efforts, result-oriented actions and sharing prosperity. These ideas were warmly received by various communities at home and abroad. At the opening ceremony of the World Economic Forum annual meeting in Davos, President Xi gave an overview of the development path with Chinese characteristics, providing a useful reference for the international community. He stressed that the path is based on China's realities, drawing on both the wisdom of its civilization and the practices of other countries in both East and West. The path puts people's interests first. Development is of the people,

by the people and for the people. The path has enabled us to unleash productivity and social vitality. It is a pursuit of common development through opening-up. While developing itself, China also shares more of its development outcomes with other countries and peoples. These insightful remarks by President Xi have presented great vitality of China's development path, provided a multi-dimensional perspective from which the world may learn about China's development mode and philosophy, bolstered the confidence of all parties in China's development, and brought China closer to the rest of the world.

2017 is not just another year for China's economic diplomacy. We will host two major events—the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (the BRF) and the BRICS Summit in Xiamen. They will be opportunities not just for China's own development, but also for the development of other countries and the world economy. The Belt and Road Initiative is China's response to the world economic conundrum and the bottleneck in global growth. It is one of the important public goods China provides for the international community. By hosting the BRF, China looks forward to working with all parties to deepen partnership, put in place new platforms for cooperation, and bring about a new landscape of development. By hosting the BRICS Summit, China aims to strengthen South-South cooperation, further raise the position and the role of emerging markets and developing countries in global economy, and inject new impetus for better global economic governance and closer international cooperation for development.

China is marching toward a new era where its economic diplomacy can make remarkable achievements. 🌐

Deepen China-Russia Comprehensive Strategic Coordination and Jointly Create A New Chapter of Win-Win Cooperation

By Gui Congyou*

In 2016, the international landscape changed at a faster pace and the international dynamics shifted toward greater justice and equity. Under the able leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, China acted in line with the major trend of international developments, overcame various difficulties and made new progress in the diplomatic arena. China confronted a series of risks and challenges with greater determination, confidence and prudence, thus comprehensively advancing its major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics.

Russia is the first and so far the only major country to establish a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination with China. Thanks to the personal care and strong support from leaders of our two countries, China-Russia relations continued to grow at a high level and produced remarkable outcomes in 2016. The two

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sides held grand celebrations for the 15th anniversary of the signing of the *Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation* and the 20th anniversary of the strategic partnership of coordination. President Xi Jinping and President Vladimir Putin met five times, issued three significant joint statements, and reached important consensus on growth of bilateral ties in the next stage and priority cooperation areas, jointly safeguarding global strategic stability and promoting cyberspace security. China and Russia saw their practical cooperation continuously deepen and people-to-people exchanges flourish. The two sides maintained close communication and coordination on major international and regional issues and joined hands to defend the authority of international law and promote political settlement of hotspot issues. The China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination has become an anchor for international peace and stability.

Taking history as a mirror will help one learn the reasons behind the rise and fall of countries. China-Russia relations did not come this far overnight. The relationship between our two countries has experienced ups and downs in the past three to four hundred years, particularly in the past century. In the later stage of the Chinese people's war of resistance against Japanese aggression, the Soviet Union sent troops into northeast China. Along with the Chinese people, they took out the main forces of the Japanese Kwantung Army, quickening the demise of Japanese militarism. In the joint fight against Japanese fascism, the two peoples forged a profound friendship with their blood. We Chinese would always remember the significant contribution made by the people of the Soviet Union to the ultimate victory of our war against Japanese aggression. After

the founding of New China in October 1949, the Soviet Union provided enormous, selfless development assistance to New China. In particular, it helped China carry out 156 industrial projects, laying the foundation for industrial development of New China. Later on, due to some complicated developments and problems in bilateral exchanges, the relations between the two countries and between the CPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union deteriorated and the two sides entered a 30-year period of Cold War confrontation. After the end of the Cold War, the leaders of China and Russia, bearing in mind the experience and lessons they learned from a thorough review of the history of China-Soviet Union relations and the major trend in the world favoring peace and development, made a visionary decision to abandon the Cold War mentality and to normalize and continuously grow the relations between China and Russia. In 1992, the two sides recognized each other as friendly countries. In 1996, the two sides established a strategic partnership of coordination. In 2001, the *Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation* was signed. And in 2011, the comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination was established between the two countries.

Since the 18th CPC National Congress, the Party Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at its core has attached high importance to developing the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination. In March 2013, at the invitation of President Putin, President Xi, four days after assuming office as President of China, visited Russia, China's friendly neighbor and strategic partner of coordination. Russia was the first stop of his first overseas trip as Chinese President, which fully demonstrated

the weight of China-Russia relations for China. In February 2014, President Xi paid a special visit to Sochi as a guest of President Putin to attend the opening ceremony of the Winter Olympics. That was the first time for the top leader of China to attend international Olympic games. For two years in a row, President Xi chose Russia as the first destination of his annual visits. In May 2014, President Putin visited China at the invitation of President Xi. The two heads of state signed and issued a joint statement, ushering in a new stage of China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination featuring equality and trust, mutual support, common prosperity and long-lasting friendship.

The high-level development of the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination mainly has the following manifestations:

— Political and strategic trust between the two sides is stronger than ever before. The two countries thoroughly resolved the boundary issues left by history, turning the 4,300-kilometer boundary into a bond of friendship between the two peoples. The *Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation Between the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation* embodies, in legal terms, a vision for peace and long-lasting friendship. With firm mutual support on issues concerning each other's core interests and no sensitive political issues in bilateral relations, China and Russia are the most reliable strategic partner and good friend for one another.

— The two countries have developed and improved the mechanisms for high-level exchanges and multifaceted cooperation. The two sides have created mechanisms of annual exchange of visits

between the two heads of state, annual meetings between the prime ministers and annual exchanges between the two legislatures, and established cooperation committees at the deputy prime minister level that cover various cooperation areas, such as investment, energy, people-to-people exchanges, trade, military technology, security and subnational cooperation. There are sound exchange and consultation mechanisms between their government agencies. The two sides have also created the China-Russia Friendship Committee for Peace and Development to coordinate people-to-people exchanges, and established the intergovernmental commission for cooperation in developing northeast China and Russia's Far East and Baikal region and the council for subnational cooperation between the upper and middle reaches of Yangtze River and Volga federal district in light of the needs in growing bilateral relations. Most of the government departments of the two sides have developed mechanisms for close communication and consultation. It is fair to say that the growth of China-Russia relations has strong institutional support.

— The two countries have worked actively to enhance the complementarity between their development strategies. The two heads of state reached important consensus on synergizing the development strategies of China and Russia and aligning the Belt and Road Initiative with the development of Eurasia Economic Union. The two countries have actively engaged in international production capacity cooperation, and the cooperation in energy, investment, high technology, financing, infrastructure and agriculture sees great progress and is more modernized and more driven by technology and innovation. Tianwan nuclear power plant has become a flagship project in Sino-Russian nuclear energy cooperation. The eastern

section of China-Russia gas pipeline is under construction. The two countries are working together to develop long-distance wide-body passenger jets and heavy-lift helicopters, which will help both sides grow overall national strength and international competitiveness. The cooperation in newly emerged areas, such as SMEs and e-commerce, is catching up quickly. Such dynamic cooperation has provided a strong driving force for the development of China-Russia relations.

— The bilateral relationship enjoys growing support from the two peoples. China and Russia have successfully held large state-level people-to-people exchange events, such as Year of China in Russia and Year of Russia in China, language year, year of friendly youth exchange, tourism year and media exchange year. More than three million people traveled between the two countries each year, and Chinese tourists made more than one million visits to Russia last year. China has been the largest source of foreign tourists to Russia for many years in a row. The two sides have set up culture centers in each other's countries and established a joint university. The number of Chinese students in Russia and Russian students in China together exceeds 70,000. The two peoples are increasingly interested in each other's languages and cultures and their mutual understanding and friendship grow stronger every day. It has become a shared desire of the two peoples to advance friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

— The two countries have maintained close strategic collaboration in international and regional affairs. China and Russia both are major countries in the world, permanent members of the UN Security Council and emerging market economies, both stand for upholding the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and basic norms of international relations, and both advocate for a multipolar

world and greater democracy in international relations. The two sides have worked closely in international and multilateral frameworks, such as the UN, G20, APEC, and the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, jointly initiated and promoted multilateral institutions like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the BRICS forum and the China-Russia-India trilateral mechanism, and exerted all efforts to maintain peace and stability in Central Asia and Northeast Asia, which are the shared neighborhood of China and Russia. Both countries believe that dialogue and consultation are the effective methods to resolve differences and that political negotiation is the only solution to disputes and conflicts. The two sides have worked together for the proper resolution of the Iranian nuclear issue and are actively promoting the political settlement of hotspot issues like the Korean nuclear issue and the Syrian issue.

— The two countries have worked together to address global security threats and challenges. Sharing the view that the security of a country cannot be pursued at the expense of other countries, China and Russia advocate the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and are both committed to forging a community of shared future for humankind to achieve common security. The two countries staunchly uphold the outcomes of World War II and international fairness and justice, allow no resurgence of fascism and militarism, and firmly oppose unilateral development and deployment of strategic anti-ballistic missile systems worldwide. In the face of rising non-traditional security threats posed by separatism, terrorism and extremism, China and Russia maintain that counter-terrorism efforts should address both the symptoms and root causes and need to be better coordinated to form a global united front.

Over the past 20-plus years since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the China-Russia relationship has maintained sound and steady growth with high performance and fruitful outcomes. The primary reason for this is that the two countries, bearing in mind their common interests and the global trend of peace and development, have creatively chosen the most suitable model for their relationship by developing a comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination characterized by equality and trust, mutual support, common prosperity and long-lasting friendship on the basis of the fact that the relationship is not an alliance, nor is it confrontational or targeted at any third party.

Being each other's largest neighbors, China and Russia share a common border as long as over 4,300 kilometers. One cannot feel secure without a peaceful neighborhood. As such, the relationship between the two countries has profound implications for their national security and environment of development. History has proven once and again that, for neighbors like China and Russia, neither alliance nor confrontation is the best option, for neither can secure enduring peace and tranquility. Only good neighborliness and friendly cooperation featuring common prosperity and long-lasting friendship based on dialogue and partnership rather than confrontation and alliance serves the fundamental interests of the two countries and their peoples and has great vitality.

As emerging market economies at a critical stage of national development and renewal, China and Russia share similar development goals and enjoy great complementarity in terms of geographic location, talent pools, market, resources and technology. By building on their good political relations and strengthening all-round cooperation in various fields, the two countries can not only

enhance mutual exchange but also boost their development through synergy, and achieve mutual benefit and win-win outcomes.

As permanent members of the UN Security Council, China and Russia share broad interests and important responsibilities in maintaining regional and global peace and stability. They are duty-bound to enhance comprehensive strategic coordination in international and regional affairs, jointly advance multilateralism, and steer the international order and system toward a more just and reasonable direction. This is the obligation and historic mission of the two major countries.

The sound and steady development of the China-Russia relationship over the past two decades and more is also attributable to their commitment to a series of innovative principles and ideas that are in line with the trend of the times. These principles and ideas have not only guided the long-term development of their ties but also provided useful models and practices for harmonious coexistence between major and neighboring countries and for building a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation.

First, ending the past and opening up the future. In 1989, Comrade Deng Xiaoping and the then Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev reached important consensus on ending the past and opening up the future. Ending the past does not mean forgetting the history. Rather, it means drawing on experience and learning profound lessons from history so as to open up a new future for bilateral relations without backtracking or repeating previous mistakes. The agreement demonstrates the political wisdom and vision of the two leaders and has served as a guidance for the normalization of China-Soviet Union relations and the smooth

development of China-Russia relations later.

Second, mutual respect, equality and mutual trust. Mutual respect is the prerequisite for countries to engage with each other, and sovereign equality is the most important norm governing state-to-state relations over the centuries. The violation of the principle of equality was the root cause for the strained relations between China and the Soviet Union in late 1950s. Since the end of the Cold War, China and Russia have established an equal relationship. Based on mutual respect, high-level trust and common interests, they have conducted cooperation on an equal footing, refrained from imposing their will on one another, respected the independent choices of each other's countries and peoples, and consistently followed the principle of mutual respect and equality.

Third, mutual support and win-win cooperation. China and Russia have agreed to firmly support each other in safeguarding their core interests, following a development path suited to their national conditions, pursuing national development and renewal, and managing their own affairs well. Both promote partnership and friendship with neighboring countries, see each other's development as opportunities, and sincerely wish each other greater development and their people better livelihood. Viewing each other as major partners, both pursue long-term development, win-win outcomes and shared benefits from their cooperation rather than seek unilateral or temporary gains, still less undermine the other side's interests. Moreover, the China-Russia relationship and cooperation is fully open and inclusive rather than closed and exclusive, and the two countries are ready to work jointly to cooperate with third parties. The cooperation between the two countries is based on their own needs and the global trend of peace and development. It is

not targeted at or influenced by any third party. Otherwise, such cooperation would be neither stable nor sustainable.

Fourth, mutual learning and friendly consultation. It is inevitable for China and Russia, two major countries with different history, tradition and culture, to run into some problems in their extensive cooperation and frequent people-to-people exchanges. Nevertheless, proceeding from the overall interests of bilateral relations and the friendship between the two peoples, the two countries are able to properly handle the problems and seek win-win solutions that are mutually beneficial, guided by the principles of mutual learning, friendly consultation and accommodation of each other's concerns. At the same time, they are ready to learn from experience, take precautions against possible risks, and actively explore long-term mechanisms for timely and effective resolution of differences in specific areas of cooperation. Such efforts testify to the maturity of the China-Russia relationship.

In 2017, the world economy remains sluggish with looming trend of anti-globalization and trade protectionism while the international political landscape faces a host of uncertainties and complex factors. Proceeding from the long-term development of bilateral relations and the trend of peace, development and win-win cooperation, President Xi and President Putin reached an important consensus on China-Russia relations: No matter how the international and regional landscapes change, the two sides will always stay committed to consolidating and deepening the China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination, pursuing common development and renewal, and jointly upholding international equity and justice and world peace and stability. The important consensus fully demonstrates the firm objective

and determination of China and Russia to further deepen bilateral relations and cooperation and jointly promote world peace and development, and points the way forward for China-Russia relations from a strategic perspective. Faced with the new situation, the two countries should stick to the existing all-round cooperation framework, seize the opportunity to deepen cooperation, and expand and enrich strategic coordination. Only by consolidating and improving China-Russia relations can the two sides meet the trend of the times, the fundamental interests of the two countries and peoples, and the expectations of the international community.

— Continue to deepen political and strategic trust. As a result of the joint efforts of generations of people from both sides, China-Russia relations have achieved a high level of development, which is extremely important and valuable for the two countries and the rest of the world. Solid mutual trust and firm mutual support is the key cornerstone for bilateral relations. However, mutual trust is not built once and for all. The maintenance of mutual trust requires consistent efforts and attention during the whole process of the growth of bilateral relations. Both sides will make full use of the top-level exchanges and the sound cooperation platform to have candid and in-depth communication and exchanges on important issues such as general guidelines, domestic and diplomatic policies and development strategies. By doing so, they can strengthen mutual understanding and support on issues concerning respective core interests, which will enable them to observe and develop China-Russia relations from a strategic and long-term perspective, firmly adhere to the strategic direction of the bilateral relations, and prevent anyone from sowing discord in the relations.

— Work hard to seek more common ground for respective

economic interests. Based on the consensus of the two leaders on enhancing the complementarity of development strategies and creating synergy between the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union, the two sides will explore new ideas and models to deepen trade, investment, energy, hi-tech and subnational cooperation, shift from simple commodity trade to joint development, production and application, and seek more practical results from large strategic cooperation projects. Efforts will be made to further unleash market vitality and potential by nurturing cooperation in new promising areas such as small and medium enterprises, scientific and technological innovation and agriculture. During the cooperation, departments from both sides will pay more attention to the general strategy and larger picture and actively blaze new trails by studying new problems in new situations and providing policy support and service for the cooperation between each other's enterprises. The two sides will further address issues related to personnel exchanges to provide more facilitation to the legal and orderly exchanges and create more favorable conditions to expand practical cooperation. Both sides believe that, as their economic interests further converge, China and Russia will continue to cement material ties for bilateral relations. In the meantime, the all-round win-win cooperation will further enhance the connectivity and infrastructure cooperation in Eurasia and beyond and promote regional economic integration for the benefits of all.

— Consolidate friendship between the two peoples. The bond between people cannot be established immediately, but requires the consistent and meticulous cultivation of both sides. This year marks the 20th anniversary of the China-Russia Friendship Committee for Peace and Development. The two sides will make better use of this mechanism as a main channel for people-to-people exchanges, and

encourage more nongovernmental actors to engage in the business, cultural and subnational cooperation between China and Russia. Through such cooperation, the two countries can promote the spirit of equality and trust, mutual support, common prosperity and long-lasting friendship in the two societies, thus further consolidating the social and public foundation for China-Russia relations. The scale of student exchange programs will be enlarged to promote mutual understanding between the young people so that the baton of China-Russia friendship can be passed on generation after generation. Efforts will be made to ensure the success of the year of media exchange between the two countries to promote positive media coverage on bilateral relations and development achievements of both sides, end the dominance of the West in the international media coverage and create a fair media environment for both countries.

— Join hands for an even greater role in the building of a community of shared future. At the beginning of this year, President Xi in Geneva made a comprehensive and in-depth elaboration on the vision of a community of shared future for humankind, calling for joint efforts for this great mission. The successful practice of China and Russia in building a new type of state-to-state relations is in line with this vision and serves as a useful exploration in this direction. Both sides have the responsibility and obligation to deepen comprehensive strategic coordination and use this relationship as a model in the process of building a community of shared future by advancing dialogue, consultation and political settlement in international and regional affairs and promoting win-win outcomes in economic cooperation. Joining hands with other players in the international community, China and Russia will make relentless efforts to build an open and inclusive world of enduring peace, common security and shared prosperity.

The year 2017 is an important year for China's development. The Communist Party of China will hold its 19th National Congress. The 13th Five-Year Plan will enter a stage of all-round and intensive implementation. The year 2017 will also be a year for people around the world to make relentless efforts to overcome difficulties and challenges and pursue peace and development. As the lines of an ancient Chinese poem read, "From shore to shore it is wide at high tide, and before fair wind a sail is lifting." There is also a Russian proverb which goes, "Big ships sail far." As comprehensive strategic partners of coordination and major countries in the world, China and Russia will continue to work under the sail of peace, development and win-win cooperation. With the strategic guidance of the two leaders, China and Russia will keep deepening comprehensive strategic coordination and be committed to working for world peace, contributing to global development, and upholding multilateralism. Both countries will build on past achievements, strive for further progress and join hands with the international community to write a new chapter of friendship and cooperation. 🌐

Historical Experiences and Important Principles of China-US Relations

By Su Ge*

China-US relations are the most important and complicated bilateral relations in today's world. A review of the history of this relationship sheds light on how and why the ups and downs in its development. The historical experiences and important principles that have been accumulated over the years may provide useful reference points for China-US relations in the days to come.

I. The history of China-US relations in the 20th century

1. The Cold War and the origin of China-US relations

In the 1940s, China and the United States fought shoulder to shoulder in the Second World War. The two countries are founding members of the United Nations and have played a major role in establishing and maintaining the post-war international order of

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peace. The People's Republic of China was founded when the United States and the Soviet Union were locked in the Cold War. After the Korean War broke out, the United States was involved in the war and decided to send its seventh fleet to the Taiwan Strait. The signing of the *Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance* dashed the hopes of the American decision-makers to drive a wedge between China and the Soviet Union. In the 1950s, China and the United States fought hard against each other on the battlefield in Korea. After the war ended, the US government had since adopted a containment policy towards China.

2. Normalization of relations and the establishment of China-US diplomatic ties

The Soviet Union factor later became a catalyst for engagement between China and the United States. In the 1960s, the United States, in order to get out of the quagmire of the war in Vietnam and counter the expansion of the Soviet Union, started strategic retrenchment on the Nixon doctrine and gradually adjusted its relations with China. China and the United States, formerly two enemies, were brought together by their converging national security interests. The strategic consensus on joining hands to resist the Soviet Union was the foundation for normalizing China-US relations. In the early 1970s, China-US relations were promoted by what is known as the *ping pong* diplomacy, “the small ball pushing the big ball”, so to speak. In 1972, China and the United States concluded the *Shanghai Communiqué*, in which the US “acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of

China.”

It took 7 years for China and the United States to ultimately establish diplomatic relations. In this process, the biggest obstacle was the Taiwan question. In 1979, the two countries issued the *Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations*. The US government accepted China's three pre-conditions on establishing diplomatic relations: severing the so-called diplomatic relations with Taiwan, withdrawing all US armed forces and military facilities from Taiwan, abolishing the Mutual Defense Treaty with Taiwan and recognizing the government of the People's Republic of China as the sole, legitimate government of China. The Chinese government adheres to the basic policy of “peaceful reunification, and one country, two systems”. After China and the United States established diplomatic relations, the US Congress passed the *Taiwan Relations Act*, through which the US continues to sell arms to Taiwan and interfere in China's internal affairs. Due to China's relentless insistence, the two countries issued the *August 17th Joint Communiqué* in 1982 to solve the issue of US arms sale to Taiwan through a step-by-step approach. These three communiqués thus lay an important foundation for the healthy and stable development of China-US relations.

The normalization of China-US relations and the establishment of diplomatic ties opened a new chapter in the history of the relations between the two countries, and created a favorable external environment for China's reform and opening-up, which, in turn, further promoted the growth of China-US relations. In the 1980s, the two countries had incessant problems and fought on issues such as Taiwan, trade and intellectual property, but made continuous and vigorous progress in political, economic, scientific,

technological and cultural fields.

3. China-US relations have withstood the test of changes in the international situation

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, dramatic turmoil and profound changes took place in the international situation. Besides the transformation of East Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, severe political turbulences also occurred in China. The United States and the West under these circumstances went tough on China. The US government imposed economic sanctions on China in 1989. Then, Mr. Deng Xiaoping put forth the guiding principles of “observing with a cool head, holding the ground, keeping a low profile and making things done”. With a firm commitment to upholding national sovereignty and security, China maintained a stable environment for reform and opening-up and the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics. During his meeting with the special envoy of the US president, Deng Xiaoping said, “Ultimately, China-US relations must grow well. This is what is needed for world peace and stability.” Thanks to China’s calmness, the tensions in China-US relations were eased.

In the 1990s, after Bill Clinton became US president, the human rights issue was linked to China’s Most-Favored Nation (MFN) status, which at times plunged China-US relations to low ebbs. On the margins of the APEC Economic Leaders Meeting in Seattle in November 1993, Chinese and American leaders met and reached the consensus to take a healthy and stable China-US relationship forward into the 21st century. In the next year, the Clinton administration adopted the policy of engagement with China; the US government later announced its decision to delink

the human rights issue and MFN status.

In 1995, as a result of Li Denghui's visit to the United States, China-US relations dropped to its lowest level since the establishment of diplomatic relations. Since then, China has worked to manage its relations with the US in the spirit of "increasing trust, reducing troubles, promoting cooperation and avoiding confrontation". At the same time, China firmly upheld its principled position on the Taiwan question. Recognizing the importance and sensitivity of the Taiwan question, the US government stated that "constructive engagement" is crucial and reaffirmed its commitment to the One-China policy. In mid-1998, President Clinton visited China. The two sides set the direction for developing China-US relations oriented towards the 21st century. President Clinton, for the first time, articulated the "three no" policy of the United States, namely the US does not support Taiwan independence, Taiwan's participation in international organizations composed of sovereign states, and such assertions as "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan".

At the close of the 20th century, the new interventionism in the United States presented new challenges to China-US relations. In May 1999, the "Cox Report" came out of US congress, accusing China of "stealing" US "nuclear secrets". During the Kosovo War, the NATO forces led by the US bombed the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia, leading to a flat downturn in China-US relations, which had been otherwise on an upward trajectory owing to the exchange of visits of the two presidents. At the end of 1999, the United States and NATO made compensations for the casualties and damaged embassy. With that, China-US relations started to

move out of the shadow of the “embassy bombing” incident.

Afterwards, China and the US finally reached agreement on China’s accession into the World Trade Organization. In 2000, China-US relations recovered and developed. The Chinese and US presidents met on the sidelines of the United Nations Millennium Summit and APEC Economic Leaders Meeting. The two countries resumed security dialogue and military exchange. The US congress approved the legislation on permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) with China.

II. China-US relations in the early 21st century

1. Twists and turns in China-US relations under the George W. Bush administration

During the presidential campaign in 2000, George W. Bush renounced the characterization of China-US relationship by the Clinton administration as a “strategic cooperative partnership” and defined it as one between “strategic competitors”. In January 2001, Bush became the 43rd US president. In the early days, especially after the crash between a US EP-3 reconnaissance plane and a Chinese fighter jet, the Bush administration grew increasingly tough on China, openly criticizing the previous administration for being weak on China, defining China-US relationship as one between strategic competitors, and even claiming that it would do all it can to defend Taiwan, which crossed the red line on the Taiwan question in China-US relations.

The 9.11 terrorist attacks provided an opportunity for the US to adjust its policies toward China. In the aftermath of the 9.11

attacks, the US was focused on fighting terrorism, and defense of national security was the top priority for the country. On foreign relations, the “new conservatives” in the US drew the line based on whether a country supported counter-terrorism. Shortly after the attacks, the Chinese president had a phone call with his US counterpart, offering sympathies and condolences on the terrorist attacks, strongly condemning international terrorism and expressing the willingness to work with the US to fight all forms of terrorism. Later on, the US stopped its aggressive rhetoric such as “strategic competitors”, which eased the tensions in bilateral relations. China-US relations thus moved into a new stage of stable growth. The US gradually adjusted its China policy and hoped to shape China as a “responsible stakeholder” in the international relations.

2. The Obama administration’s strategy of “rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific”and China-US relations

In the new century of deepening globalization and multipolarity, major changes have taken place in the balance of power between China and the US. In the ten years between 2001 and 2011, China’s economy experienced two rounds of rapid growth. For the first round, China grew fast and became a big global trading nation after joining the WTO. Then during the 2008 global financial crisis, which was triggered by the financial bubbles on the Wall Street, the United States was significantly hurt in both soft and hard strength. By comparison, the Chinese economy remained stable and steadily took off. It expanded at a fast pace and eventually overtook Germany and Japan as the world’s second largest economy.

As the No. 2 economy, China has attracted global attention. Just as an old Chinese saying goes, “If a tree stands tall in the forest, it will be sure to be blown by the wind.” The previous fulcrum in China-US relations has shifted. Changes have also taken place in the twin engines, economic and trade cooperation and counter-terrorism cooperation, that had driven China-US relations in the first 10 years. President Obama decided to gradually withdraw troops from Iraq and Afghanistan and made accelerated efforts to implement its “pivot to Asia-Pacific” or “rebalancing of Asia-Pacific” strategy. The US shifted the focus of its national security strategy to the East in response to the challenge of the rise of some other major powers. It also moved faster to promote the Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP), in an attempt to replace WTO rules.

Moreover, some “third-party factors”, which were not within the scope of China-US relations, have now interfered with and even hijacked the foreign policy and China policy of the United States. On the East China Sea and South China Sea issues, the United States backtracked on its commitment not to take sides and has been favorable to the other parties in its action. This has an adverse impact on the normal growth of China-US relations. For some time, there were hypothetical arguments in the Western media that China-US relations were “endangered” or at a “tipping point”. Some even went so far as to say the two countries would not be able to avoid the “Thucydides’ Trap” that had proved to be inevitable between an emerging power and the *status quo* power.

Based on his deep understanding of the situation, President Xi Jinping made insightful observations that we must coordinate

efforts both at home and abroad to avoid the two traps. At home, China must overcome the middle-income trap and strike a balance between reform, development and stability to stabilize growth, adjust structure, improve people's life and promote reform, so that the Chinese economy will move steadily forward. Internationally, China must avoid the Thucydides' Trap and the conflict between established and emerging powers. President Xi called for building a new model of major-country relations between China and the United States featuring no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation, which sets the right direction for China-US relations going forward.

3. Trump's election puts China-US relations at a crossroads

The 2016 US presidential election took place at a time of profound and complicated changes in the world. Trump's election and the earlier Brexit referendum are widely regarded as two major "black swan" events, adding uncertainties to the international situation. During the election campaign, Trump made tough and negative statements on China. For example, he said trade with China had hurt US interests and blamed trade deficit with China for job losses in the US. He called for putting "America First" and bringing more jobs back to America. He criticized China for manipulating the currency to expand exports. The US attitude toward China seems to turn more negative.

After Trump won the election, President Xi sent him a letter of congratulations and had a telephone conversation with him on November 14th. In the letter, President Xi expressed the hope to work with the US under the principle of no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation. In the

telephone conversation, President Xi underlined cooperation as the only correct choice for China and the US. However, President Trump later had a phone call with Tsai Ing-wen, leader of the Taiwan authorities, and called into question the One-China policy on Twitter, creating setbacks for bilateral relations. In January 2017, the new US president was inaugurated. China-US relations faced both challenges and opportunities.

Under the leadership of President Xi Jinping, China has engaged resolutely with the US on issues concerning China's core interests and demonstrated its firm determination to defend China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, prompting gradual, positive changes in Trump's "learning curve". Trump has altered his previous words and actions, and returned to the right track of One China policy. On February 10, President Xi had another telephone conversation with President Trump. Trump emphasized that he fully understands the great importance of the One China policy followed by the precious US governments and that his government is committed to the One China policy and is willing to develop "constructive relations" with China.

The interactions between the two presidents have brought about tangible stability to China-US relations, which sends out a positive signal and marks a new starting point for the relations. The important consensus reached by the two sides maintains the political foundation of China-US relations, stabilizes the development of the relations, alleviates the concerns and doubts from the international community, and creates necessary conditions for the two countries to cooperate in bilateral, regional and global affairs.

III. China-US relations should build on past achievements and strive for new progress

1. Inspirations from historical experiences

As an old Chinese saying goes, “Taking history as a mirror, one will know the rise and fall of past dynasties.” Over the past years, China-US relations have gone through many twists and turns. One can draw important reference points from the continuous progress of the relations despite the ups and downs.

First, China and the United States were in a state of rivalry in the early days of the Cold War. As the US government defined friends and foes along the ideological line, the newly founded People’s Republic of China had no other choice but to “fight the US to assist the DPRK and defend the motherland”.

Second, the New China was independent in the world and constituted an important force in the relations between big countries. It is an important reason for the transition in China-US relations. Shared needs for national security prompted China and the US to rise above ideological differences and normalize their relations.

Third, the strategic fulcrum in China-US exchanges and cooperation is where their national interests converge. China and the US have many converging interests. Their relations are mutually beneficial in nature. And their shared interests far outweigh their differences. Dialogue and cooperation remain the mainstream of China-US relations.

Fourth, the Taiwan question is where China and the US have argued the most and fought the hardest. It has often caused ups and downs in China-US relations. Stability, improvement and development of the relations hinge on whether the One-China principle is observed to manage the Taiwan question.

Fifth, differences between the two sides must be resolved in the spirit of mutual respect and equal-footed consultation. Any attempt to contain, sanction or threaten China will not help resolve issues and will only lead to confrontation or even conflict.

Sixth, historical facts show that only by maintaining stability and increasing its own strength can China maintain and develop China-US relations.

2. Profound changes in the current situation

At present, the international situation is undergoing the most profound and complicated adjustments since the end of the Cold War. The US and the West, the traditional “constants” in the international landscape, are on the decline in the global balance of power and have become “variables” that affect the stability of international relations. They seem to lose some of their previous confidence and fail to adjust their mindset to the new changes. As China’s national strength improves and carries out diplomacy in all areas, confidence has been demonstrated in its development path, theory, system and culture. China now has a positive role to play in shaping its relations with the US. She sees things more in perspectives and her posture has shown both strategic focus and patience.

The future direction of China-US relations has implications far beyond the bilateral scope. The cooperation and shared development between the two countries will not only benefit the two peoples, but also contribute to the stability, peace and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific and even the world at large. It is true that there have been differences between the two countries now and then. It is also true that shared interests between China and the United States are significantly increasing. The two sides must have candid dialogues and exchanges and engage in sincere cooperation to ensure the giant ship of China-US relations steers clear of reefs and rocks and keeps moving forward.

As China and the US are coming closer in national strengths with shifts in strategic dynamics, the strategic competition between the two countries is likely to increase. At the same time, neither side has the intention to enter into conflict and confrontation. Therefore, Trump's China policy is clearly double-sided. On the one hand, he sees China as a rival in economic and security fields. On the other, he still needs cooperation with China in domestic economic development, infrastructure, counter-terrorism and other international and regional affairs. Trump is still in the process of shaping up its policy towards China. It still takes time for the two sides to adapt to each other in developing the relations.

3. Future prospects have yet to be expanded

(1)Expanding interests and focusing on cooperation. China and the US are both permanent members of the UN Security Council. They both benefit from and uphold the existing international order, and shoulder important and unique responsibilities for


regional and international peace, security and prosperity. China stands ready to work with the US to push forward the international system in a more equitable and reasonable direction, jointly tackle global challenges such as counter-terrorism, climate change and disease prevention and control, and strengthen communication and cooperation on Korean nuclear, Iranian nuclear, Afghanistan and other regional hotspot issues. In the Asia-Pacific, the two sides should encourage inclusive diplomacy and together play a constructive role in regional peace, stability and prosperity. “The Pacific is vast enough to accommodate both China and the United States.” On bilateral relations, China and the US have extensive shared interests and a solid basis for cooperation. Economic and trade relations are the ballast stone for the giant ship of China-US relations. The two sides need to continuously expand practical cooperation, create highlights in cooperation, enlarge the cake of shared interests, increase employment and expand cooperation in two-way investment and infrastructure. Sanctions or trade wars are in the interests of neither side and should be avoided as much as possible. Moreover, the two sides should strengthen practical cooperation in such areas as military, law enforcement, energy and health. At the same time, exchanges should be promoted in different fields to consolidate the social foundation for relations between the two countries.

(2) Mutual respect and seeking common ground while shelving differences. China and the United States are two big countries with different national conditions. They should view each other’s strategic intentions in an objective and rational light, respect each other’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect each other’s political systems and development paths, respect each

other's core interests and major concerns, appreciate each other's cultural traditions, and refrain from imposing one's will and model on the other side. This is the important prerequisite and foundation for the healthy and stable growth of bilateral relations. The path of peaceful development is China's national policy that is determined based on China's confidence in thinking and practices. Certainly, only when the two countries live in peace can the path of common development be widened. It is China's genuine hope and need to pursue peaceful development. But China will never do so at the sacrifice of its sovereignty and core interests. In international affairs, China advocates for embarking on a path of openness, inclusiveness and win-win cooperation and jointly building a community of shared destiny for mankind. China hopes that the US correctly views and adapts to China's changes, welcomes China's development and success with an open and inclusive mind, and finds cooperation opportunities from it. A China of peaceful development should not be seen as a threat to the US. China and the US should work together to abandon the zero-sum game and Cold War mentality. This is a fundamental issue concerns the correct direction of China-US relations and allows no strategic miscalculation.

(3) Managing differences and avoiding confrontation. "The wise people always seek common ground." There exist differences between China and the United States in development stages, social systems, cultural traditions and economic interests. It is inevitable that they may occasionally have misunderstandings, differences or even frictions. The two countries must pursue dialogue and equal-footed consultation, be broad-minded, seek common interests, adopt long-term policies and not let isolated incidents or problems

undermine the foundation of stable growth of China-US relations. The two sides should resolve their differences and sensitive issues in a constructive way and refrain from doing things that jeopardize each other's core interests. As for frictions on values, there should be dialogue and communication to increase trust and dispel misgivings. Conflicts of interests should be coordinated through negotiations. Economic and trade issues should not be politicized. Even for structural problems that cannot be reconciled easily, efforts must be made to manage the differences, seek maximum restraint. It is imperative to avoid miscalculation, and to prevent conflicts from breaking out through a crisis management mechanism. The two sides should take a long-term perspective and continuously expand and deepen coordination and cooperation. "Both countries will gain from cooperation and lose from confrontation." "No conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation" serves the fundamental interest of China and the US, and is in line with the trend of peace, development and progress of the times. China is ready to work with the US based on mutual respect and inclusiveness to increase strategic trust, avoid strategic miscalculation and tackle global challenges so as to continuously benefit people of the two countries and the whole world.

As President Xi Jinping said, "Cooperation is the only correct choice for China and the US." Although China-US cooperation cannot resolve all problems in the world, it is indispensable for solving all major problems. It seems that for China-US relations to grow in a healthy and stable manner, concerted efforts are needed from both sides. 

Dynamics of the Asia-Pacific and Corresponding Strategies*

By Zhang Yunling**

The Asia-Pacific is the most economically vibrant region and weighs heavily in the world economy. It also sees the convergence of interests and build-up of tensions between China and the United States. Situation in the Asia-Pacific is the focus of all countries. Hence, a full grasp of its status quo is of great importance.

I. New pattern of the Asia-Pacific economy

The Asia-Pacific economy features a macro pattern of consumption by North America and production by East Asia wherein the expansion of the latter hinges heavily on the growth of the former, which results in a “precarious balance”. Under this pattern, the US shifts

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its manufacturing to East Asia, which leads to the predominance of the service industry of the U.S. economy with the dwindling of the manufacturing industry at about 10% of its economy. East Asia is exactly the opposite. As it absorbs massive American investment and other investment in the industrial chain, manufacturing now becomes its dominant industry while the share of the service industry decreases. However, despite such a macro pattern, capital flow in the Asia-Pacific is reversed, i.e., East Asia accumulates a prodigious sum of dollars which flows to North America in the form of indirect investment, making the US the borrower and East Asia the investor. Henceforth, the direct investment needed by East Asia flows again out of the US, which results in yet another “precarious balance”.

The subprime mortgage crisis in 2008 has broken these two kinds of “precarious balance” and given rise to the structural separation of consumption and manufacturing as well as the disruption of the capital backflow chain. First, due to the credit crisis, consumption in the US shrank instead of expanding, dealing a blow to manufacturing in East Asia which, short of external support, found no impetus to expand. That explains why after the 2008 financial crisis, the bulk of manufacturers had not imagined their post-crisis adjustment would take so long. It has been eight years now since the outbreak of the crisis, yet no one knows how long it will still take. Why is it so sluggish? One critical reason is that the new balance is yet to take shape. So, is a new balance possible in the future? And with no clear direction in its structure what will it be based on?

First, with regard to the reestablishment of balance, is there any need for internal restructuring so as to seek new

breakthroughs? For instance, the US is painstakingly rebuilding its manufacturing. There are signs that the US is making an effort to revive manufacturing and increase its share in the national economy by rolling out incentive measures. This entails tremendous difficulties, but the US appears determined. What should be the priority of this restructuring by the U.S. side? My observation is that its strength probably lies in the innovation industry rather than traditional ones. Yet, it remains to be seen. As for East Asia, it will not return to the path of self-sustaining production; instead, it should participate in the division of labor. It also needs to increase its consumption capacity and the share of the service industry. Going forward, East Asia could further restructure its internal consumption, while in the meantime, retaining its strength in manufacturing. Those East Asian countries, including Japan, the ROK, China and Malaysia need to continue to bolster its manufacturing. The growth of consumption capacity, coupled with economic restructuring and the development of service industry, will inject fresh vitality into the growth of East Asia. But it requires further investigation as to the drive for such restructuring and its pathway.

Second, how to establish a new growth mechanism and where is it to be found? I believe that East Asia holds the potential for Asia-Pacific development. Our new approach now is that potential growth of East Asia mainly lies in improving the overall development environment of developing countries in this region. The “Belt and Road” Initiatives aim at promoting a new type of development cooperation by focusing on tapping the potential of all-round economic development through improving the environment for development. The reality is that the economy of Southeast Asian countries along the “Belt and Road” is

externally driven whose internal infrastructure is weak and overall development potential is untapped. ASEAN now advocates connectivity. Yet, progress is quite slow due to capital shortage. The ASEAN FTA is now in place with a basically zero tariff for intra-regional trade, but still, it is difficult to boost internal trade and investment. Why? One important reason is the poor overall development environment, in particular, its deficient infrastructure which makes external trade easy but internal trade difficult. By focusing on infrastructure, the “Belt and Road” Initiatives will help improve infrastructure in Southeast Asia to better bring out its internal development potential. Several years ago, I proposed making efforts both in opening-up and in cooperation and unleashing the endogenous economic impetus through cooperation and improvement of overall development environment. The improvement of connectivity via the “Belt and Road” Initiatives will boost the development potential of East Asia, create new growth areas and drive the entire economic restructuring of the Asia-Pacific. This is the master approach.

Third, how to revitalize East Asia? The manufacturing center of East Asia used to be China. Now, through adjustment and expansion, Vietnam has taken over, and in the future, India is likely to join the rank of East Asian countries. Of course, this is controversial in that the Indian economy is dominated by the service industry and its manufacturing is weak. However, India is now charting a blueprint for manufacturing development. Prime Minister Modi made considerable adjustment to the previous development plan after his inauguration. So in East Asia, China’s potential remains and new manufacturing clusters like Vietnam and India are rising. A new manufacturing center will probably emerge in East Asia which not only belongs to the region but also to the

world.

Fourth, how to propel Asia-Pacific cooperation? The close economic ties in this region call for a grand framework for opening-up and cooperation. In 1989, APEC was established by Asia-Pacific countries with the goal of creating a single, highly integrated, open and cooperative regional market and economy. Yet, due to the 1997 financial crisis and other reasons, some digression has occurred and APEC has lost its clout in Asia-Pacific integration. In 2010, the Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific (FTAAP) was moved forward thanks to a joint statement by its leaders. In 2014, China launched the FTAAP into track through the APEC meeting in Beijing. With strategic studies led by China and the US, a strategic report was completed in 2016 and leaders agreed to continue the development of the FTAAP. But in a practical light, this will go a long way, as Brexit has sparked reflection on regional cooperation. Past regional cooperation usually started from the FTA, which would be upgraded step by step to a common market and finally a community. This has become a fixed pathway from a low to a high status. But now, the applicability of this pathway poses a question. Situation in East Asia is fairly complicated, and it is quite difficult to establish an integral regional organization. In the heyday of East Asian cooperation, some hoped that the East Asia Summit mechanism would replace the “ASEAN+” dialogue mechanism, yet this proposal failed. Others advocated a single monetary system in East Asia which was actively supported by Japan, but this proposal again did not work out. Probably, there will never be a single monetary system or an integral organization for regional cooperation in East Asia. East Asia needs cooperation, but cooperation comes in various forms. ASEAN proves a success, which pools ten countries together to form a community. Yet,

it is hard to extend ASEAN to the entire East Asia. Given the new context, the issue of regional cooperation requires further consideration. The high-standard Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) led by the US with the exclusion of China will not solve the problems of the US, rather, it will lead to a divided Asia-Pacific. An Asia-Pacific dominated by the TPP is not the way out. As TPP members vary markedly in economic development level, their agreement will fall short of the standards set by the US while too much concession will only meet objection from interest groups in the US. In the US general election, the TPP was opposed by both the Democratic candidate Hilary Clinton and the Republican candidate Donald Trump. And now, President-elect Trump declared that the US would exit the TPP and turn to bilateral negotiation. The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) now under negotiation by 16 East Asian countries with ASEAN at its core does not include the US. If the cooperation model is sound, it is bound to work out. The RCEP has its own model tailored to the economic structure and future development of East Asia. The RCEP should not be modeled after the TPP. Former East Asian participants to the TPP like Japan, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand all hope that the RCEP can borrow as much as possible from the TPP. Now, as the TPP breaks down, the burden on the RCEP is relieved and an architecture fit for East Asia could be pursued. The RCEP is not supposed to provide a package solution; instead, it will only move forward step by step.

My original design for the Asia-Pacific, ideally, is to either combine these two approaches or give a direct boost to the FTAAP, but either way proves difficult. While the RCEP is still under negotiation, President Trump orders the US exit Pacific cooperation. Currently speaking, the US will not be interested in

FTAAP negotiation. So, how to further promote the development of Asia-Pacific cooperation? It merits further study.

II. New balance of power in the Asia-Pacific

The shift of balance of power in the Asia-Pacific is worth our attention, because its influence, both economic and political, is significant. The most prominent feature of this shift is the rise of China's overall strength driven by its augmenting economic power. While China's economy rises to the second place in the world, it also becomes the major driving force of Asia-Pacific economy. China contributes a much larger proportion to both regional and global economy than the US, making itself a major locomotive of Asia-Pacific and global economic growth. In particular, the improvement of China's overall strength has exerted tremendous influence on the relations between Asia-Pacific countries. Overall strength is a meaningful factor in inter-state relations. As major strength of a country is mainly reflected in aggregate indicators, even if China's per capita GDP remains in the world's midstream after 2050, its overall strength will still rank among the top. Aggregate indicators represent a country's ability of mobilization. That is why the US pays so much attention to the rapid increase of China's overall strength.

The Asia-Pacific used to undergo major transformation in the balance of power. Japan was once the second largest economy in the world, yet its overall strength has not since risen as rapidly as China. Japan is an "incomplete country". It relies on its alliance with the US without independent security building capacity of its own, so its overall strength fails to increase. The rise of Japan was mainly an economic one, which explains the then serious

trade friction between Japan and the US. China differs from Japan in terms of its rise in overall strength, so friction between China and the US will not only occur in economy and trade, but also in security.

Predicted influence is another factor in the shift of power. Almost all the current predictions agree that China will become the world's largest economy by 2050. Once accepted, these predictions will probably have an impact and countries will prepare themselves for this trend. Martin Jacques once wrote a book called *When China Rules the World*, and the prediction he made has had a considerable influence on the Asia-Pacific. That is why though China does not accept the notion of "G2", the Asia-Pacific has become a de-facto arena for competition between China and the US. Present views hold that China lags far behind the US, but people still believe this prediction. When it comes to analysis of the balance of power and decision-making, this prediction can be very influential. In addition, as a latecomer, China is considered an all-round blow and challenge to US hegemony. It is particularly awe-inspiring given the fact that China was once a strong power which later declined and now rises again. And contrary to the general belief that a reemerging country tends to reconstruct itself on the new starting point, China, a former world power, will probably reclaim all it has lost. These two factors combined further complicate prediction about China and give rise to many present tensions.

Though China rises within the current international and regional system, the impact of this rise is multi-faceted. Economically, China should enhance its competitiveness. Rejuvenation means restoring glory and reclaiming what is lost.

The “Belt and Road” Initiatives are about promoting a new type of development cooperation, but reference to the silk road denotes in itself recollection of the past. As China used to be a world power, this recollection may also arouse concern in the sense that China might reestablish its dominance. In security aspects, the US has been dominating world security ever since the Cold War, but this should not be the way into the future. China proposes the building of a new type of major-country relationship and a fairer and more equitable order, which causes anxiety on the part of the US. China opposes hegemony and pronounces that it will never seek hegemony, but how will China convince the world that the new system it proposes is truly equitable, cooperative and peaceful? Many countries, large and small, are perturbed by China’s rise and hence huddle together to contain China. A number of countries straddle across two boats and try to strike a balance between various interests. Therefore, relationships and cooperation in this region are confronted with complicated challenges from the rise of China and the strategic reconfiguration of the US.

III. New features of hot-spot issues in the Asia-Pacific

Hot-spot issues come in the way during the shift of power and confuse the larger picture. There were hot-spot issues in the past, but not as hot as they are now. Issues concerning Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula seem to have backtracked to confrontation. The dominant trend in Northeast Asia had long been consultation and cooperation. But with the return of the US to Asia, nuclear tests of the DPRK and the launch of THAAD by the ROK, cooperation has given way to adversary and confrontation. Will the hot-spot issues cool down? Will the escalation of confrontation slow down or intensify? These are worrying. The Korean


Peninsula is still beset with crises. Instead of making concessions, stakeholders see tensions escalate: North-South confrontation is locked in stalemate and major countries are involved without any consensus reached. It waits to be seen whether there will be change in the US policy after the general election as well as in the situation of the ROK which is experiencing political turmoil. However, there might be one consensus, that is, war is too dangerous and there will be no absolute victor. This may be a red line that will contain the escalation of confrontation. Northeast Asian countries used to share the positive outcomes of the Six-party Talks, but they seem to be returning to the old path now. In this light, confrontation will not be cooled down for the time being, nor will dialogue or cooperation be launched. And it remains to be observed as to whether and when consultation and dialogue will be resumed. In this context, China should play a great role by putting forward influential strategies. And it merits further study as to what choice China should make and how big a role it will play.

Tensions grow up in the South China Sea as a result of the unilateral lawsuit brought up by the Philippines for unilateral arbitration and greater interference from the US. Given the complicated situation, how is this issue to be resolved and what is the way out? From my point of view, it would be better to observe the situation with a sober mind and wait for the opportune time instead of being anxious and agitated. Settlement of territorial dispute is the most difficult and also time-consuming, so waiting in patience for changes might be a wise strategy. In my view, when conflicts escalate, “public goods” should be promoted. As public goods are complicated both in concept and practice, the key lies in putting forth notions and taking actions that are acceptable to all. For instance, China used to propose “shelving

differences and seeking common development under the pretext of acknowledging China's sovereignty over the disputed area", which means seeking peace and cooperation while upholding China's sovereignty. Though the outcome of common development is not that satisfactory, it has nonetheless eased the situation, raised consciousness of cooperation and propelled actions. Are the public goods to be provided by one party or by all? What are these public goods? In particular, how will China draw up its strategy? These questions call for more study. With the political developments in the Philippines, situation in the Huangyan Island changes accordingly from confrontation to cooperation, which is to be welcomed. Some scholars propose the concept of shared sovereignty for the settlement of disputes over the territorial land and sea as well as special economic zones in the South China Sea. This concept is hard to accept, for example, when it comes to sharing sovereignty over the Huangyan Island by China and the Philippines, both countries will find it hard to accept. The Philippines proposes that the two sides put aside their differences first and change the disputed sea area into a shared fishing zone and the lagoon into a protected zone. This might be a good approach which goes one step further towards shelving differences.

As new developments occur in the South China Sea, China is also changing its strategy. Its capability to control this area is growing ever stronger. Yet when other forces are also meddling, the South China Sea becomes a wrestling ground of different forces in this region. The essence of the South China Sea issue is overall stability, so China needs to play the card of development and cooperation in order to seek the greatest common divisor. The US way of flaunting military power is no solution. The East China Sea issue is also heating up. Its crux is the change in the

balance of power between China and Japan. Since its emergence in the modern time, Japan has been exercising control over the East China Sea. After its defeat in the Second World War, it became a close ally of the US, and the Diaoyu Island became an issue in this context. Now, China's overall strength has grown. In 2010, its GDP overtook that of Japan and now more than doubles Japan's GDP. Competition between the two countries is about interests and it is likely to last for long. Japan is renewing itself to react to China's rise. Under this scenario, it is vital to stabilize China-Japan relations. In the meanwhile, dispute over the East China Sea is not only between China and Japan, but also involves the US which seeks to establish order in this region. Transformation of order takes time, and the ideal status is smooth progression which requires both power and time.

The rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is our major concern. It not only rests on the improvement of China's own strength and capabilities, but also hinges on how well China manages its external environment. The Asia-Pacific is and will continue experiencing major changes, among which China itself is becoming an ever more critical variable. This is the important bedrock for assessment the development of the Asia-Pacific. As research fellows, we need to adopt new thinking, perspectives and methods in our observation and analysis. 

(Transcription by Sun Xiqin)

Features, Origins and Impacts of the Populism in Europe

By Mei Zhaorong*

The disturbances of the world carry with them profound and complicated changes, and increasing uncertainties and instabilities. Amongst the disturbances, the Brexit referendum, populist rise in Europe, and Trump's election as the U.S. president are the biggest stirs in international relations.

In recent years, the rise of far-right populism across Europe has led to major changes among the political parties of many European countries. There are some most prominent cases. Populist parties won nearly one fifth of the seats in the European Parliament election in May 2014, with a surge in seats from less than 50 to over 140. In northern Europe, Sweden Democrats has become the third largest party in the Swedish Parliament, while the Danish People's Party has made it into the ruling coalition as the country's second largest party. In Eastern Europe, the Law and Justice Party governs Poland alone with a majority

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in the Parliament, and the Fidesz of Hungary rules together with other parties. More noticeably, the UK Independence Party played a key role in the Brexit referendum, and populist parties in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and the Netherlands are enjoying a surge of support. In 2017, Holland, France and Germany will hold parliamentary or presidential elections, and Italy will probably hold its parliamentary election earlier than scheduled. The upcoming elections in France, Germany, and Italy, the three backbone EU member states, would have a more far-reaching influence on the European political scene.

National Front, the radical right-wing populist party in France founded in 1972, has become the third largest political force behind the traditional left-wing and right-wing camps. In 2002, its then president Jean-Marie Le Pen made to the second round of the French presidential election and only lost the race because the left and the right rallied against him. As the party tops the country's opinion polls under the leadership of his daughter Marine Le Pen, it seems almost certain that the party will reach the second round in the upcoming April presidential vote, but it remains to be seen whether there will be another defeat in the runoff contributed by the left and the right. If she wins the French election, and delivers her anti-immigration, anti-EU and euro zone-exit platform, the victory will end up a heavier blow on the European Union than Brexit.

Formed in 2013 during the European debt crisis, the party Alternative for Germany (AfD) was initially founded against bailing out southern European countries with German taxpayers' money. Though scorned by the mainstream media then, the position stroke a chord with some common people. In the summer of 2015, when the European debt crisis was edged out of headlines by the

influx of refugees, the AfD took the opportunity and enriched its platform, advocating euro zone exit and direct democracy, and against cultural diversification and the spread of Islam in Germany. By these policy stances and seizing on the discontent of ordinary people towards Merkel's refugee policy, AfD entered state parliaments in Baden-Württemberg, Rhineland-Palatinate, and Saxony-Anhalt with strong showings in March 2016, became the second largest party in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern with a 20.8% share of votes last September, and entered the state parliament in Berlin with a share of 14.2% two weeks later. By then, the AfD had gained representation in 10 of the 16 German state parliaments. According to polls, the AfD will be entering the federal parliament after the September election this year, but couldn't dominate German politics.

Founded in 2009, the Five Star Movement has been growing in its size and influence, and has become the largest opposition party in Italy. It advocates direct democracy and detests the ruling by elites. Its anti-establishment and anti-globalization position and platform against the expansion of the power of the EU is hailed by lower-middle classes, especially young students and the working class. In the 2013 election, its poll already overtook that of center-right parties, and was right after the center-left Democratic Party. In June 2016, two young females of the party won the races for mayor in two important cities—Rome and Turin. In December 2016, the Five Star Movement motivated a record-making 65% of voters to reject the constitutional referendum, which was launched by the then Prime Minister Renzi to implement his reform and remove institutional barriers, and forced him to resign. With Italy's stagnant economy, heavier sovereign debts, unfolding banking crisis, employment difficulties for young people, the Five Star

Movement is likely to win if there is an early election.

The Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ), founded in 1956, had limited influence until the 1980s, but was having a 20% approval rating by the end of last century. This party pursues referendum democracy, and advocates xenophobic and even racist slogans. In 1999, the FPÖ, as the second largest party with a share of vote surging to 27% in the election, formed a right-wing coalition government with the ÖVP. As a result, Austria was once sanctioned and isolated by other EU member states. In 2011, the party launched a new platform named “Australia First”, which means although it identifies with the integration of Europe, it is against globalization and transferring sovereignty and national powers to the EU, and maintains that member states should have more rights to self-determination. With a flagging economy and a staggering unemployment rate, and increasing pressure brought by immigrants and refugees, poll ratings of the FPÖ have been climbing. Polls show that, the FPÖ is likely to become the largest party in Australia’s parliament if the parliamentary election takes place now.

In the Netherlands, the right-wing Party for Freedom headed by Geert Wilders began with anti-Islam claims of closing mosques and banning Koran. Later it picked up anti-EU positions, claiming that Brussels and Islam were two major threats to the Netherlands. The party alleges that, economic globalization, technology advances, rigid political systems, and pressure from the EU and urban elites in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague are behind the current predicament of the Netherlands. According to Western media, such rhetoric is able to sway “the majority of people” and its nationwide support may well bring success in the general

election this March. Even if Wilders cannot become the Prime Minister under the current Dutch political system, his influence over Dutch policies is still to be reckoned with.

What are the features of European populism? Western scholars point out that, as a political style, populism is good at demagoguing, addressing the public while bypassing traditional elites, and making the most of mass communication tools. The rise of populism in Europe varies from country to country, but politically shares something in common, which could be summarized into three features: **First, anti-globalization.** They seek to reduce globalization's impact on national economy, object euro, global finance and trade deals advocated by the Obama administration, doubt or even resist European integration, and blame the development of globalization for the economic distress and social injustice in Europe. **Second, xenophobic nationalism and local culture protectionism.** They oppose immigration and multi-culture, deeming that immigration threatens the national identity. **Third, aversion to rule-based decision-making.** They are impatient with the limits on spontaneous problem solving imposed by rules, and crave for strong individual leaders to have their own way and break the "existing order". Their policy proposals often lack deep thoughts and their deeds don't match what they say.

The rise of European populist parties has its origins in the structural crises of political and economic systems in the West. **First, it's a result of the continued influence from the international financial crisis and the European sovereign debt crisis.** Economic globalization is supposed to be the objective requirement for enhancing social productivity and a sure result of technological advances, and has been a push behind global

economic development. However, globalization is a double-edged sword in that it has brought social injustice and a growing wealth gap. Although the EU boasts about “solidarity” and “common development”, the divide between Eastern and Western Europe, and that between Southern and Northern Europe is visible and tends to expand. Take Germany, the richest and most developed country in Europe, as an example. According to the report on 13 December 2016 from the website Tagesschau.de of the ARD, the poverty rate in Germany has reached 15.7%, a historical high, and in 2015, over 6.7 million Germans were over-indebted. Moreover, despite the conveniences and reduction of trade costs brought by the euro, it is congenitally deficient, because it is a single currency without a single financial and economic policy. And plagued eurozone countries were not allowed to shake off their distress by depreciation and hence increased export, so some countries are disappointed in European integration and are thinking of breaking the tether of the eurozone. **Second, it reflects that the European democracy is in crisis, and the traditional large parties have generally lost voters’ trust.** To be specific, grassroots are increasingly dissatisfied with the ruling of political elites. More and more voters believe that traditional mainstream parties could no longer represent their interests, as can be seen from their huge loss of votes in recent years. On the EU level, member states are discontented that the huge and haughty bureaucracy at the EU headquarters dictates member states, yields low efficiency at the cost of huge public wealth, draws up policies that are not down-to-earth, and has limited the sovereignty of member states. That’s why euroscepticism and anti-EU sentiments have been continuously on the rise and many people have cast their votes to populist right-wing parties as a protest. Third, it is stoked by the issue of immigrants and refugees. The single market of the EU, which

features the free movement of goods, services, capital and labor, has resulted in a huge influx of workers from poor countries in Eastern Europe and the Balkans to rich countries like the UK and Germany, in pursuit of generous welfare. People of the recipient countries are strongly against the influx. The inflow of numerous refugees from the Middle East and North Africa, and the resulting terrorist attacks and social instabilities have also given rise to the fear and dissatisfaction of European countries including Germany and France, and have increase the appeal and rallying power of populist forces.

At the same time, right when populism is rising in Europe, Trump was elected president of the U.S. to the surprise of European and American mainstream. Trump's words and deeds not only destroy Obama's political achievements and policy legacy, but also echo voices of populist party leaders in countries including the UK and France. They have formed mutual encouragement and support. Besides, Trump supports Brexit, labels the EU as "a vehicle for Germany", openly presents a gloomy future picture of the EU and divides the EU. He claimed that NATO was "obsolete", and warned European allies to pay for the cost of American protection since the defence budget of most of them hasn't reached the threshold of 2% of their GDP. Trump talked about improving relations with Russia, contradicting with EU countries regarding their sanctions on Russia over the Ukraine issue. He said Merkel's immigration policy was a "catastrophic mistake" and imposed the controversial "travel ban". These rhetorics are contrary to the basic rationale behind EU diplomatic and security policies, thus have resulted in the strained relationship and conflicts between the U.S. and the EU, and encouraged and supported European populism.

It has to be pointed out that, although leading populist figures in Europe have won the hearts of grassroots through demagogic slogans, it doesn't mean that their policy statements could address the structural crisis of economic and political systems in the West, or the discontent and concerns of lower-middle classes. In nature, Trump's "America First" and "make America great again" are consistent with Obama's ambition reflected in his comments "I do not accept second-place for the United States of America" and "the United States is and remains the one indispensable nation... it will be true for the century to come". Both represent the interests of Wall Street's monopoly capital and America's interests in maintaining its global hegemony. Trump's random policies and orders have met with fierce criticism and opposition in America and Europe. It remains to be seen to what extent his policies and orders could be implemented.

In the face of rising populism in Europe, increasing trade protectionism, and Trump's provocative rhetoric on China during and after his campaign, we should retain political composure, a sober mind in observation and calmness in our response. On the one hand, we should be fully aware of the severe challenges and have a preparedness plan; on the other hand, we should take stock of favorable conditions and opportunities and maintain confidence. Moreover, we should give full play to our strengths and actively work on related sides. China is no longer what it was. It has sufficient capacity and means at its disposal to deal with challenges. So long as we have a cool head, and the courage and strength in fighting back, we could expect a transition of China-U.S. relationship to relative stability amongst complicated contests and contentions, and in particular, a win-win and mutually-beneficial partner in Europe for China's realization of the Two Centennial Goals. 🌐

The Faster Changing Middle East

By An Huihou*

The Middle East is located in an important strategic position where the three continents, Europe, Asia and Africa, intersect and is endowed with rich oil and gas resources. It has long been a region where major powers compete with one another. The complex ethnic, religious and sectarian relations in the region and the interference of major countries have led to incessant conflicts and hot-spot issues. However, instability has been usually confined to certain areas and with controllable intensity, and most of countries in the region have maintained relative stability and normal development. This has been the normal state of the Middle East situation.

However, such a normal state was broken by the massive turmoil that erupted in late 2010 and the neo-interventionism pursued by the United States. The wave of mass protests swept nearly all the Arab countries,

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four countries went through regime changes and three wars broke out. Extraordinarily massive turmoil that went way beyond the normal state emerged in the Middle East.

In 2014, the Islamic State (ISIL) was quite rampant in waging battles and seizing ground. Some scholars concluded that the Middle East entered a new chaotic era and was mired in a full crisis, featuring a collapsed political order, a disintegrated political pattern, a shattered power structure and a shaken foundation for the sovereign state system. There would simply be no ending to the chaos in the Middle East and it would only become more and more turbulent. The situation had been described as pitch dark without any trace of hope. These views, however, failed to see the greater picture, exaggerated the realities and as a result, misled the public and disrupted the decision-making process. As more than two years have passed, what has happened has proven that the above-mentioned conclusions are not accurate.

How to assess the situation in the Middle East in 2016 and its evolution in 2017 deserves attention.

I. The overall situation will remain relatively stable, but local turmoil will persist

The current state of Arab countries can be divided into three categories: first, turmoil in most Arab countries has been put down and stability and development has been restored after 2012. Second, elected governments were established in Tunisia and Egypt in 2014 after their respective regime changes. The situation in the two countries has been basically under control as they work hard to restore economic development and improve people's

livelihood. Third, positive changes have taken place in Syria, Iraq, Libya and Yemen which are still in wars, and the situation there is far from tranquil. It is unlikely that the Middle East will enjoy full stability, but the normal state that prevailed before the massive turmoil featuring local turbulences with controllable intensity has been restored.

II. Falling from its peak, ISIL is doomed to fail

ISIL gained strong momentum as it made use of the civil war in Syria and turmoil in Iraq to develop its forces and occupied cities through battles. The United States and several regional powers connived at and even supported it out of their short-sighted consideration for overthrowing the regime under Bashar al Assad. However, since the anti-human atrocities of ISIL have threatened their interest and in particular, as Russia conducted air strikes with visible effects against ISIL in 2015, the United States and regional powers changed their approach and strengthened their efforts to fight against ISIL. After seizing back from ISIL important cities such as Fallujah, Ramadi and Tikrit, the government forces of Iraq waged a large-scaled battle against Mosul, ISIL's last stronghold in Iraq in October 2016. Nearly 30,000 troops from government forces, Kurdish armed forces as well as Shia and Sunni militias joined the battle. The ISIL forces besieged in Mosul stand at around 8,000, so it is only a question of time for the government forces to win as they have already taken the east of the city and are pressing westward. In Syria, the government forces took back the important city of Aleppo in the north in December 2016 and then controlled all the major five cities. The ISIL forces have been confined to Ar-Raqqah. It is estimated that ISIL has lost over 80% of areas under its control in Syria and Iraq and its human and financial resources

have dwindled sharply. This backward Caliphate State is bound to fail. This is not only of major significance for Syria and Iraq to move toward stability, but also will exert favorable impact on the counter-terrorism efforts in the Middle East and the whole world. Nevertheless, ISIL is still resisting adamantly and is likely to flow to other countries in the Middle East, Europe and Africa. As long as there is still breeding ground for terrorism, it will be hard to eradicate it thoroughly and the fight against terrorism remains a long-term task.

III. Positive changes have emerged in the four countries which are in war but it is still hard to restore stability there

(I)The Syrian government forces have recovered Aleppo, taking back their proactive position in the battlefield and President Bashar regained his foothold. Under the mediation by Russia, Iran and Turkey, the government forces and the armed forces of the opposition realized a ceasefire and resumed political negotiation. The negotiation was held first in Kazakhstan and on 23 February moved to Geneva, where Staffan de Mistura, UN Special Envoy for Syria, chaired the negotiation. However, no breakthrough was made, and the two parties did not even have direct dialogue. On 3 March, the special envoy announced that the two parties agreed on the agenda items of the next round of negotiation, namely, the establishment of a government of national unity, revision of the constitution, holding a general election and counter-terrorism. The fifth round of negotiation will be held on 25 March. Despite continued peace talks, it is still not an easy task to achieve breakthroughs.

Apart from the government forces, there are the armed forces of ISIL, the Kurdish and the opposition as well as Turkish troops and the US special forces. The situation on the battlefield has always been the bargaining chip in negotiations. What cannot be obtained on the battlefield will not be possibly gained through negotiation either.

The government forces are supported by Russia, Iran and Hezbollah of Lebanon. The opposition armed forces have complex makeup, which includes Jabhat Fateh Al-Sham, a terrorist force, and they are supported by the United States, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. The Kurdish armed forces have the support of the United States and Russia, but Turkey keeps fighting against them because it regards them as a branch of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). If Russia, the United States, Iran and Turkey cannot reach a compromise, it will be difficult to solve the Syrian crisis in a real sense.

(II) Five years have passed since Muammar Gaddafi was killed, but Libya is still torn by warlords. Four governments exist simultaneously: the government in the east city of Tobruk under the support of the Libya National Assembly; the national salvation government supported by religious forces and the national unity government backed by the United Nations in the capital city of Tripoli; and the government of ISIL in Dema. Though the national unity government is recognized by the international community, it does not have the foundation for governance as it is lacking in popular support and weak in strength. People in the country have a hard life as their physical and property safety cannot be guaranteed and the whole country is in a state of anarchy. Years ago, the United States and major European powers actively overthrew the Gaddafi regime under the pretext of humanitarian assistance.

However, they do nothing for the current grave humanitarian crisis in Libya.

(III) The civil war in Yemen has led to the deaths of over 8,000 people. The Houthi forces have controlled Sana'a with the support of Iran and the Hadi government has been relocated to the south under the support of Saudi Arabia. The Saudi military intervention has not achieved much effect. In the meantime, ISIL and Al-Qaeda have taken the opportunity to develop their forces. Currently, both the Houthi and Hadi forces have the intention to seek political reconciliation and Saudi Arabia does not want to continue fighting either. Chaired by the UN representative, the two parties held peace negotiation. However, big divide exists concerning what they pursue respectively and it will be a difficult bargaining process to realize peaceful reconciliation.

(IV) Iraq has a legitimate government and military forces, but the Kurdish people enjoy a high degree of autonomy in the north and the Sunni forces will not follow the orders of a government under the control of Shia forces. It is an encouraging development that various parties jointly launched a battle to recover Mosul, but it is still worrisome as to whether after the battle, they will have conflicts over the control and administration of this second biggest city of the country.

IV. Russia has scored continuously while the United States has found itself in more troubles in their rivalry in the Middle East

In 2011, the United States put forward the rebalancing strategy in the Asia-Pacific and shifted its global strategic focus eastward.

In the same year, massive turmoil erupted in the Arab world. The neo-interventionism pursued by Barack Obama led to the chaotic situation in Libya and Syria and provided opportunities for the rising of ISIL. Then the Obama administration adjusted its Middle East policy and scaled down its actions there. Its major thinking is: first, slow down the implementation of neo-interventionism to seek stability while preventing instability; second, reduce military interventions; and third, make use of existing problems and its “smart power” to strike a balance so that conflicting forces will check one another. In line with this new thinking, the United States reached agreement with Iran on the nuclear issue and pushed Palestine to engage in peace negotiation with Israel, which failed however due to the obstinate attitude of the latter. The United States refused to directly intervene militarily in Syria and connived at ISIL in an attempt to let ISIL fight with the Syrian government so that both sides would lose. It has maneuvered between Iran and Saudi Arabia with a balancing trick so that the two countries will check each other and their conflict would not spin out of control. It can do nothing to the Russian military intervention in the Syrian crisis but would not willingly accept it, and thus its rivalry with Russia has become more drastic. The US input in the Middle East has declined and so has its influence. But it cannot leave or give up the region and still wants to keep its dominant position. Obama’s Middle East policy failed to achieve its expected effects while its relations with traditional allies such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Egypt and Israel went sour.

Russia has returned to the Middle East in an assertive way. On 30 September 2015, Russia had an air strike against the terrorist forces in Syria and achieved visible results that outperformed the counter-terrorism alliance led by the United States. The Russian

military intervention has weakened the rampant momentum of ISIL and the opposition armed forces and strengthened the combative capacity of the Syrian government forces, who were able to take offensive positions and kept regaining lost ground. The domestic power structure in Syria has changed. As a result, the United States has been compelled to change its approach from refusing to cooperate with Russia in counter-terrorism to working with it to push for the launch of political settlement of the Syrian crisis. However, as Russia and the United States have different strategic goals and serious difference, it is quite difficult to advance the process of political settlement.

Russia's relations with Egypt and Saudi Arabia grew visibly. After the failed coup, Turkey's relations with the United States have deteriorated and it took the initiative to improve its ties with Russia, which, despite past grievances, made active response. On 20 December 2016, foreign ministers of Russia, Iran and Turkey made a statement in Moscow, indicating that the three countries would help the government and the opposition of Syria draft a reconciliation agreement and act as guarantors. Apparently, Russia has greater say now on the Syrian issue.

As Russia has sought to return to the Middle East in recent years, its military intervention in Syria is a successful move to that end. Russia has scored frequently in the Middle East while the United States has found itself in more troubles. However, as Russia has difficulty in its domestic economy and restrictions in its national strength, it is unlikely to make inputs beyond its national strength in the region. Though its influence has been restored to a certain extent, Russia cannot replace the US dominance in the Middle East.

V. How Donald Trump will adjust his Middle East policy merits attention

As the Trump administration is still adjusting and formulating its foreign policies, its Middle East policy is not clear yet. Given the existing information, the following points are worthy of attention: first, the Trump administration has placed emphasis on counter-terrorism and even indicated that it would work with Russia to fight terrorism. By sending another 400 marine troops to Syria on 9 March, plus its special forces already in Syria, the United States has stationed 900 troops in the country. Before that, senior military officers of the United States, Russia and Turkey had talks in Turkey to coordinate their military actions in Syria. Second, the Trump administration has shown more partiality to Israel and less commitment to solve the Palestine-Israel issue by the two-state solution. And it has adopted an ambiguous attitude towards Israel's expansion of settlement and even claimed that it would relocate the US embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. This has resulted in criticism and discontent of Palestine and Arab countries. Third, the Trump administration has been more harsh on Iran. Donald Trump criticized in strong words the agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue during his presidential campaign. However, since this is an international agreement recognized by the United Nations, it is unlikely for the United States to repeal it unilaterally or withdraw from it alone. After taking office, Donald Trump has stepped up the sanction against Iran. The two sides had confronted with each other at the Strait of Hormuz, resulting in escalated tensions. Fourth, the Trump administration has improved its relations with Saudi Arabia. Fifth, the Trump administration criticized that the previous US policy of "regime change" was not

cost-effective. So do all the above-mentioned mean that Donald Trump has no intention to wage new wars or create further chaos in the Middle East?

Some scholars believe that the Middle East is an urgent task on Donald Trump's diplomatic agenda, while others maintain that Trump will get the United States further away from the region. The author believes that Donald Trump will not change the US decision of shifting its strategic focus eastward and it is likely that the United States will intensify its counter-terrorism efforts. However, it does not have the intention or capability to increase its input in the Middle East. Nevertheless, it will continue to maintain its dominant role there as it still has so many interests that it cannot leave or give up the region.

VI. Regional powers have seen the rise and fall of their respective strengths while their competition persists

(I) Iran has suffered more bashings from the United States. It has been playing its role with certain say in the regional hot-spot issues such as those in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and Lebanon as well as fighting ISIL. However, after signing the agreement on the nuclear issue, the United States did not lift its sanctions against Iran. Instead, the Senate and the House of Representatives decided in November 2016 to extend the Iran Sanctions Act for 10 years. Therefore, the US-Iran relations has not improved substantively. Iran's economy has been recovered to a certain extent, but has not developed exponentially as some people expected. Sunni countries represented by Saudi Arabia have deep-seated misgivings on Iran, and the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran persists. Donald

Trump has adopted a tougher approach towards Iran. Since Iran is both Shia and Persian in its nature and the United States will not tolerate the excessive expansion of its influence, it cannot play a dominant role in the Middle East where the Sunnis and Arabs are the mainstay.

(II) Saudi Arabia faces increasing difficulties. The oil price has remained low and Saudi Arabia's fiscal deficit was as high as US\$98 billion in 2015. It formed alliance troops to intervene in the war in Yemen, but the military actions were not successful, resulting in heavy burdens on the people and losses of property. Thus it is hard to sustain the military intervention. Saudi Arabia has adopted extreme policies towards Syria and insisted on overthrowing the Bashar regime, but cannot realize its goal. This has put it in a passive position. It has strongly opposed the agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue, exaggerated the threats from Iran and been bent on confronting with Iran. The United States, as a result, has been quite dissatisfied with it. The US congress passed a resolution which recognized the right of 9.11 incident victims and their family members to sue the Saudi government, who was greatly angered. However, the maintenance of the US-Saudi alliance is still where the interests of the two countries lie and their ties will improve during the Trump presidency.

(III) Turkey has been mired in difficulty both at home and abroad. It has long been eager to join the European Union. Since the massive turmoil broke out in the Middle East, Turkey has gone all out to interfere in the regional affairs. After the eruption of the civil war in Syria, Turkey sided with the United States and Saudi Arabia to force Bashar to step down. It publicly condemned Egypt

and supported the Muslim Brotherhood when Mohamed Morsi was deposed. When ISIL was developing rampantly, Turkey opened its border with Syria and turned a blind eye to the smuggling of oil and flow of people and material from ISIL. It was at odds with Russia when it shot down a military jet from Russia which had air strikes against ISIL. The conflicts between the Turkish government and PKK aggravated as the former kept attacking the PKK bases in Iraq and Syria and the latter launched frequent terrorist attacks within Turkey. What Turkey has done has resulted in complaints from many regional countries and its influence in the region has dwindled visibly.

On 15 and 16 July 2016, a failed coup occurred in Turkey. The Turkish government carried out severe oppression and extensive cleansing after the coup attempt, and therefore was criticized by the United States and Europe. Turkey accused Fethullah Gulen, a Turkish religious leader living in the United States, of plotting the coup and asked to extradite him. However, the United States did not accept the request and Turkey was enraged. Turkey's relations with the United States and the EU went increasingly tense. In the meantime, Turkey has proactively improved its relations with Russia by apologizing for shooting down the Russian military jet. It has also adjusted its policy towards Syria and coordinated with Russia and Iran to arrange for the evacuation of the Syrian opposition armed forces from Aleppo and push for the ceasefire and peace talks between the Syrian government and the opposition.

As two thirds of the Kurdish people live in Turkey, their pursuit of independence is one of its major concerns. Despite opposition from the Iraqi and Syrian governments, Turkey sent troops to the two countries to gain greater say over the Kurdish issue.

Turkey is now organizing a referendum on the presidential system. Public opinion in Europe is quite critical of that as they are concerned that the Turkish presidential system may lead to dictatorship.

Some people believe that the political developments in Turkey are brewing for major changes.

(IV) Egypt is reviving with difficulty. Abdul Fattah el-Sisi has basically stabilized the situation under the support of the military. What is urgent now for the country is to develop its economy, improve the people's livelihood, consolidate the government power and restore its influence in the region. The sluggish world economy has affected Egypt's revenue from the canal and remittances. Terrorist attacks occur from time to time and as a result, the tourism sector has been hard hit. The adjustment to the economic policy is far from adequate and therefore there is not much appeal to attract foreign investment. All these have made it difficult for Egypt to revive its economy. And the recovery of its influence in regional affairs has also been slow.

(V) Israel is in isolation. The US-Iran relations have been eased with the signing of the agreement on the nuclear issue. The United States has shifted its strategic focus eastward while scaling down in the Middle East. Some discords have occurred in the US-Israel relations and Israel has felt increasingly unassured about its own security and thus become tougher on Palestine. On the other hand, major Arab countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Iraq have been preoccupied with their own troubles, providing less support to Palestine. This has emboldened Israel. The international community is unhappy with Israel's thwarting the Palestine-Israel peace talks and some European countries have adopted a harsh

approach to Israel. However, these have fallen short of compelling Israel to change its Palestine policy. However, after Donald Trump took office, Israel-US relations have heated up significantly.

Rivalries among regional powers are mainly reflected in the Saudi-Iran relations. No major conflicts will break out as long as there is no instigation and support from outside powers. The religious frictions between Shias and Sunnis have been obviously used and amplified by regional powers in their geopolitical wrestlings.

VII. The issue of Palestine has been marginalized

Fatah and Hamas have serious difference and cannot get united to deal with Israel. The support from the Arab world to Palestine has weakened while the Trump administration has taken a more pro-Israel approach. Israel has been tougher in its posture and the balance of power between Israel and Palestine is increasingly unfavorable to the latter. It is difficult to launch the Palestine-Israel peace talks and even if the talks were launched, it would be hard to make breakthroughs. The Palestine issue has been actually marginalized. Under such circumstances, radical forces in Palestine may turn to violence again, though due to the huge gap in strengths between Palestine and Israel, violent conflicts will hardly work or spin out of control.

VIII. The power of the Kurdish people is expanding and they show a stronger preference to independence, but it will not be easy for them to establish an independent state

The Kurdish people in Iraq have enjoyed a high degree of

autonomy. In early 2016, they proposed to have an referendum on independence, which was opposed by various parties concerned. The Kurdish people in Syria have strengthened their power. In March 2016, they indicated that they wanted to build an autonomous federation in the Kurdish area in north Syria, which was immediately opposed by the Syrian government as well as Turkey and the United States. The Kurdish people issued a statement at once which said that what they wanted was an alliance rather than a federation and autonomy rather than independence. The conflicts between the Kurdish people in Turkey and the Turkish government have worsened as the government is on high alert against the Kurdish pursuit of independence. The Kurdish people are scattered in Turkey, Iran, Syria and Iraq and they have never established a state in history. An independent state of the Kurdish people will not only endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the four countries concerned, but also impact the geopolitical pattern in the region. No consensus has been reached internally among the Kurdish people, and the international community does not support it either. Therefore, it will not be easy for the Kurdish people to establish an independent state.

Conclusion

Foreign Minister Wang Yi pointed out on 8 March that once again the situation in the Middle East has reached a crucial crossroad with both risks of growing instability and the promise of peace. There are many factors, both internal and external ones, that can influence the Middle East situation. In the new century, the Bush administration launched the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Obama administration stoked the wars in Libya and Syria. The United States is the major external factor for the turmoil in

the Middle East. Therefore, how the Trump administration will formulate its Middle East policy merits attention. In recent years, as Russia has returned to the Middle East, the US-Russia rivalry has become another major factor affecting the regional situation. In 2017, several hot-spot issues in the Middle East may cool down, but it is unlikely to realize peace. Turbulences will persist and may aggravate, but such a possibility is not very high. The Middle East has indeed reached a crucial crossroad. 🌐

Donald Trump's Domestic and Foreign Policies In His Presidency

By Ding Yuanhong*

Donald Trump has been elected as President of the United States against the major backdrop of serious social divisions in the United States. As an “outsider” of the US political system, he won the presidential election in an unconventional way. His election has further ripped apart the United States. From winning election victory to taking office, he went through the most unsmooth transition period in the US history. Even when his victory has become solidly irreversible, there still have been persistent doubts, criticisms and accusations on him. All these show that Donald Trump's presidency will not be smooth.

Currently, public opinions both inside and outside the United States mainly label Donald Trump's domestic and foreign policies as “isolationism”, “trade protectionism” and “populism”. However, these are not accurate. Trump has not abandoned the strategy of maintaining America's global dominance, so how

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can one say that he pursues isolationism? Dr. Henry Kissinger said satirically that this was just a romantic imagination of some people who know little about foreign policies. The United States has all along followed trade protectionism. Before leaving office, Barack Obama broke his promise publicly and refused to recognize China as a market economy. Isn't it a manifestation of trade protectionism? Trade protectionism is not a unique feature of Trump's policies. He won the presidential election by taking advantage of American people's dissatisfaction with political elites, but as a member of monopoly capitalists in the United States, he is bound to serve the fundamental interest of his country, or to be more accurate, the interest of the Wall Street. How could he possibly be a "populist" that stands for the interests of the ordinary people? Trump boasts that he follows the idea of "America first". But according to the views of Marxism, his governing philosophy is actually deeply rooted in extreme national egotism.

Various parties inside and outside the United States have concerns and criticism mainly on Donald Trump's uncertainty during his presidency. This may have some point, but the direction of his domestic and foreign policies in his presidency is not totally unpredictable because of the following reasons:

The United States is still the most powerful country in the world in terms of its aggregate national strength. To fully maintain its global dominance has been determined by its national interests. It is the foundation for any US administration to formulate its policies, including that of Donald Trump. Actually, the "America first" concept raised by Donald Trump is in essence the same as what Barack Obama claimed that the United States

will never be second to any other country. Both are deeply rooted in the American exceptionalism. Their difference lies in the strategic layout, tactics and implementation methods to achieve the strategic goal of maintaining America's global dominance.

Donald Trump won the presidential election as a Republican candidate, so his domestic and foreign policies during his presidency will surely reflect the right-wing conservative tradition of the Republican Party. When he was young, he admired very much President Ronald Reagan. The slogans he advocated in his campaign such as "Make America Great Again" and "Peace Through Strength" are what Reagan used when running for presidency. In his telephone conversation with Prime Minister Theresa May of the United Kingdom after winning the election, Donald Trump emphasized that he wanted to rebuild the close relationship like the one between President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher. One can easily see the impact of Reagan's presidency from what Donald Trump said and did before and after his election victory.

Donald Trump took presidency from President Obama, a Democrat who was in the White House for eight years. In line with the past practice that presidency rotates between Republicans and Democrats, Donald Trump will adopt policies opposite to those of Barack Obama. It is said that he will abolish 70% of acts and orders formulated during the Obama presidency, the first of which will be the Obamacare and the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP). Within the short period of time before leaving office, Obama set up in an unusual way many traps in both domestic and foreign policies to preserve his own legacy and at the same time, build stumbling blocks for the

Trump presidency.

Based on the words and actions of Donald Trump before and after the presidential election and his two books, *Time to Get Tough: Make American Great Again* published in 2011 and *Crippled America: How to Make America Great Again* in 2015, after Donald Trump took office, the following major changes will take place to the US domestic and foreign policies in comparison to those during the Obama presidency:

First, the pressing priority and the biggest challenge for the Trump presidency is to assuage the general public's discontent with the existing system and political elites and bridge the serious divisions in American society as reflected in the presidential election. In the later days of the his administration, Barack Obama focused too much of his energy on the external issues for maintaining America's global dominance while failing to well manage the economy at home. As a result, the Democrats lost the presidential election. Donald Trump has drawn lessons from it and started from reinvigorating the US manufacturing sector. On his agenda, he will focus on domestic issues first and then external ones and on domestic economy first and then external geopolitics.

To boost the US economy and create more jobs, Donald Trump is concentrating on the manufacturing sector. Before taking office, he compelled companies in the real economy to stay in or return to the United States through the leverage of taxation. What he intends to achieve is to revitalize the real economy, expand infrastructure building, grow innovation-driven sectors and reverse the reality of sluggish economic development

and loss of job opportunities. Donald Trump's measures may pay off in the short term, but they may also lead to a more severe fiscal deficit and heavier debts, which will make it more difficult for the US economy to realize sustainable growth and add more political uncertainties.

Second, the social inequality that has threatened the political and economic situation in the United States is a result of inherent contradictions of monopoly capitalism. Globalization based on the core idea of neoliberalism which the United States has championed has resulted in big social divisions caused by inequality. In his farewell speech in Europe, Barack Obama warned the Western countries that the path to globalization must be redressed when different countries face the same challenge, i.e., to work together to cope with social inequality. What Donald Trump wants to do is not to reverse or go against globalization. Instead, he just tries to redress the negative impact brought by globalization on the United States. He believes that the United States has been ripped off in trade negotiations, therefore after taking office, he will not only drop the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) and Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) and try to revise multilateral trading agreements based on globalization such as NAFTA, but also show less interest in various international efforts over the years based on the idea of global governance such as the UN agreements on climate change. He may even refuse to honor the commitments that the United States has undertaken.

Third, all the US administrations have pursued power diplomacy, and it is more the case as the United States has become the only superpower. Donald Trump has raised the

concept of winning through power. He believes that foreign policies must be supported by strong military power, the United States should use force or threaten to use force on issues concerning its national interest. Only when the absolute military advantage of the United States is shown to all other countries, will they be deterred.

Donald Trump is not happy with the 2017 national defense budget of US\$611 billion passed by the Obama administration and claimed that after taking office, he would immediately abolish the defense budget cuts, substantially increase defense spending and upgrade military equipment to deal with global threats that his country faces. It is said that for the US Navy only, its vessels will be increased from 274 to 350. This decision has been well received by the Pentagon and military companies who believe that the age of prosperity for military industry has arrived. As Donald Trump has put in place a rarely-seen administration with multiple officials from the military, the impact of such developments for world peace is a major issue that deserves close attention.

Fourth, the network of military alliances in various parts of the world that the United States has built after World War II have been the major foothold for the US global dominance. During his presidency, Donald Trump will maintain this network to preserve the dominant position of the United States globally. However, he will also make adjustments as he is a follower of the national egotism: first, following the principle of equal-value exchange, the US allies must pay more “protection fees” in exchange for security protection from America; second, on issues that do not concern the core national interests of the US such as the crisis in

Ukraine, the United States will no longer offer funds or forces.

The relations between the United States and its allies will undergo major changes after Donald Trump took office. Trump's election victory has caught the US allies off guard as they miscalculated the situation and did not expect that he would win. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe even hurried to New York to "pay tribute to" Donald Trump, who had not been sworn in yet, making a farce in the diplomatic history.

Fifth, as the US-Russia relations dropped to its lowest level since the end of the Cold War, Donald Trump kept showing friendly gestures to Vladimir Putin before and after his election victory and he chose Rex Tillerson, former CEO of ExxonMobil who has been quite close to Putin, to take the important position of State Secretary. Recently, Trump made public Putin's letter to him and issued a statement that said it was quite right for Putin to point out in his letter that Russia-US relations are still the major factor for ensuring stability and security in the modern world. He hoped that the two countries would put these ideas into action rather than look for other ways. All these show that in his presidency, Donald Trump will put the improvement of US-Russia relations high on his agenda.

Two major reasons are behind Trump's decision to get close to Russia despite strong anti-Russia sentiments within the Republican Party. First, he has taken advice from well-known figures such as Dr. Henry Kissinger on alleviating the tension between the United States and Russia to reverse its disadvantageous position in the triangle relations involving also China and Russia, where during the Obama administration, the

United States had to deal with both the rise of China and its worsening ties with Russia. Second, he believes that the major threat to the US hegemony no longer comes from Russia, but from China. On 24 December 2016, Deputy National Security Adviser Benjamin Rhodes told journalists that Russia posed only short-term threats to the international order and stability, while from the long-term perspective, China would be a country much more powerful than Russia, and for the United States, it would be a stronger competitor than Russia. This is in line with Trump's view in his book that for the United States, China is a major rival in economic competition and a potential enemy in the military field.

The United States and Russia have different strategic goals, so their bilateral relations can hardly improve in a fundamental way. China-Russia strategic partnership, on the other hand, serves the interests of both sides and will not be shaken by the change of the US policy towards Russia. However, it still deserves high attention that Trump has taken it as a strategic move to drive a wedge in Russia-China relations.

Sixth, Donald Trump had a telephone conversation with Taiwan leader Tsai Ing-wen and called her "President", breaking the recognized practice over 30-plus years since China-US diplomatic ties were established. His public questioning of the one-China principle is not just a reckless or ignorant personal move. Instead, it is a deliberate strategic attempt. Such a move is not only designed to gain more in its trade negotiation with China, taking the Taiwan question as a bargaining chip. It is all the more an attempt to unshackle the constraint on the United States by the one-China principle under the disguise of showing

a posture of waging a trade war with China. A telling example is that at the end of last year, the US congress passed the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2017, which violated the US commitment of having no official exchanges with Taiwan and clearly stated that military exchanges with Taiwan by officials above the assistant defense secretary level would be allowed.

Apart from that, Trump appointed Peter Navarro, who the US media said is the most hawkish of all and who stands for being tough on China and arming Taiwan, as Chairman of the National Trade Council of the White House. It is said that the telephone call between Trump and Tsai was orchestrated on Navarro's suggestion. These moves before Trump took office indicate that he intends to show toughness on China and make greater efforts to work with Russia in an attempt to divide China and Russia and reverse the strategically passive position of the United States caught between China and Russia.

Another reason for Trump to take the above-mentioned moves while knowing that they would anger China is that within the Republican Party, there has always been a strong anti-communist and anti-China force which never recognizes the one-China principle. They were very dissatisfied with Nixon's visit to China in 1972 and his agreement with China on normalizing US-China relations in line with the one-China principle. They used the Watergate incident to cooperate with Democratic members of the Congress and forced Nixon to resign, threatening to impeach him otherwise. As a result, Nixon's commitment made to China on establishing diplomatic ties could not materialize. Shortly after the Carter administration officially established

diplomatic ties with China on the basis of one-China principle in 1978, Reagan in 1980 proposed in his campaign as a Republican presidential candidate that he would restore America's diplomatic ties with Taiwan if he was elected. Though due to the double pressure from China's firm position and the aggravation of US-Soviet competition for hegemony, Reagan could not honor his campaign pledge, he made six assurances to Taiwan when reaching with China the Joint Communiqué on 17 August, 1982. The essence of these assurances is to support Taiwan in its independence attempt. In Trump's campaign platform as a Republican presidential candidate, he made no mention of the three Sino-US joint communiqués. Instead, he for the first time put the six assurances in his campaign platform. Therefore, it is by no means accidental for Trump to behave as he did on his China policy before taking office. Though Trump's attempt to go beyond the one-China policy cannot succeed as it has become an international consensus, he will still use the Taiwan question to create trouble for China-US relations with the help of the DPP government of Taiwan. For this, high alert is necessary and preparations must be made.


Seventh, Donald Trump's Middle East policy will have major adjustments after he took office. One is the Iranian nuclear issue and the other is the Palestine-Israel relations. Republican members of the Congress have long been discontent with the conclusion of the relevant agreement on the nuclear issue between the Obama administration and Iran, which have offended the US allies in the Middle East such as Israel and Saudi Arabia. Recently, pushed by Republicans, the Senate and the House of Representatives decided to extend the sanction against Iran, and though Obama did not agree with it, he did not

veto it either. So it might not be just bluffing for Trump to claim that he would overturn the agreement. Though it is not easy to abolish the agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue since it has been reached between the six countries and Iran, the United States, as a superpower, is fully capable of thwarting the smooth implementation of the agreement.

Compared with the agreement on the Iranian nuclear issue, Trump's attempt to change the two-state solution to the Palestine-Israel issue supported by the Obama administration will lead to more serious repercussions in the Middle East. He first had a cordial telephone conversation with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu during which he emphasized that he would fully strengthen US-Israel cooperation. Then he appointed David Friedman, a pro-Jewish lawyer who stands for Israel's expansion of settlements in the West Bank and relocation of Israeli capital to Jerusalem, as the US Ambassador to Israel. The Obama administration, as a check on Israel, voted in abstention on the resolution of the UN Security Council demanding Israel stop its settlements construction in the West Bank. As a result, for the very first time since 1979, a UN Security Council resolution condemning the Israel's settlement plan was adopted. This angered Israel massively, and the Israeli prime minister denounced the resolution as a shameful anti-semitist attempt manipulated by the Obama administration from behind and Israel decided to retaliate. Donald Trump asked Israel to hold on firmly and wait for him to take office. This episode indicated that during his presidency, Trump is bound to adjust the US policy towards the Middle East which will drag the region into more serious chaos and will also seriously impact the situation in Europe and worldwide.

Eighth, the Ukraine crisis, the civil war in Syria and the nuclear issue on the Korean Peninsula that have caught attention worldwide are not at the top of Trump's agenda. He refused to take the call from Ukraine President Petro Poroshenko and firmly believes that Islamic State (IS) is the biggest threat to the United States. Syrian President Bashar al-Assad is a bad guy, but IS is even worse. He claimed that the right way to fight IS is to work with relevant parties such as Russia and that it is not easy for Kim Jong-un, as a young man, to run the DPRK and he would be ready to talk face-to-face with Kim on the Korean nuclear issue. As the United States, ROK and Japan are clamoring that the DPRK's possession of nuclear weapons and development of missiles pose grave threats, Donald Trump indicated that the DPRK's possession of nuclear missiles capable of reaching the United States won't happen. All these show that Trump does not take these hot-spot issues as urgent ones as the Obama administration did. From his egotist perspective, he does not want to spend money or energy on these issues that do not concern the core interests of the United States. He won't take chestnuts out of fire for others, and would rather shift these problems to others. It seems that he is planning to leave the burden of Ukraine to the EU, the Syrian issue to countries like Russia and Turkey and the Korean nuclear issue to China. In this way, no matter how the situation may develop, the United States will well protect its own interests and have ample room for maneuvering.

Given the above analysis, it can be concluded that during Donald Trump's presidency, the relations between the United States and other parts of the world will undergo major changes. The domestic situation in the country will be hardly stable because of various interwoven problems. The international

political, economic and financial situations will remain in turmoil as well. At this special historical moment, China needs all the more to stay firmly committed to its own path with the awareness of preventing possible risks and maintaining strategic composure. On safeguarding its core national interests, China must firmly implement what President Xi Jinping pointed out at the democratic discussion in the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee that China should be courageous enough to meet challenges head-on and not yield to any difficulties and never trade principles for benefits or swallow bitter fruits that undermine the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation under any pressure. 

Globalization, Deglobalization and the New Social Trend of Populism

By Ye Jiang*

There is no doubt that globalization, which started after the end of the Second World War and has thrived since the end of the Cold War, is confronted with the tremendous challenge of deglobalization. Deglobalization that has emerged in today's world is closely related to the new social trend of populism. This paper briefly introduces and examines the relations between globalization, deglobalization and the current new social trend of populism. The author invites comments on this paper from experts and scholars of international relations and diplomacy.

1. Globalization is confronted with the daunting challenge of deglobalization

There have been diverse definitions of globalization and different views on when it started. It is generally believed that there have been two

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waves of globalization in the world history: the first one lasted from the middle of the 19th century to the early 20th century (before the First World War); the second wave started after the end of the Second World War and has continued until present. The globalization we are discussing now is the latter. The current globalization is a process of tremendous changes in international politics and society worldwide driven by economic globalization, a process whereby the world becomes economically interconnected thanks to the cross-border and cross-region flow of factors of production such as goods, technologies, information, services, currencies and personnel enabled by international trade, capital flow, transnational production and technology transfer. As the British scholar Antony Giddens said, globalization is not only economic, but also political, technological and cultural. It has taken place thanks to the development of the world transport system in the late 1960s. In other words, because of globalization, the social, political and economic activities in one region will have a direct impact on the people and communities in another region. As such, different social sectors are increasingly interdependent in a growing number of areas. International interactions in political, economic, social, cultural and even military fields and their processes have therefore been accelerating, with deepening links of local, national and global affairs.

However, there is no denying that globalization is confronted with the daunting challenge of deglobalization. The concept of deglobalization was put forward in 2001 by Walden Bello, a professor of the University of the Philippines and an internationally renowned left-wing sociologist. In his book *Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy* published in

2002, Bello pointed out that deglobalization aims to shift the focus from export-oriented production to production in local markets. Obviously, Bello, from an academic perspective, called for changing the direction of globalization dominated by neo-liberalism, under the influence of the left-wing anti-globalization movement in November 1999. (When the third WTO ministerial meeting opened in Seattle, a massive protest took place to call on the WTO to pay attention to issues such as trade environment and policies on workers' welfare, and to voice dissatisfaction about globalization.)

Ironically, though the concept of deglobalization was brought up by a left-wing intellectual from a developing country in the South, it is the rightists from developed nations in the North that have been promoting deglobalization in recent years. Most strikingly, far-right political parties in major Western (Northern) countries have demonized globalization as a huge number of immigrants from poor developing countries in the South pouring into rich developed nations in the North and robbing them of a massive number of jobs. As such, developed countries must make deglobalization efforts to protect their own interests, for instance using state power to protect their own markets, stemming the frequent flow of technologies, information, services, currencies, personnel and other factors of production, reducing the interdependence among different areas in current international system and narrowing the scope of interdependence between countries. In June 2016, the referendum in the UK ended up with the victory of the Brexiters. In November, Donald Trump, the protectionist Republican candidate, won the US presidential election. These two events fully reflect deglobalization in developed countries.

European integration has proceeded in parallel with globalization since the end of the Second World War. It is both a response and a boost to globalization. (The free flow of goods, capital, services, technologies and personnel within the EU as part of its integration process is in line with the globalization trend.) Therefore, Brexit has in essence taken deglobalization forward. Worse still, as argued by Western scholars, the devaluation of the British pound against other major currencies in the immediate aftermath of Brexit plunges the prices of British goods to low levels in much the same way as Britain's abandonment of the Gold Standard. This has given a strong boost to deglobalization. The election of Trump who is extremely conservative and isolationist fully demonstrates the severe deglobalization challenge to globalization. After taking the oath as US president in January 2017, Trump has signed a series of executive orders, formally announcing the withdrawal of the US from the TPP, deciding to use federal funds to build a wall along the US border with Mexico, suspending the entry of refugees into the US, stopping issuing visas to ordinary citizens from seven Middle East countries including Iraq, Iran, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, and banning citizens from the seven countries who hold US visas from entering the US in the coming month until the US State Department and the Homeland Security Department make stricter approval procedures. Undoubtedly, what Trump has done marks the latest development of deglobalization.

In fact, the deglobalization trend that has emerged in Western developed countries dates back before 2016. After the outbreak of the world financial and economic crisis between 2007 and 2008, the Bush and Obama administrations pushed the US congress to adopt the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009

(ARRA). This act contains explicit protectionist provisions on “buying American products”, which mandates the use of US-made steel and other finished products in public buildings or public projects with investment under the new stimulus plan. At the same time, the EU reinstated agricultural subsidies to protect its market of agricultural products. This shows that the current deglobalization challenge originates in developed countries. It is these deglobalization efforts made by developed countries that have brought globalization to a low ebb. “The ratios of world trade to output have been flat since 2008, making this the longest period of such stagnation since the Second World War. The stock of cross-border financial assets peaked at 57 per cent of global output in 2007, falling to 36 per cent by 2015. Finally, the ratio of FDI inflows as against the total world output has remained well below the 3.3 per cent attained in 2007.”

The deglobalization trend in recent years can be attributed to a number of reasons. For instance, the impact of 2007-2008 global financial and economic crisis still lingers on; the demand for many commodities has significantly declined as the largest investment boom in world history has cooled down after accelerated globalization in the post-Cold War period; the stock of cross-border financial assets has fallen because the global credit boom has come to its end. However, it is worth noting that the deglobalization that originates in Western developed countries is closely related to the zeitgeist that is prevailing in Europe and America. The zeitgeist is populism and is mainly the new right-wing social trend of populism.

2. The new social trend of populism and its impact on globalization

In their book *Twenty-First Century Populism*, British scholar Daniele Albertazzi and Australian scholar Duncan McDonnell said populism is an ideology, which puts kind and homogenous ordinary people in confrontation with a group of elites and dangerous “others” and believes that the latter is a group who deprive the rights, values, success, status and voice of the former who are people enjoy sovereignty. In short, populism as an ideology stresses the need to uphold the interests of ordinary people in opposition to the elites, authority and “others”, and maintains that all destructive political means can be used to achieve its goal --- When people emerge as actors of history, they always have erratic or criminal tendencies compared with previous circumstances.

The origin of populism can be traced back to ancient Rome. The English word “populism” finds its root in the Latin word “populus” used in ancient Rome. For example, the Latin equivalent of the Roman people is “populous Romanus”. During the ancient Roman republic period, the Populares, who stood up to the Optimates at the Senatus, tried to use populist means to obtain the ruling position by mobilizing the Roman public. The well known Julius Caesar is one of its representatives. After a period of dormancy in the Middle Age, populism was resurrected during the Religious Reformation in Europe and had resurfaced from time to time in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Since the start of the 21st century, populism has gradually emerged as a new zeitgeist or new social trend. It has exerted important influence on Europe, America and even the world.

As a new social trend, the 21st-century populism in Europe and America still places premium on the power of the public and emphasizes the need for the middle and lower classes to join hands in direct political struggles against the political elites at the top. Yet, this new social trend does not call for abandoning the Western democratic system and embarking on an authoritarian political path. Rather, it believes in fighting the elites, authority and political establishment under the so-called democratic political framework. It is worth noting that the new social trend of populism in Europe and America can be clearly divided into the leftist and the rightist. On the left side, it is represented by the Coalition of the Radical Left in Greece and the leftist democrat Sanders who emerged in the 2016 US election and his supporters. On the right side, it is espoused by Donald Trump, the incumbent US president, Jean-Marine Le Pen, leader of the far-right Front National Party in France, and Nigel Farage, leader of the UK Independence Party. The most prominent difference between the leftist and rightist populism is as follows. The former calls on and pushes the middle and lower classes to oppose the elites and the establishment, while the latter not only fights the elites and the establishment, but also encourages and incites the public to oppose and exclude the “others” or “outside communities” who they believe are protected by the elites and the establishment, such as refugees, immigrants and Muslims. It is therefore can be seen that the leftist populism focuses on the duality of fight between the public and the elites, while the rightist populism underscores the triality of the confrontation between the public and the elites.

More importantly, it is the social trend of rightist populism that has, on the whole, exerted the most significant impact on current international politics and economy, especially on

deglobalization. First, the new social trend of leftist populism prevailing in Europe and America has joined forces with traditional populism to form a new type of populist nationalism. Nationalism always places emphasis on dividing human beings into different nations. National identity is the most important group identity, and national interests are the highest interests for every nation. To protect national interests, it is essential to build one's own state — nation state. Only a nation state can increase, expand and strengthen national interests. The populist nationalism, which is formed by combining the rightist populism and nationalism in Europe and America, is opposed to the elites, authority and establishment. It is also against free trade, capital export, regional integration, foreign cultures, immigrants and Muslims. It holds that sovereign nation states should protect the interests of the middle and lower classes by adopting trade protectionism, restricting direct overseas investment, rejecting refugees, blocking inbound immigration and withdrawing from regional integration mechanisms. Obviously, this is closely related to Brexit and the election of Trump in the US.

Moreover, the new social trend of rightist populism that has grown in popularity in recent years in Europe and America have bolstered the ranks of European far-right political parties and given them free reins to promote deglobalization. For example, right-wing parties who are skeptical of European integration and globalization have come to power in Central and Eastern Europe. Orban Viktor, leader of Hungary's FIDESZ, has been prime minister of the country since 2010. He has been critical about EU's integration policies and acted in public defiance of the UN and other international organizations on the international refugee issue. In Poland, the Law and Justice Party won the majority

votes to independently form a government in the 2015 election. At her first press conference, the new Polish Prime Minister, Beata Szydlo, demanded the EU flag to be removed with only the Polish national flag left. This fully demonstrates the negative attitude of the incumbent Polish government towards European integration and globalization.

In France and Germany, the two traditional engines behind European integration and globalization, far-right populist parties have also witnessed a significant rising momentum. Under the leadership of Jean-Marine le Pen, the Front National of France has garnered increasing support, even more than when her father Jean-Marie Le Pen was at the helm. This is because the Front National led by her is promoting populist nationalism which puts French interests above anything else, calls for French exit from the EU, and advocates trade protectionism. Therefore, her party has been popular and supported by the middle and lower class in France. Since 2015, Germany's far-right party Alternative für Deutschland has enjoyed increasing support. In the upcoming federal parliament election in September 2017, it is very likely to win over 5% of the votes to enter the German Federal Parliament. In addition, EU members in Western and Northern Europe such as the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark have witnessed the fast rise of rightist populist parties on the political scene. PVV, the far-right populist party of the Netherlands, is very likely to emerge as the biggest party in the 2017 parliamentary election. PVV leader Geert Wilders has promised to hold a referendum on whether the Netherlands will remain in the EU once his party wins the election and forms a cabinet. Pushed by rightist populism, the Netherlands, which is a founding member of the EU, seems to be following in the footsteps of the UK. In Sweden,

the far-right political party Sverigedemokraterna has become the third largest party in the parliament since 2014. In Denmark, the right-wing populist party the Danish People's Party is now the second biggest party in the parliament and an important member of the ruling coalition.

Lastly, rightist populism has exerted a strong impact on leftist populism. As such, the two have been aligned on a considerable number of deglobalization issues. Currently, leftist populism focuses on the dual confrontation and struggle between the public and the elites, while rightist populism stresses the triangular confrontation and fight among the public, the elites and others. However, the harsh criticisms of the rightist populists on globalism espoused by European and American elites have been echoed by leftist populists. Therefore, leftist populists have come close to rightist populists and joined forces on such deglobalization issues as opposing free trade, restricting cross-border capital flows, protecting domestic markets, purchasing domestic products and stemming job outsourcing. A case in point is the firm opposition to TPP articulated by both Republican candidate Donald Trump and Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton in the 2016 US election. Although Hillary is different from Trump and is not a populist, her attitude against TPP shows that the rightist populism in the US does have an impact on leftist populism and even center-left democrats.

3. Reasons for the rise of the new social trend of populism

The current populism in Europe and America, especially the social trend of rightist populism, has a direct impact on

deglobalization. Interestingly, it is the current globalization, particularly the deeper development of globalization since the end of the Cold War, that has triggered the rise of the new social trend of populism in Europe and America. Back in 1998, the author published an article on Xinmin Evening News, titled “Globalization: a Double-edged Sword”. In this article, I said that while promoting economic globalization and global development, globalization has caused such global problems as the spread of poverty across the world and environmental degradation. To a great extent, the rise of the new social trend of populism in recent years in Europe, America and even the whole world shows the effects of globalization as a double-edged sword.

First, the deepening of globalization has brought down the actual living standards of the middle and lower classes of developed countries in the North. This has garnered public support for the rise of populism, rightist populism in particular. Economic globalization is, to a great extent, an era of capital victory. It has given rise to extreme inequality in the US, a capitalist country that emphasizes free competition, where the richest 16,000 families have the wealth equivalent to that possessed by the poorest 145 million families, and the richest 20 people have assets more than the wealth held by half of the population. Even in the EU and its member countries which emphasize social welfare and equality, the trend of strong capital and weak labor has not been contained even with the deepening and expansion of the European integration. Since the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, income inequality among EU members has worsened. The income of the wealthiest 20% of the upper class is 5.2 times that of the poorest 20% at the bottom of society (Statistics of 2014). And the wealth gap

is still widening. It is clear that the middle and lower classes in Europe and America have not benefited from globalization. On the contrary, their life has been made more difficult. Therefore, a considerable number of them have become a staunch force in the new social trend of populism against globalization.

Second, since the 2008 world financial and economic crisis, the middle class in developed countries have been weakening and slid into the bottom of society, thus increasing the number of people hostile to the elites who have championed globalization. These disadvantaged people cherish the memory of the past glories of nation states and the protection of their interests. In July 2016, the McKinsey Global Institute published a report titled “Poorer than their parents? A new perspective on income inequality.” According to this report, the fall of the middle class is a common phenomenon in developed economies. In the 25 developed economies worldwide, 70% of the families had suffered from falling incomes, compared with 2% between 1993 and 2005. Undoubtedly, the sharp fall of the middle class inevitably triggers radical political trends and movements. This is closely related to the current social trend of populism and the rise of populist nationalism which combines rightist populism and nationalism in Europe and America.

Third, the deeply frustrated middle and lower classes in Europe and America are no longer tolerant of foreigners who have benefited from globalization. They hate the thriving multiculturalism and the changes in social moral principles as a result of globalization. This has also created conditions for the rise of the new social trend of populism. The lower social classes in Europe and America have been continuously

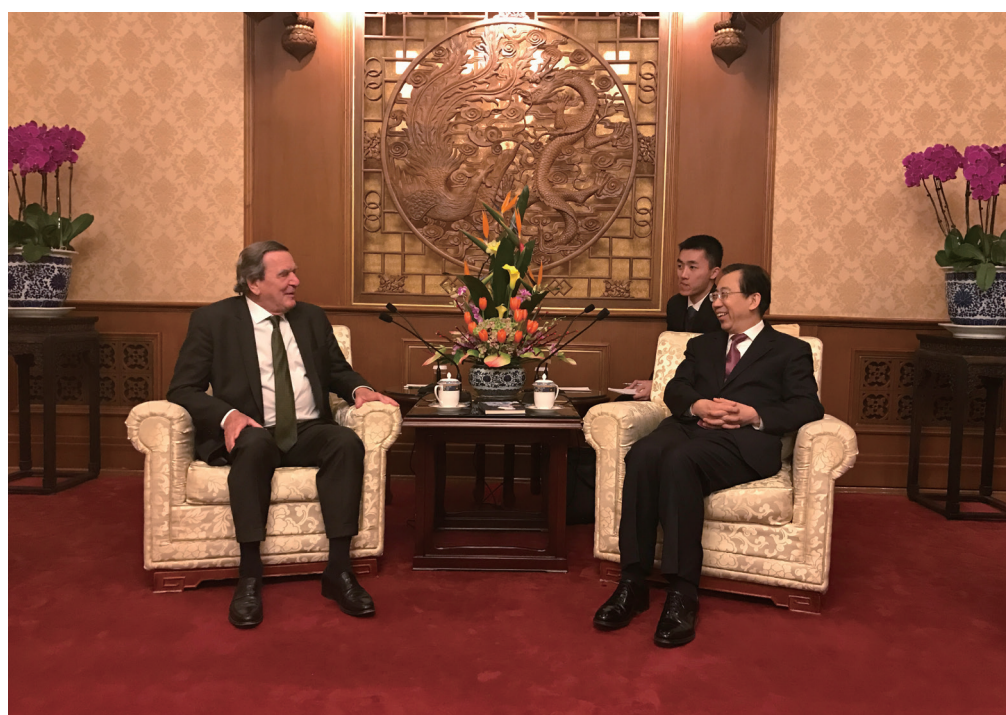
frustrated in the process of deepening globalization. They hate the multiculturalism and internationalism elites who welcome globalization and European integration and the changes in social moral principles that have been driven by globalization, such as universal gender equality, rights of minority groups, and LGBT rights. Therefore, they hope to bring the traditional morals of Western societies back to their own countries.

Lastly, the US and European countries are stuck in a dilemma on addressing issues related to globalization such as refugees, immigrants, lack of growth drivers and declining living standards and social welfare. This has also created a favorable environment for the rise of the new social trend of populism.

Since the global financial and economic crisis broke out in 2008, the ruling elites in developed countries such the US and Europe have done a less-than satisfactory job in ensuring sustained and stable growth, promoting global economic governance, addressing the imbalances in development and tackling the refugee crisis. As a result, people in Europe and the US have been discontented and believe that there will be no way out if they continue to look to the political elites and the establishment who believe in globalization and liberalization, and that only populist politicians who value the interests of the “masses” and put national interests first can really solve the problem. In such a context, the new social trend of populism finds an outlet in Europe and the US and formed among the disheartened middle and lower classes a potent whirlwind against globalization, traditional elite politics and the orthodox establishment. As a result, the present globalization is confronted with the huge challenge of deglobalization. 🌀

Visits & Events of CPIFA

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder



At the invitation of CPIFA, Mr. Gerhard Schroeder, Former Chancellor of Germany, visited Qingdao and Beijing from 8 to 13 February 2017. Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of the CPIFA, met with Mr. Schroeder on 12 February. The two sides exchanged in-depth views on Sino-German relations, China-EU relations and other issues of common interest.

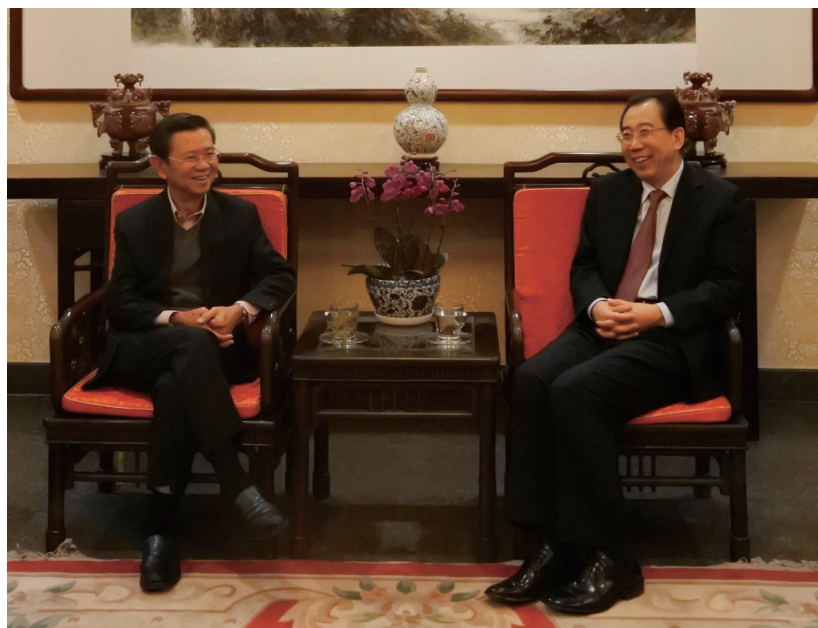
David Cameron Visits China



At the invitation of CPIFA, Mr. David Cameron, Former Prime Minister of the UK, visited Shanghai on 9 January. He attended the UBS Greater China Conference 2017 and shared his views on Brexit, China-UK relations and other issues.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former Singaporean Deputy Prime Minister

Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with H.E. Wong Kan Seng, former Deputy Prime Minister of Singapore

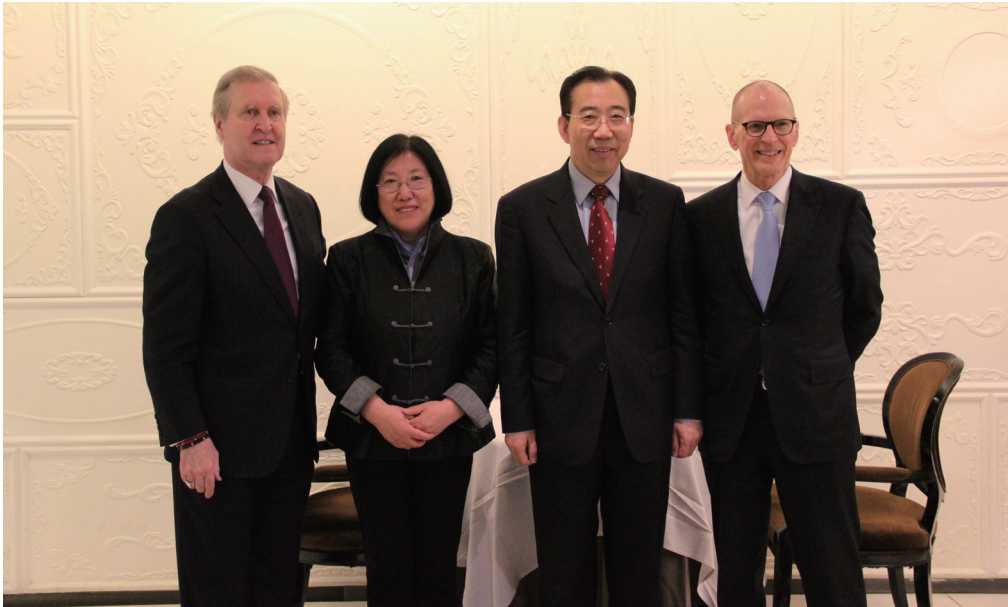


and Ascendas-Singbridge Pte Ltd Chairman, on March 17, 2017. The two sides exchanged views on matters of mutual interest such as Sino-Singapore relations and regional situation.

President Wu Hailong Meets with Former U.S. Defense Secretary William S. Cohen

On Mar. 22nd, 2017, Ambassador Wu Hailong, President of CPIFA, met with visiting Mr. William S. Cohen, former Secretary of Defense of the United States. The two sides exchanged views on Sino-American relations and other issues of common interests.

Ambassador Wu expressed that both China and the U.S. should intensify communication and coordination via multiple channels including people-to-people diplomacy to ensure a long-term and stable development of China-U.S. relations and constructive bilateral cooperation which conform to the common



interests of the people not only of both sides, but also of the international community.

Former Secretary Cohen noted that U.S.-China relations are of great importance. The two countries share a lot of common interests on multiple issues either in the bilateral relationship or in the international arena. He hopes both sides could strengthen their strategic communications and cooperation, and wishes the forthcoming meeting between President Xi Jinping and President Donald Trump a fruitful and rewarding one.

Executive Vice President Lu Shumin visits Nepal

At the invitation of Nepal Institute of International and Strategic Studies (NIISS), a working group led by Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, visited Nepal from Feb. 16th to Feb. 19th. During the stay in Nepal, the Chinese working group met with H. E. Mr. Krishna Mahara, Vice Premier



and Financial Minister of Nepal and the Foreign Secretary Mr. Shankar Bairagi. They also had a discussion with NISS. The two sides exchanged views on China-Nepal bilateral relations and cooperation.

Executive Vice President Lu Shumin visits India

At the invitation of Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), a delegation led by Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, visited India from Feb. 19th to Feb. 22nd. During the stay in India, the 4th ICWA-CPIFA Dialogue, co-sponsored by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA) and ICWA, was held in New Delhi. The Chinese delegation, led by Amb. Lu Shumin, consisted of Amb. Peng Keyu, Vice President of CPIFA, Mr. Mao Siwei, Former Chinese Consul General to Kolkata, as well as the experts and scholars from China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and China Institute of International Studies. The Indian



delegation, headed by Amb. Nalin Surie, Executive Director of ICWA, included representatives from Ministry of Foreign Affairs and think tanks of India. The participants conducted in-depth discussions on the topics of “New US Administration’s Policies towards Asia-Pacific and Indo Pacific”, “India-China Bilateral Relations and Cooperation” and “India and China's Respective Strategic Vision of the World”.

After the dialogue, the Chinese delegation met with Mr. A. Geetesh Sarma, Additional Secretary of Ministry of External Affairs of India, and had a discussion with Research & Information System for Developing Countries.

Executive Vice President Lu Shumin visits Pakistan

At the invitation of Islamabad Council of World Affairs (ICWA), a delegation led by Amb. Lu Shumin, Executive Vice President of CPIFA, visited Pakistan from Feb. 22nd to Feb. 24th.



During the stay in Pakistan, the Chinese delegation met with H. E. Mr. Sartaj Aziz, Adviser to Prime Minister on Foreign Affairs, H. E. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman of Parliamentary Committee on China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), H. E. Mr. Ahsan Iqbal, Minister for Planning, Development and Reform and H. E. Mr.

Syed Gardezi, Additional Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They also had a discussion with Islamabad Institute of Strategic Studies. The two sides exchanged views on China-Pakistan relations, CPEC constructions and Afghanistan issues. 🌐

中国特色经济外交迈入新时代

张 军 外交部国际经济司司长

2017年的中国经济外交，以习近平主席在达沃斯世界经济论坛年会开幕式上的重要演讲拉开帷幕。习主席的演讲引发了全球政、商、媒、学术等各界的广泛关注和深入解读，各方普遍认为，习主席的演讲契合当前世界经济和经济全球化面临的复杂形势，给出解决根本性问题的答案，为陷入迷茫的国际社会指明方向，稳定了人心、提振了信心、凝聚了共识，充分展示了中国的大国担当精神和领导力。

这是近年来习主席对外交往的一个片段，也是新时期中国经济外交的一个缩影。近年来，中国相继成功主办了亚太经合组织（APEC）领导人北京会议、二十国集团（G20）领导人杭州峰会，习主席的经济外交足迹更是遍及联合国发展峰会、金砖国家领导人会晤、G20峰会、APEC领导人会议等多个重大国际场合，发出中国倡议、提出中国方案、贡献中国智慧。中国经济外交站在新的历史起点上，展现出更鲜明的时代特色。

一、引领世界经济方向

2008年国际金融危机以来，国际社会一直在积极探索世界经济走出困境的有效路径，但时至今日情况仍未见明显好转。世界经济增速依然低迷，全球贸易和投资长期不振，保护主义和逆全球化思潮泛起，全球产业链、供应链和价值链加速重塑，地缘政治格局面临重大调整，世界经济面临的不确定性和不稳定性增多。中国已成为全球第二大经济体、第一大制造业国和货物贸易国、第三大利用外资国和对外投资国。对世界经济而言，中国经济不但是稳定锚，

更是动力机和牵引器。中国也一直在为世界经济走出困境寻找办法和出路，积极与各方分享中国方案。

在多个重要场合，习主席结合中国的发展经验和理念，为世界经济深度“把脉”，开出了一系列标本兼治、综合施策的中国“药方”，体现出十分鲜明的中国特色。

一是直指问题症结。中国人讲究医病治根，找到了病灶才能药到病除。习主席在达沃斯世界经济论坛年会的演讲中指出，当前世界经济面临全球增长动能不足、全球经济治理滞后、全球发展失衡三大突出矛盾，找准了世界经济问题的根源。习主席提出打造富有活力的增长模式、开放共赢的合作模式、公正合理的治理模式、平衡普惠的发展模式，指出了世界经济化解矛盾、走出困境的新路径。习主席在演讲中还专门针对当前逆全球化声浪上扬势头，深刻阐述经济全球化的规律特点，倡导各方认识其“双刃剑”属性，共同引导好经济全球化走向，推动实现经济全球化进程的再平衡，让不同国家和群体共享经济全球化的好处。这为坚定各国对经济全球化前景的信心、共同引领经济全球化向包容普惠方向发展发挥了重要作用。

二是坚持创新引领。当前，全球经济增速放缓的主要原因在于内生增长动力不足，通过创新解放和发展生产力是突破增长瓶颈的根本之道。在中方的倡议下，2016年G20杭州峰会首次设置创新议题，开创性地制定了《创新增长蓝图》，倡导各方抢抓创新、数字经济、新工业革命带来的新机遇，就结构性改革的优先领域、指导原则和指标体系达成共识。这在G20历史上均属首创之举，为挖掘世界经济增长潜力、开辟世界经济新一轮增长格局奠定了坚实基础。

三是强调开放共赢。伴随着世界经济的深度融合，各国日益相互依存，形成你中有我、我中有你的命运共同体。只有在开放合作中分享机会和利益，才能实现互利共赢。习主席在达沃斯强调，要坚定不移发展开放型世界经济，中国始终是全球开放合作的践行者和推动者，将大力构建面向全球的自由贸易区网络。在2014年APEC领导人北京会议上，中方推动会议作出启动亚太自贸区进程的重大决定并批准《北京路线图》，迈出建设亚太自贸区的实质性一步。2016年，在全球开放合作遭遇逆流、亚太区域合作面临挫折之际，习主席在APEC领导人利马会议上，呼吁各方以一张蓝图干到底的精神，把共识转化为切实有效的行动，早日建成亚太自贸区，为推进亚太开放型经济发挥了“定盘星”作用。

二、高举全球发展旗帜

作为全球最大的发展中国家和新兴市场国家的重要代表，中国深知发展问题的重大影响和深远意义，始终积极致力于推动国际发展事业，促进世界各国共同发展。在2015年9月联合国发展峰会上，习主席提出以公平、开放、全面、创新为核心要素的发展理念和加强国际发展合作的政策主张，并宣布了一系列支持国际发展合作的务实举措，彰显了中国在全球发展合作中的负责任、建设性大国形象。习主席在峰会上同各国领导人一道通过2030年可持续发展议程，为面向未来的各国发展和国际发展合作指明了方向。

时隔一年，中国再次高举发展旗帜，推动杭州峰会成为G20历史上发展中国家参与最广泛、发展特色最鲜明、发展成果最突出的一届峰会。G20杭州峰会第一次将发展问题置于全球宏观政策协调框架的突出位置，第一次就落实2030年可持续发展议程制定行动计划，第一次就支持非洲和最不发达国家工业化采取集体行动，得到广大发展中国家的充分肯定和广泛赞誉。峰会后不久，中国就发布了落实2030年可持续发展议程国别方案，继续放大杭州峰会积极效应，成为落实发展议程国别行动方面最大亮点之一，实现了中国国内发展议程与国际发展议程的协同推进。

气候变化《巴黎协定》是全球发展合作的重要共识，中方一直发挥积极作用，努力推动加快其生效和落实。G20杭州峰会筹备期间，在中方的大力倡导下，G20发表了历史上第一份气候变化问题主席声明，各成员国一致承诺率先签署和落实气候变化《巴黎协定》。峰会期间，在中方精心安排下，中美两国领导人共同向时任联合国秘书长潘基文交存《巴黎协定》批准文书，展现了在应对气候变化问题上的表率作用。习主席还在达沃斯重申了中国对《巴黎协定》的坚定支持，呼吁各方共同坚守承诺，不能轻言放弃，切实承担对子孙后代必须担负的责任。这一系列行动凸显了中国在应对气候变化问题上的责任担当精神。

三、完善经济治理模式

国际金融危机暴露了全球经济发展的不平衡与国际金融体系改革的严重滞后，凸显了进一步加强和完善全球经济治理体系建设的重要性和紧迫性。全球经济治理体系只有适应国际经济格局新形势和新要求，才能为世界经济增长提供更加有力的保障。当前，国际经济力量对比正在发生重大深刻变化，构建更加公平、合理、可靠、高效的全球经济治理体系已成为亟待解决的重大课题。中国等

新兴市场国家日益从国际舞台的边缘走向中央，是现阶段全球经济治理体系变革最显著的特点，这既是由新兴市场国家不断提升的经济实力和国际影响决定的，也是全球经济治理体系改革发展的大势所趋。

主办G20杭州峰会是中国深度参与全球经济治理、加快推进全球经济治理体制改革的一次成功实践。习主席在G20工商峰会（B20）开幕式上首次系统提出以平等为基础、以开放为导向、以合作为动力、以共享为目标的全球经济治理观，倡导共同构建公正高效的全球金融治理格局、开放透明的全球贸易和投资治理格局、绿色低碳的全球能源治理格局、包容联动的全球发展治理格局，为完善全球经济治理体系描绘了路线图。在办会过程中，中国全力推动G20因时而变，与时俱进，为G20从危机应对向长效治理机制转型、从侧重短期政策向短中长期政策并重转型奠定了坚实基础，巩固了G20国际经济合作主要论坛的地位，也为世界经济稳定复苏提供了坚实的机制保障。

中国是国际金融机构改革的积极推动者。在中国担任G20主席国期间，推动IMF落实了延迟多年的份额改革方案，实现人民币加入国际货币基金组织（IMF）特别提款权（SDR）货币篮子，沉寂多年的国际金融架构工作组得以重启，新兴市场和发展中国家代表性和发言权得到有力提升，国际金融机构改革取得重要突破。

中国还积极参与国际经济金融新机制建设，对现有的全球经济治理体系和国际金融机构形成了有益补充。在中国的倡导和推动下，金砖国家新开发银行正式挂牌，成为二战后首家发展中国家自主建立的国际金融机构；亚洲基础设施投资银行正式投入运营，首批57个创始成员国遍及五大洲，涵盖大、中、小不同国家，为全球基础设施和互联互通建设注入新动力、带来新活力。

中国在推进全球经济治理变革方面有理念、有机制、有行动、有成果，既立足自身发展需要，又兼顾各国共同利益，成为改革和完善全球经济治理体系的领军者。

四、服务国家发展战略

外交是内政的延续，服务发展、促进发展始终是经济外交的出发点和落脚点。当前，中国与世界的联系融合更加紧密，国内与国外的互联互通效应更加凸显，中国经济外交服务国内发展更是应有之义、应尽之责，也迎来良好契机。

一是以经济外交为平台，积极营造有利的外部环境。过去几年，中国成功举办多边经济峰会，深入参与全球经济治理，积极推动国际金融体系改革，在全球

经济治理中的制度性权力得到大幅提升。这对于稳定外部经贸环境、维护国家发展利益、拓展发展空间都具有重要的现实和长远意义。

二是以互利合作为主线，大力推动国内经济转型发展。在“一带一路”框架下，中国积极同有关国家加强发展战略对接，全面深化在贸易、投资、基础设施、人文往来等领域的务实合作，达成了一系列重要合作协议和成果。中国积极开展国际产能合作，同30多个国家签署了产能合作协议，为国内经济和产业结构转型升级提供了强大助力。中国积极利用主办重大主场外交活动的机会，为地方发展注入活力和能量。杭州等城市在主办大型活动后经济社会面貌焕然一新，实现了“办好一个会，提升一座城”的目标。

三是以机制优势为依托，不断维护拓展走出去的利益和空间。目前中国境外企业数量已达3万余家，遍及全球各地区和国家，2016年出境人数达1.22亿人次。中国外交部和驻外使领馆积极为境外企业提供信息、法律等服务，加强对重大项目的把关，全力保护海外企业和公民的合法权益。同时，驻外使领馆充分发挥一线优势，及时向地方省市提供有关国家经济发展政策、重点合作领域等方面的信息，积极为企业开展对外合作牵线搭桥。外交部还积极改革创新，主动打造省区市全球推介活动的新品牌，先后为宁夏、广西、陕西、四川、贵州、云南举办推介活动，让各个地方不出国就能同各国探讨合作，让各国使节不出北京就能同各地进行交流对接。

五、分享中国发展理念

随着中国经济地位和国际影响的不断提升，外界对中国经济模式和发展道路的思考和研究也不断增多，不少人都在问：中国经济快速增长的秘诀是什么？中国经济能否成功实现转型？中国经济的发展前景如何？习主席多次利用出席经济峰会的重要国际场合，从历史和现实的角度、从国内外比较的视角阐释中国道路，演绎创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享五大发展理念，揭示中国发展奇迹的奥妙所在，与世界分享中国发展的成功经验，让“中国故事”在全球范围内引起共鸣，充分展现了中国的道路自信、理论自信、制度自信和文化自信。

在杭州B20开幕式上，习主席全面回顾总结改革开放38年来中国走向世界、世界走向中国的历程，与各国分享中国发展经验，强调中国的成功得益于探索前行、真抓实干、共同富裕，引发国内外各界强烈反响。在达沃斯世界经济论坛年会开幕式上，习主席概括总结中国特色发展道路，为国际社会提供有益借鉴，强调中国发展道路从本国国情出发确立，从中华文明中汲取智慧，博采东西方各家

之长；把人民利益放在首位，在人民中寻找发展动力、依靠人民推动发展、使发展造福人民；不断解放和发展社会生产力，不断解放和增强社会活力；在开放中谋求共同发展，实现自身发展的同时更多惠及其他国家和人民。习主席的精辟论述展现了中国发展道路的强大生命力，为世界认知中国发展模式、把握中国发展理念提供了多维度视角，提振了各方对中国发展的信心，拉近了中国同世界的距离。

2017年对中国经济外交来说是一个不平凡的年份，我们将先后举办“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛和金砖国家领导人厦门会晤两大主场外交。这不仅是中国自身的发展契机，也将为世界经济和各国发展带来新的机遇。“一带一路”倡议是中国为应对世界经济困境和全球发展瓶颈提供的解决方案，也是中国向国际社会提供的重要公共产品。通过主办“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛，中方期待同各方一道，进一步深化伙伴关系，建设合作新平台，打造发展新格局。通过主办金砖国家领导人会晤，深化南南合作，不断提升新兴市场和发展中国家在全球经济中的地位和作用，为完善全球经济治理和推进国际发展合作注入新的动力。

中国经济外交正迈入一个大有作为的新时代！

深化中俄全面战略协作 共同谱写合作共赢新篇章

桂从友 外交部欧亚司司长

回首2016年，国际格局加速调整变化，国际力量对比朝着更加公正合理的方向发展。在以习近平同志为核心的党中央坚强领导下，中国外交顺应国际形势发展变化大势，攻坚克难、开拓进取，以更加坚定、自信和稳健的姿态应对一系列风险与挑战，开创了中国特色大国外交全面推进的新局面。

俄罗斯是最早、也是迄今唯一与我建立全面战略协作伙伴关系的大国。在双方领导人的亲自关注和大力推动下，中俄关系在2016年保持高水平发展，取得一批令人瞩目的重要合作成果。双方隆重庆祝《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》签署15周年和建立战略协作伙伴关系20周年。习近平主席和普京总统5次会晤，发表3份重量级联合声明，就双边关系下阶段发展和重点合作领域、共同维护全球战略稳定、促进网络信息安全等达成重要共识。两国各领域务实合作不断深化，人文交流红红火火。双方就重大国际和地区问题保持密切沟通协调，携手捍卫国际法权威，推动热点问题政治解决进程。中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系已成为维护国际和平稳定的一块压舱石。

以史为鉴，可以知兴替。中俄关系的发展成果并非一时一日之功。在过去三、四百年间，特别是近1个世纪以来的交往中，两国关系走过了不平坦的历程。在中国人民抗日战争后期，苏联出兵中国东北，和中国人民一道，消灭了日本关东军主力军，加速了日本军国主义的灭亡。两国人民在共同抗击日本法西斯的战斗中，用鲜血凝成了深厚的友谊。中国人民也永远记得苏联人民为中国人民抗日战争取得最终胜利所作的重要贡献。1949年10月新中国成立后，苏联为新中国的建设和发展提供了大量无私援助，特别是帮助中国建设了156个工业项目，为新中国奠定了工业基础。后来随着双方交往

中出现一些复杂情况和问题，中苏两国、两党关系恶化，以致形成了30年冷战对抗局面。冷战结束后，中俄两国领导人深刻总结中苏关系发展的经验教训，从世界和平发展的大势出发，高瞻远瞩，摒弃冷战思维，实现中苏关系正常化，并推动中俄关系发展不断迈上新台阶。1992年双方相互视为友好国家，1996年建立战略协作伙伴关系，2001年签署《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》，2011年建立全面战略协作伙伴关系。

党的十八大以来，以习近平同志为核心的党中央高度重视发展中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系。2013年3月，习近平主席就任国家主席4天后，应普京总统盛情邀请，把友好邻邦和战略伙伴俄罗斯作为第一个出访的国家，足见中方对发展中俄关系的高度重视。2014年2月，习近平主席又应普京总统邀请，专程赴索契出席冬奥会开幕式，这是中国最高领导人首次出席国际奥运会，也是习近平主席连续两年将俄罗斯作为年度首访国。2014年5月，普京总统应习近平主席邀请访华，两国元首签署并发表联合声明，宣布平等信任、相互支持、共同繁荣、世代友好的中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系进入新阶段。

中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系高水平发展的主要标志是：

——双方政治和战略互信达到前所未有的高水平。两国彻底解决了历史遗留的边界问题，4300多公里共同边界成为连接两国人民友谊的纽带。《中俄睦邻友好合作条约》将世代友好的和平理念以法律形式确立下来。两国在涉及彼此核心利益的问题上相互坚定支持，双边关系中不存在任何政治敏感问题。中俄互为最可信赖的战略伙伴和好朋友。

——两国高层交往和各领域合作机制健全并不断完善。双方建立了元首年度互访、总理年度定期会晤、立法机关年度交往机制，成立了投资、能源、人文、经贸、军技、安全、地方等涵盖各领域的副总理级合作委员会，各部门间交往与磋商机制完备。双方还成立了统筹协调民间交往的中俄友好、和平与发展委员会，因应双边关系发展需要改组建立中国东北地区与俄罗斯远东及贝加尔地区政府间委员会、中国长江中上游地区与俄罗斯伏尔加河沿岸联邦区地方合作理事会。两国政府多数主管部门之间也建立了密切的磋商交流机制。中俄关系发展具有牢固的机制保障。

——两国积极对接各自发展战略。两国元首达成中俄发展战略对接和“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟对接的重要共识，积极开展国际产能合作，能源、投资、高科技、金融、基础设施、农业等各领域合作发展迅速，现代化和科技创新含量不断提升。田湾核电站成为中俄核能合作的典范项目，中俄东线天然气管道正在建设，联合研制远程宽体客机和重型直升机有利于提升两国综合国力和国际

竞争力，中小企业合作、电子商务等新兴领域合作后来居上。蓬勃发展的各领域合作作为中俄关系发展增添强劲动力。

——两国关系的社会民意基础日益巩固。双方成功举办国家年、语言年、青年友好交流年、旅游年、媒体交流年等国家级大型人文主题年活动。两国人员往来每年超过300万人次，中国赴俄游客数量超百万，连续多年保持俄最大外国游客客源国地位。双方互设文化中心，成立联合大学，两国留学生交流规模达7万余人。两国民众对对方国家的语言、文化越来越感兴趣，相互了解与友谊与日俱增。发展中俄友好合作关系成为两国人民的共同心声和愿望。

——两国在国际和地区事务中开展密切战略协作。中俄同为世界主要大国、联合国安理会常任理事国和新兴市场国家，都主张坚决捍卫联合国宪章的宗旨、原则和国际关系基本准则，倡导世界多极化和国际关系民主化。双方在联合国、二十国集团、亚太经合组织、亚信等国际多边框架内密切协调配合，共同倡导建立了上海合作组织、金砖国家和中俄印等多边机制并努力推动其发展，全力维护中亚、东北亚等共同周边的和平稳定。中俄都主张，对话协商是化解分歧的有效方式，政治谈判是解决争端和冲突的唯一途径。双方联合推动伊朗核问题妥善解决，积极推动朝核、叙利亚等热点问题的政治解决进程。

——两国合力应对全球安全威胁和挑战。中俄都认为，一国的安全不能建立在损害别国安全的基础上，应树立共同、综合、合作、可持续的安全观，致力于构建人类命运共同体，实现共同安全。中俄坚决捍卫二战胜利成果和国际公平正义，绝不允许法西斯主义和军国主义复活，坚决反对单方面发展并在世界各地部署战略反导系统。面对日益严峻的分裂主义、恐怖主义和极端主义等非传统安全威胁，中俄主张反恐要标本兼治，加强协调，建立全球反恐统一战线。

苏联解体后的20多年来，中俄关系之所以能够始终保持高水平健康稳定发展并取得丰硕成果，首先得益于双方着眼两国共同利益和世界和平发展大势，创造性地选择了最适合两国关系发展的道路——在不结盟、不对抗、不针对第三方的基础上，发展平等信任、相互支持、共同繁荣、世代友好的全面战略合作伙伴关系。

中俄互为最大邻国，共同边界长达4300多公里。邻不宁则家难安。双方相互关系如何，对两国各自国家安全和环境具有关键影响。历史一再证明，对于中俄这两个搬不走的邻居，无论结盟还是对抗，都不是两国相处的最佳模式，无法实现长久和平安宁。坚持对话不对抗、结伴不结盟，建立共同繁荣、世代友好的睦邻友好合作关系，最符合两国和两国人民的根本利益，具有长久的生命力。

中俄都是新兴市场国家，都处于发展振兴的关键阶段，拥有相似的发展目标，在地缘、人才、市场、资源、技术等方面有较强的互补性。两国在良好政治关系的基础上，不断加强各领域全方位合作，既是互通有无，又是强强联合，能够助力彼此发展振兴，实现互利共赢。

中俄都是联合国安理会常任理事国，在维护地区及世界和平稳定方面拥有广泛共同利益，肩负重任。双方有责任、有义务加强在国际和地区事务中的全面战略协作，共同推动多边主义进程，推动国际秩序和国际体系朝更加公正合理的方向发展。这是两个大国应有的担当和必须承担的历史使命。

中俄关系20多年来健康稳定发展，还得益于双方始终秉持一系列顺应时代发展潮流的创新精神、原则和理念。这些精神、原则和理念不仅成为指导中俄关系长远发展的领航标，也为大国、邻国间和谐相处，为建立以合作共赢为核心的新型国际关系提供了有益模式和实践。

一是结束过去，开辟未来。1989年，邓小平同志和时任苏联领导人戈尔巴乔夫达成“结束过去、开辟未来”的重要共识。结束过去并不意味着忘记历史，而是全面汲取经验，深刻总结教训，不走回头路，不重蹈覆辙，着眼开辟两国关系发展的新未来。这展现了两国领导人的政治智慧和远见，成为中苏关系正常化和以后中俄关系顺利发展的指针。

二是相互尊重，平等互信。相互尊重是国与国打交道的前提，主权平等是数百年来国与国规范彼此关系最重要的准则。中苏关系在50年代后期恶化，根本原因也是背离了平等原则。冷战结束后，中俄关系实现了平等，双方在相互尊重的基础上，基于高度互信和共同利益开展平等合作，都不做强加于对方的事，都尊重对方国家和人民的自主选择，时时、事事、处处相互尊重，平等相待。

三是相互支持，合作共赢。中俄达成“四个相互坚定支持”的共识，坚定支持对方维护本国核心利益的努力，坚定支持对方走符合本国国情的发展道路，坚定支持对方发展振兴，坚定支持对方把自己的事办好。双方都主张以邻为伴、与邻为善，都视对方的发展为本国发展的机遇，真诚希望对方国家发展得更好、人民生活得更好。双方都视对方为主要合作伙伴，发展合作着眼长远，倡导共赢共享，不谋求单赢，不做一锤子买卖，更不做损害对方利益的事。同时，中俄关系和双方合作不是排他、封闭的，具有广泛的开放和包容性，双方都愿意共同与其他方开展合作，与此同时，中俄合作基于两国自身的内在需要，基于世界和平与发展大势，不针对第三方，也不受第三方影响，因为任何针对第三方或受制于第三方的合作都是不稳定的，也是不可持续的。

四是互学互鉴，友好协商。中俄作为有着不同历史、传统和文化的两个大国，合作领域广泛，人员交往频繁，在具体合作中不可避免会出现这样那样的问题。但双方都能从两国关系发展大局和两国人民友好感情出发，本着互学互鉴、友好协商、相互照顾和考虑彼此关切的原则妥善处理合作中出现的问题，寻求互利共赢的解决方案。同时，双方重视从实践中汲取经验教训，采取预防性措施，防患于未然，并积极寻求建立避免和及时有效化解具体合作领域分歧的长效机制，这是两国关系成熟的一个重要体现。

步入2017年，世界经济低迷形势未减，逆全球化、贸易保护主义暗流涌动，国际政治格局也面临一系列不确定和复杂因素。习近平主席和普京总统从两国关系长远发展和和平、发展、合作、共赢的时代潮流出发，达成中俄关系“三个不变”的重要共识：无论国际和地区形势怎么变，双方坚持巩固和深化中俄全面战略协作伙伴关系的方针不会变，致力实现两国共同发展振兴的目标不会变，携手捍卫国际公平正义和世界和平稳定的决心不会变。这“三个不变”的重要共识充分表明了中俄持续深化彼此关系与合作、共同促进世界和平发展的坚定目标和决心，战略引领两国关系未来发展方向。新形势下，两国原有的全方位合作格局要长期坚持，合作领域需乘势深化，战略协作的维度和深度应进一步拓展。中俄关系唯有越来越好，越来越实，才能跟上时代发展的步伐，才符合两国和两国人民的根本利益，符合国际社会的共同期待。

——要持续深化政治和战略互信。中俄关系达到今天的高水平，是双方几代人共同努力奋斗的结果，对两国、对世界都极其重要和珍贵。牢固的相互信任、坚定的相互支持是双边关系的重要基石。但互信绝非一劳永逸的事情，需要在两国关系发展的全过程中与时俱进地不断培育、积累和增进，坚持不懈、持之以恒地予以关注。双方将充分利用两国领导人交往机制和完备的合作平台，就两国大政方针、内外政策、发展战略等重大问题坦诚深入沟通交流，加大在涉及彼此核心利益问题上的相互支持力度，增信释疑，确保从战略、全局和长远角度审视和发展中俄关系，确保任何情况下始终牢牢把握住中俄关系向前发展的战略方向，防止有人离间干扰中俄关系。

——要下大力气推进经济利益交融。双方将继续围绕两国元首达成的两国发展战略对接和“一带一路”建设与欧亚经济联盟对接共识，创新合作思路和模式，全面深化经贸、投资、能源、地方、高科技等各领域合作，推动商品贸易向联合研制、联合生产、联合运用转变，推动战略性大项目合作取得更多实际成果。将中小企业、科技创新、农业合作作为今后两国发展合作的潜力股精心培

育，激发市场活力和潜力，营造新的合作增长点。在合作过程中，双方各部门将更加注重从战略和大处着眼，积极研究新情况新问题，本着开拓创新精神，为两国企业合作提供政策性支持和服务。双方还将进一步理顺人员往来方面的问题，方便人员合法、有序往来，为扩大务实合作发展创造便利条件。相信中俄利益交融将进一步深化，两国关系的物质纽带将进一步加固。同时，中俄两国的全方位互利合作也必将进一步带动整个欧亚大陆乃至更广范围的互联互通、基础设施等领域合作，有力促进区域经济一体化进程，实现各方普惠和共赢。

——要进一步筑牢民心工程。人民之间的感情培养不是朝夕之功，需要通过双方春风化雨、润物无声的长期工作才能更加显现效果。今年正值中俄友好、和平与发展委员会成立20周年，双方将更多发挥其作为中俄民间交往主渠道的作用，广泛调动民间力量参与中俄经贸、人文、地方等各领域合作，以点带面，在两国社会各界大力弘扬平等信任、相互支持、共同繁荣、世代友好的精神，进一步巩固中俄关系的社会和民意基础。双方将继续大力推动两国青少年增进相互了解，不断扩大相互留学规模，让中俄友好的接力棒代代相传。双方将继续办好中俄媒体交流年，推动两国媒体积极宣传报道两国关系和各自发展成就，打破西方对国际舆论的把持，塑造对中俄两国公正的国际舆论环境。

——要携手在构建人类命运共同体进程中发挥更大作用。新年伊始，习近平主席在日内瓦全面、深刻、系统阐述了人类命运共同体理念，主张共同推进构建人类命运共同体伟大进程。中俄构建新型国家关系的成功实践与构建人类命运共同体的理念一脉相承，是构建人类命运共同体的有益探索。双方有责任、有义务继续深化全面战略协作，在国际和地区事务中推动对话协商和政治解决，在经济合作中推动合作共赢，不断强化中俄全面战略协作在构建人类命运共同体进程中的示范作用，与各方一道，为建设一个持久和平、普遍安全、共同繁荣、开放包容的世界而不懈努力。

2017年是中国发展进程中的关键一年。中国共产党将召开第十九次全国代表大会，“十三五”规划将全面深入推进。2017年也将是世界人民为克服困难和挑战、追求和平与发展不懈奋斗的一年。中国古诗云，“潮平两岸阔，风正一帆悬。”俄罗斯谚语道，“大船必能远航”。中俄作为全面战略协作伙伴和世界大国，将继续扬起和平发展、合作共赢之帆，在两国元首战略引领下，不断深化全面战略协作，坚定做世界和平的建设者，全球发展的贡献者，多边主义的维护者，推动两国关系继往开来，与国际社会一道，共同谱写友谊与合作的新篇章。🌐

中美关系的历史经验和重要原则

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中美关系是当今世界最为重要和复杂的双边关系。举要回顾中美关系发展历程，可见两国关系历经跌宕起伏。期间积累的历史经验和重要原则，可为双边关系继往开来提供有益启示。

一、20世纪中美关系的历史回顾

(一) 冷战与中美关系缘起。20世纪40年代，中美在反法西斯战争中并肩作战。两国均为联合国创始会员国，为建立和维护战后和平国际秩序发挥了重大作用。新中国诞生正值美苏“冷战”，随着朝鲜战争爆发，美国参战并决定派遣第七舰队侵入台湾海峡。《中苏友好同盟互助条约》签订，使美国决策集团在中苏之间“打入楔子”的幻想破灭。50年代，中美两国在朝鲜战场上兵戎相见，展开殊死较量。战后，美国政府一直坚持对华“遏制”政策。

(二) 关系正常化与中美建交。苏联因素成为中美两国接近的催化剂。60年代美国为了摆脱越战泥沼和对付苏联扩张，开始“尼克松主义”的战略收缩并逐步调整对华关系。中美两个宿敌找到了国家安全利益的融汇之处，联手抗苏的战略共识构成了中美关系正常化的基础。70年代初，“小球推动大球”。1972年，中美签署了《上海公报》。美国认识到“在台湾海峡两边的所有中国人都认为只有一个中国，台湾是中国的一部分”。美国政府对这一立场不提出异议。”

中美历时7年才正式建交，主要障碍就是台湾问题。1979年，中美《建交公报》发表。美国政府接受中方提出的“建交三原则”：断绝同台湾的所谓“外交关系”，从台湾撤出美国全部武装

力量和军事设施，废除同台湾的所谓“共同防御条约”，承认中华人民共和国政府是中国的唯一合法政府。中国政府实施“和平统一，一国两制”基本方针。中美建交后，美国国会通过《与台湾关系法》，持续干涉中国内政并不断向台湾出售武器。在中方坚决斗争下，两国于1982年8月17日就分步骤解决美国对台售武问题发表《“八一七”公报》。由此，三个公报为中美关系的健康稳定发展奠定了重要基础。

中美关系正常化和中美建交，翻开了两国关系史上新的一页，为中国的改革开放提供了有利的外部环境，改革开放又进一步推动中美关系的发展。20世纪80年代，中美围绕台湾、贸易、知识产权等问题矛盾和斗争不断，但两国在政治、经济、科技、文化等领域的交流亦持续蓬勃发展。

(三) 中美关系经历国际格局变化考验。80年代末到90年代初，国际格局发生激烈动荡和深刻变化。东欧剧变、苏联解体，中国也发生了一场严重的政治风波。美西方势力一时甚嚣尘上，美国政府于1989年宣布对华实施经济制裁。邓小平同志提出“冷静观察、稳住阵脚、沉着应付、韬光养晦、有所作为”的指导方针。中国坚定地维护了国家的主权和安全，稳住了改革开放的大局和中国特色的社会主义事业。邓小平在会见美国总统特使时指出：“归根到底中美关系要好起来才行，这是世界和平和稳定的需要。”中国处变不惊，紧张严峻的中美关系得以缓和。

90年代，克林顿入主白宫后，将人权问题与“对华最惠国待遇”挂钩，使中美关系坠入低谷。1993年11月在美国西雅图召开的亚太经合组织领导人非正式会议上，中美两国领导人会晤并达成共识：把一个健康、稳定的中美关系带入21世纪。次年，克林顿政府提出对华接触政策；美国政府宣布将人权问题同“最惠国待遇”脱钩。

但1995年，李登辉访美事件导致中美关系跌至两国建交来的最低点。之后，中方本着“增加信任、减少麻烦、发展合作、不搞对抗”的精神处理中美关系，同时坚持在台湾问题上的原则立场。美政府认识到台湾问题的严重性和敏感性，表示同中国进行“建设性接触”十分重要并重申了一个中国的政策。1998年中，克林顿总统访华。双方进一步明确了面向21世纪中美关系发展的方向。克林顿首次公开明确承诺对台湾的“三不”政策。

在20世纪尾声，美国“新干涉主义”给中美关系带来了新的挑战。1999年5月，美国国会抛出“考克斯报告”，污蔑中国“盗窃”美“核机密”。科索沃战争中，美国为首的北约袭击中国驻南联盟大使馆，使原本因中美两国元首互访而正处于上升阶段的两国关系骤然恶化。1999年底，美国和北约对死伤的人员和馆

舍进行赔偿，两国关系开始走出“炸馆事件”的阴影。

之后，中美两国就中国加入世界贸易组织最终达成协议。2000年，中美关系进一步得到恢复与发展。在联合国千年首脑会议和亚太经合组织领导人非正式会议期间，两国元首先后举行了会晤；两国恢复了安全对话和军事交流；美国国会通过了对华永久性正常贸易关系法案。

二、21世纪初期的中美关系

（一）小布什时期中美关系的起伏

2000年总统竞选期间，小布什放弃了克林顿时期关于建立美中“战略合作伙伴”关系的表述，将中美关系定位为“战略竞争对手”。2001年1月小布什就任美国第43届总统。上台初期，特别是在海南岛东南海域上空发生美国EP-3军用侦察机与中国军机的撞机事件后，小布什政府对华态度愈加强硬，公开抨击前任对华政策过于软弱，一度公开将中美关系定性为“战略对手”，甚至声称将竭尽所能保卫台湾，触及中美关系中台湾问题的红线。

“9·11”恐怖袭击事件的爆发为美国调整对华政策提供了契机。“9·11”事件后，反恐斗争吸引了美国举国上下的注意力，确保美国国家安全成为美国第一要务。在对外关系上，美国“新保守势力”以是否支持“反恐”为标准划线。中方及时致电美领导人，对美国遭受恐怖袭击表示同情，强烈谴责国际恐怖主义，并表示积极同美协作共同打击一切形式的恐怖主义。后美方放弃了“战略竞争对手”之类咄咄逼人的提法，两国之间的紧张气氛得以缓解。中美关系步入新一轮稳定发展阶段，美国对华政策逐渐调整，转而希望将中国塑造为国际体系中“负责任的利益相关方”。

（二）奥巴马“亚太再平衡”与中美关系

新世纪全球化、多极化不断深入发展，中美两国实力对比出现重大变化。2001年到2011年十年间，中国经济两度高速增长。一次是中国加入世界贸易组织后，迅速发展成全球性贸易大国。另一次是2008年由华尔街金融泡沫引起的全球金融危机，美国软硬实力再遭重创。中国经济稳步腾飞，规模迅速扩大，超过德国和日本，成为全球第二大经济体。

“坐二望一”的中国经济引起举世关注，但也从某种意义上印证了“木秀于林、风必摧之”的古喻。中美两国关系原有支点出现某些松动。本世纪头十年推动中美关系发展的“双引擎”——经贸合作与反恐合作，同时出现变化。奥巴马总

统决定从伊拉克和阿富汗逐步撤军，加速实施“重返亚太”或“亚太再平衡”战略。美国国家安全战略重点重心东移，转向防范其他大国崛起的挑战。美国还加紧推进跨太平洋经济伙伴关系协定（TPP），企图取代WTO游戏规则。

此外，一些原本不属于中美关系范畴的“第三方因素”凸显，干扰甚至绑架了美国对外政策和对华政策。在中国东海和南海问题上，美国改变“不选边站队”承诺，行动上偏袒另一方，给正常的中美关系横添负面影响。一段时间内，西方媒体充斥着中美关系处于“濒危”或“临界”状态的假设性讨论，甚至断言中美关系难以避免史上新兴大国与守成大国必有冲突的“修昔底德陷阱”。

习近平主席审时度势，高屋建瓴地指出：我们必须统筹国内、国际两个大局，防止“两个陷阱”。对内，要迈过“中等收入陷阱”，在改革、发展、稳定之间着力谋求平衡点，稳增长、调结构、惠民生、促改革，使中国经济行稳致远。对外，要防止陷入所谓“修昔底德陷阱”，避免守成大国与新兴崛起大国发生冲突。习主席提出要构建中美新型大国关系，其深刻内涵包括：不冲突、不对抗，相互尊重，合作共赢。这为中美关系的发展指出了正确的方向。

（三）特朗普胜选中美关系面临新的十字路口

2016年美国大选，正值国际格局持续发生深刻复杂变化。特朗普胜选和此前英国公投脱欧，被公认为当年世界两大“黑天鹅”事件，增加了国际形势“不确定”性。特朗普竞选时曾发表一系列对华强硬的负面言论。例如，指责中美贸易伤害其利益，将美国国内就业问题部分归咎于对华贸易逆差；打出“美国优先”旗号，表示力促更多就业机会“回流”；抨击中国操纵人民币汇率以扩大出口。美对华态度消极倾向上升。

特朗普当选后，习近平主席发去贺电，并于11月14日与特通话。在贺电中，习主席表示期待同美方一道努力，秉持不冲突不对抗、相互尊重、合作共赢的原则。在通话中，习主席强调，合作是中美两国唯一的正确选择。但特朗普此后与台湾当局领导人蔡英文通话；又在“推特”发文质疑一个中国政策，致双边关系数度遭受波折。2017年1月，美国新总统宣誓就职。中美关系两面性凸显，挑战与机遇交织。

在以习近平同志为核心的党中央的坚强领导下，中国就涉及国家核心利益问题与美进行了坚决有力的斗争，向国际社会昭示我捍卫国家主权和领土完整的坚强决心，促特朗普的“学习曲线”逐步发生积极变化，并纠正前一阶段错误做法，回归到一个中国政策的正确道路。2月10日，习近平主席再次与美国总统特朗普通电话。特朗普强调，他充分理解美国政府奉行一个中国政策的高度重要性，

美国政府坚持奉行一个中国政策，表示愿“与中方发展建设性关系”。

中美两国元首良性互动，“落子定盘”，为中美关系前行发出积极信号，也锚定了新的起点。所达成的重要共识，维护了中美关系的政治基础，稳住了中美关系发展大局，缓解了国际社会对中美关系的担心和疑虑，为中美两国在双边、地区乃至全球层面开展各领域合作提供了必要条件。

三、中美关系继往开来

（一）历史经验予人启迪

“以史为鉴，可以知兴替”。纵观历史，中美关系历经曲折坎坷。其在跌宕起伏中不断砥砺前行的发展历程，可给人以重要启迪：

第一，冷战初期，中美两国关系走向敌对；美国当政者以意识形态“划线”决定敌友阵营，只能导致新中国奋起抗争，走上“抗美援朝，保家卫国”的道路。

第二，新中国自立于世界民族之林，在大国关系中形成一支举足轻重的力量，是中美关系得以发生转折的重要原因。国家安全需要促使中美两国跨越意识形态鸿沟实现关系正常化。第三，中美两国交往合作的战略支点是国家利益的融汇之处。中美之间有很多利益交汇点，两国关系本质上是互利共赢的，双方共同利益远大于分歧，且对话合作始终是中美关系主流。第四，台湾问题是中美双方争论最多、斗争最激烈的问题，甚至常导致中美关系大落大起。能否坚持一个中国的原则并处理好台湾问题，直接关系到中美关系的稳定、改善和发展。第五，必须以相互尊重、平等协商的精神解决双方的分歧。任何遏制、制裁或威胁的企图，不仅无助问题的解决，反而会导致对抗甚至冲突。第六，历史事实同时昭示，中国只有保持稳定，不断发展、壮大自己，才能维护和发展好中美关系。

（二）现实情势深刻变化

当前，国际格局正经历冷战结束以来最为深刻复杂的调整。美西方作为国际格局传统“常量”，在全球力量对比中步入下坡路，自信不在、心态难平，反成影响国际关系稳定的“变量”。而随着综合国力的提升和全方位外交的开展，中国充分展现了道路、理论、制度、文化方面的“四个自信”，对中美关系之塑造力也不断增强，应该也必须有自己的战略定力和耐心。

中美关系何去何从，不仅事关双边关系。两国合作与共同发展，不但会造福于两国人民，更有利于亚太地区乃至整个世界的稳定、和平与繁荣。两国关系分歧不断是事实，但共同利益在增加也是事实。双方须进一步坦率对话、坦然交

底、坦诚合作，保证中美关系大船避开暗礁并不断平稳向前。

中美两国力量对比趋近，战略态势扭转，客观决定两国战略竞争和博弈的一面在上升。但与此同时，双方均无意走向冲突与对抗。因此，特朗普对华政策具鲜明的两面性：一面把中国视为经济和安全对手，另一方面在国内经济发展、基础设施建设、反恐和其他国际与区域事务等重大问题上仍需同中国合作。目前特朗普的对华政策仍在形成过程中，中美关系还会经历一个磨合期。


（三）未来前景正待开拓

1. 拓展利益，聚焦合作。中美同为联合国安理会常任理事国，同是现行国际秩序的受益者和维护者，对地区和国际和平、安全与繁荣负有重大而独特的责任。中方愿与美方一道努力推动国际体系朝着更加公正合理的方向发展，共同应对反恐、气候变化、疾病防控等各种全球性挑战，也愿同美方加强在朝鲜核、伊朗核、阿富汗等地区热点问题上的沟通与合作。在亚太地区，双方应鼓励包容性外交，共同为地区和平、稳定、繁荣发挥建设性作用。“宽广的太平洋足够大，容得下中美两国”。在双边关系上，中美拥有广泛共同利益和坚实的合作基础，经贸关系是中美关系大船的压舱物。双方要不断拓展务实合作，打造合作亮点，做大利益蛋糕，扩大就业，拓展双向投资和基础设施等领域的合作。制裁或贸易战无益于任何一方，应努力加以避免。此外，还要加强两军、执法、能源、卫生等领域务实合作；同时促进各界交流，夯实两国关系的社会基础。

2. 相互尊重，求同存异。中美作为国情不同的两个大国，须客观理性看待彼此战略意图，相互尊重主权和领土完整，尊重各自选择的政治制度和发展道路，相互尊重对方的核心利益和重大关切，理解对方的文化传统，不把自己的意志和模式强加于对方，这是两国关系保持健康稳定发展的重要前提和基础。中国走和平发展道路，是集思想自信和实践自觉于一体的既定国策。当然，只有大家都彼此和平相处，共同发展道路才能越走越宽。中国真心希望也需要和平发展，但不会吞下牺牲自己主权和核心利益的苦果。在国际事务中，中国主张走开放包容、合作共赢的道路，共同构建人类命运共同体。希望美方能正确看待和适应中国的变化，以平常心 and 包容心欢迎中国的发展和成功，并从中找到合作机遇。和平发展的中国，不应被视为美国的威胁。中美应共同努力，摒弃“零和”游戏和“冷战”思维。这是事关中美关系正确方向的根本问题，不容战略误判。

3. 管控分歧，避免对抗。“智者求同”。中美两国发展阶段、社会制度、文化传统、经济利益都存在差异，时而产生误解、分歧乃至摩擦不可避免。须坚持对话和平等磋商，择宽处行，求共同利，谋长久计，不因一时一事动摇中美关

系稳定发展的基础。要以建设性方式妥处分歧和敏感问题，不做损害对方核心利益的事。价值观的摩擦，可通过对话保持沟通并增信释疑；利益上的冲突，应当以谈判进行协调，不使经贸问题政治化；即使是结构上难以调和的矛盾，也要设法管控好分歧，力求克制，防止误判，通过危机管理机制，严防擦枪走火。双方须登高望远，不断扩大、深化协调合作。“合则互利，斗则俱伤”。“不冲突，不对抗，相互尊重，合作共赢”，符合中美的根本利益，也顺应和平、发展、进步的时代潮流。中方愿与美方一道，相互尊重，相互包容，增进战略互信，避免战略误判，携手应对全球性挑战，使两国人民和世界人民不断从中受益。

习近平主席指出：“合作是中美两国唯一的正确选择”。中美两国合作不能解决世界上的所有问题，但对解决所有世界性问题都必不可少。当然，中美关系健康稳定发展，还要靠双方相向而行。

变动中的亚太格局与应对之策*

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亚太地区是世界上经济发展最具活力的地区，其在世界经济中的权重很大。与此同时，亚太地区又是中美利益及矛盾的交汇点，亚太地区的局势发展是各国的关注点。因此，如何理解当前的亚太格局是十分重要的。

一、亚太地区经济新格局

从经济上看，亚太地区形成了北美消费、东亚生产这样一种大结构。在这个架构下，东亚地区生产的扩张高度依赖于北美的消费增长，形成一种“危险的平衡”。在这种平衡架构之下，美国制造业向东亚转移，经济逐步服务业化，制造业在经济中的比重降低到10%左右。东亚则正好相反，大量吸收来自美国的投资与之有关的产业链投资，经济的主体结构制造业化，服务业所占的比重在下降。在东亚生产，北美消费这样的结构下，资金流动却出现了逆向性，即东亚积攒了大量的美元，这些资金以非直接投资的形式向北美流动，逆向流动让美国成为借贷国，东亚地区成为投资者，由此，东亚需要的直接投资资金又从美国流出，这是另一种“危险的平衡”。

2008年的次贷危机就打破了这两种危险的平衡，出现了消费和制造的结构分离，以及资金流动回转链条断裂。首先，由于信贷危机，美国消费的扩张力消失了，甚至可以说是萎缩了，反馈到东

* 本文系根据张蕴岭研究员在2016年中国亚太学会年会上的主旨演讲整理而成，发表时作者进行了修改补充。

亚的制造业上就是东亚的制造业开始遇到冲击，失去了外部支撑的基础，也没有扩张的动力。我们看到，这就是为什么2008年金融危机以后，几乎绝大部分制造业都没有想到这次金融危机的调整需要这么长时间。已经8年了，今后还需要多少年，现在还看不清楚。为什么这么慢呢？重要的原因就是——新的平衡没有形成。那么，未来可能形成新的平衡吗？未来新的平衡的结构方向还不明确，到底是建立在一种什么样的结构上？

首先是如何重建平衡，是不是需要重建内部结构，来寻求新的突破。比如美国下大功夫，要重建制造业。迹象表明，美国正试图这么做，通过提供优惠措施，让制造业回归，让制造业比重大幅度提高。要让制造业重回美国，困难不少，但看来下决心要做。就美国来说，重建内部结构的重点在哪里？恐怕优势不在传统的产业，在创新产业。这个方面如何，还要看。就东亚而言，也不会回到只为自己生产的道路，还是要参与分工，但是要提高内部消费的能力，提高服务业比重。未来，东亚重构服务业的潜力相当大。当然，东亚在制造方面有优势，不能丢。除了日本，还有韩国，还有中国、马来西亚等，因此，要大力发展制造业。如果东亚区域内部消费能力提高了，又有结构调整，发展服务业，应该可以重建经济增长活力。不过，重建的动力有多大，通过什么样的途径，还值得研究。

再则是如何创建新的增长机制。新的增长机制在哪？我觉得，亚太地区发展的潜力还是在东亚地区。现在，我们有一个新的思路——发挥东亚的增长潜力主要在于改善东亚发展中国家的综合发展环境。“一带一路”倡议旨在推进新型发展合作，重在通过改善发展环境，发挥经济综合发展的潜能。现实的情况是，“一带一路”沿线的东南亚国家的经济主要是外部依赖型的，其内部的基础环境差，综合发展潜力发挥不出来。东盟提出了互联互通建设，但是它缺乏资金，因此，进展很慢。东盟建成了自贸区，内部关税基本为零，但要增加内部的贸易和投资很难，为什么？其中一个重要原因就是综合的发展环境差，特别是基础设施不完善，往外走容易，往内部拓展反而难。“一带一路”建设从基础设施入手，改善东南亚的基础发展环境，这样，东盟内部的发展潜能就可以更好的发挥出来了。几年前，我就提出，不要光把努力的重点放在开放上，还要注重开展合作，改善综合发展环境，来拉动经济的内在发展动力。通过“一带一路”建设，改善互联互通，可以激发东亚的发展潜力，形成新的增长区域，拉动亚太地区整体的经济关系结构的重构，这是个大思路。

第三是如何创建东亚新的活力。东亚的制造业中心过去是中国，经过调整扩展，现在接替的是越南，从未来的发展看，印度加入的潜力很大，也就是说印度

会加入东亚行列。当然，这也有争论，因为印度是一个以服务业为主体经济的国家，制造业不强。但是印度现在制订了制造业发展的蓝图，莫迪上台之后对过去的发展规划有很大的调整。这样的话，在东亚地区，中国的潜力还在，越南、印度等新的制造业聚集地正在崛起，所以，东亚很可能形成一个新的制造业中心。这个新的制造业中心不仅仅是地区的，而且是世界的。

第四是如何推动亚太地区的合作。亚太地区经济链接紧密，需要开放合作的大框架。1989年，亚太地区建立亚太经合组织（APEC），目的是想构造一个单一的、高度一体化的、开放的、合作的亚太区域市场和区域经济。但是，后来由于1997年的金融危机以及其他的一些原因，出现了多向发展，APEC失去了对亚太地区一体化构建的主导影响力。2010年APEC通过领导人声明推动亚太自贸区（FTAAP）建设，2014年中国借APEC领导人会议在北京召开让FTAAP进入建设进程，中美牵头进行战略性研究，2016年战略性研究报告完成，领导人同意继续推动FTAAP建设，但现实地看，其建设进程会很长。英国退出欧盟让人们们对区域合作进行反思。过去谈区域合作，一般认为，路径是先建自贸区（FTA），后一步一步提升，建立共同市场，然后成为共同体，这似乎是一个从低到高的发展定势。从现在看来，这个路径难有普遍适用性。东亚的情况很复杂，要建成一个统一的地区组织很难。当年东亚区域合作红火的时候，希望推动东亚峰会机制建设，以替代“东盟+”的对话结构，但后来没有成功，也有人提出来在东亚推动统一货币建设，当时日本很积极，但后来也没有进展。东亚地区将来可能永远也不会有一个统一的区域货币和统一的区域合作组织。东亚地区需要合作，但是合作的形式多样，东盟成功了，把10个国家聚拢起来，建设共同体，但要把东盟扩大到东亚也难。面对新的形势，有关区域合作的问题也值得反思。美国抛开中国搞高标准的跨太平洋伙伴关系（TPP），TPP不能解决美国的问题，也会使亚太地区分裂，让TPP成为亚太地区的主导模式行不通。由于TPP成员经济发展水平差别很大，TPP协议不可能达到美国原来设定的标准，而过度让步的协议，必然遭到国内利益集团的反对。在美国大选中，无论是民主党的希拉里，还是共和党的特朗普，都表示反对TPP。而当选的特朗普总统宣布，美国将退出TPP，转向双边谈判。

东盟主导东亚16个国家谈判区域全面经济伙伴关系（RCEP），没有美国参加，如果模式定的好，肯定谈得成。RCEP要有自己的模式，适合东亚地区的经济结构和未来发展需要。RCEP不能以TPP为模板。原来，参加TPP的东亚成员，如日本、新加坡、澳大利亚新西兰都希望RCEP尽可能多的吸收TPP的内容。如今，TPP不能实施，RCEP可以放下包袱，构建适合东亚的结构。RCEP

不要希望一揽子解决所有的问题，只能逐步深化。

原来想，就亚太地区而言，将来，理想的办法是把两个合起来，或者直接推动亚太自贸区（FTAAP）的建设，但是这两个办法都不容易。特朗普总统退出TPP，让TPP夭折，RCEP在继续进行谈判，美国退回孤立主义和双边主义，在此情况下，如何继续推动亚太的合作，需要新的方法和新的动力。从现在的情况看，美国对谈判FTAAP也不会感兴趣，亚太合作如何推进，值得研究。

二、亚太力量对比新格局

亚太地区力量对比的转变是值得重视的，因为它影响很大，既影响经济，也影响政治。在亚太地区力量转变中，最突出的就是中国经济力的提升带动了综合实力的提高。中国经济力提升，成为了世界第二大经济体。同时，中国成为了亚太地区拉动经济的主体因素。在经济的新增贡献中，无论是从地区，还是从世界，中国的贡献占比美国多得多，成为对亚太和全球经济增长的主要拉动因素。特别是，中国综合实力提升，对亚太地区的国家间关系产生巨大的影响。就国家间关系而言，综合力量很有意义。鉴于国家的主体力量主要体现在总量指标，即便中国的人均GDP到2050年以后仍将居全球中位，但总体实力会居前位。一个国家总量指标代表着一个国家的动员力，这也就是为什么，美国如此重视中国综合力量的快速提升。

亚太地区力量以往发生过大的变化。日本曾经提升为第二大经济体，但是日本缺乏像中国这种综合的实力提升。日本是一个“不完整的国家”，它没有独立的安全构建能力，依托在美日同盟之上，所以它没有形成综合力量提升。日本的崛起主要在经济，这就是当年为何美日之间发生那么激烈的贸易摩擦。中国不一样，它是综合力量提升，因此，摩擦不仅发生在经贸领域，还有安全。

在力量转换中，还有一个因素是预测影响力。现在几乎所有的预测都认同，2050年之前中国会成为世界第一大经济体。一旦预测被接受，就是力量，各国就要按这个趋势做准备。像马丁·雅克，他就写“当中国统治世界的时候”，这样一个预测定论对于亚太地区的影响很大，这就是为什么虽然我们自己不接受G2，实际上却在亚太形成了中美两大力量对决的一个架势。从现在来看，大家都认为中国离美国还差一大截，但是加上预测这个因素，大家都相信了。这个预测对于力量的对比分析，制定政策的影响非常大。还有，中国作为一个后起者，被认定对霸权美国形成全面的冲击和挑战。特别是中国这样一个曾经强大，后来衰落，现在又复兴的大国，更令人敬畏。从认识上，很多人认为，一个新复兴的国家会

从新起点上去重构，而像中国这样一个曾经的世界强国不同，会把失去的东西要回来，这两个因素就使得外界对中国的预测认识变得更为复杂。我们看到，现在的许多矛盾，都受这两个因素的综合影响。

尽管中国是在现行国际和地区体系上崛起，但中国崛起带来的影响还是多方面的。从经济上，中国要树立新增的竞争力，复兴就是重建辉煌，把曾经失去的重建起来。“一带一路”建设是推进新型发展合作，但重提丝绸之路，也有“唤回逝去的记忆”的含义。中国曾经是世界强国，这个“唤回”也会让人们担心，担心中国想重新构建主导地位。就安全领域而言，冷战结束后，这个领域主要是美国主导，未来保持原样是不行的。中国提出要建设新型大国关系，构建更加公平合理的秩序。美国对构建这种新型关系和秩序担忧。中国反对强权，声明不会称霸，但怎么才能让人相信中国推动建设的新体系是平等的、合作的、和平的呢？中国的崛起让很多国家感到焦虑，其中有大国，也有小国，这些就形成了一种抱团的趋势，要对中国进行制约，很多国家在各种力量之间脚踩两只船，权衡各种利益。因此，亚太地区的关系和合作面临中国崛起和美国战略重构的复杂挑战。

三、亚太地区热点新特征

在力量转换之中出现了热点搅局问题，许多大局方面的事情因此被搅乱了。热点问题过去也有，但是没有现在这么热。像东北亚，朝鲜半岛，似乎又回到对抗的老路。在相当长的一段时间，东北亚的主导趋势是推动协商、合作，但美国搞重返亚洲，朝鲜搞核武器试验，韩国搞萨德部署，让合作让位于对立和对抗。这种热点升温 and 对抗升级能不能降下来？会不会继续升级呢，大家都非常担心。朝鲜半岛危机重重，各方不仅不让步，还在升级，一是南北对抗，无解；二是大国参与无共识。美国大选后会出现什么样的政策变化，还要观察，韩国国内政局不稳，会出现什么样的变化，也有待观察。不过，有一条可能是共识，就是打起仗来太危险，也难有全胜者，这可能是一条红线，制约对抗升级。过去，东北亚曾分享过六方会谈取得的积极成果，但是，现在似乎又回到老路。看来，对抗一时难以降温，对话合作难以启动，将来能不能，什么时候重新回到协商对话的状态，还值得观察。在这种情况下，中国要发挥大作用，要有影响力的战略，到底应该怎么选择，如何发挥大作用，值得研究。

南海问题因菲律宾单方提起诉讼和单方仲裁以及美国加强介入而变得紧张。面对复杂的形势，南海问题如何解决，出路到底在哪里？我看，恐怕不能太急，太燥，要冷静观察，等待时机。领土争端最难解决，需要时间，静观求变可能是

一个好的战略。我认为，在争端升温的情况下，需要推动“公共产品”的建构。当然，公共产品，无论从概念上，还是从实践上都比较复杂，关键是要有理念，要有行动，让大家接受。比如，当年，我国提出“主权归我，搁置争议，联合开发”，就是在坚持主权不放弃的情况下，寻求和平、合作的目标，推动联合开发尽管效果不理想，但缓和了形势，推动了合作意识和行动。公共产品是一家提供，还是共同提供？公共产品能有哪些？特别是，中国的战略怎么样来定位？这些都是值得研究的问题。随着菲律宾国内政局的变化，黄岩岛局势发生转变，合作代替对抗，这很好。关于南海领土和领海、专属经济区争端，有些学者建议共享主权的概念。共享主权接受起来挺难，比如，中国和菲律宾在黄岩岛共享主权，可能双方都很难接受。菲律宾提出，先把岛屿放一边，把海域变成共同捕鱼区，把泻湖变成保护区，这可能是一个好的思路，这比搁置争议又近了一步。

南海出现了新的变局，中国的战略在变，中国有越来越大的能力来掌控这个地区，但其他的势力也在干预，所以南海就变成了一个地区力量的博弈场所。南海最重要的是稳住大局，中国要打发展合作这张牌，求最大公约数。美国炫耀武力不解决问题。

东海也升温。东海问题的实质就是中日力量的转化，近代日本崛起，掌控了东海，二战日本战败，美日成了亲密的盟国，钓鱼岛的问题就是在这样一个环境下形成的问题。现在，中国的综合实力上升，2010年，中国的GDP超过日本，现在已经是日本的两倍多了。中日之间的竞争是利益之争，会持续很长的时间。日本以应对中国崛起为目标打造新日本，在这个情况下，如何稳住中日关系非常的重要。同时，东海地区不仅是中日之争，还有美国在这个地区构建的秩序，因此，秩序转变需要时间，理想的状态是平滑进行，这既需要力量，也需要时间。

实现中华民族复兴是大局。既要靠自身不断提升实力和能力，也靠能把握外部环境的大局。亚太地区正在并将继续发生重要的变化，在诸多变化中，中国本身是一个越来越重要的变量，这是认识亚太地区发展的一个重要基点，需要我们研究工作者以新的思维方式、新的视角和新的方法进行观察和分析。

(孙喜勤 整理)

欧洲民粹主义的特点、根源和影响

梅兆荣 中国前驻德国大使,外交学会前会长

当前国际形势乱象丛生,孕育着深刻、复杂的变数,不确定因素和不稳定性明显增多。而在世界各地呈现的诸多乱象中,以英国公投脱欧、欧洲民粹主义崛起、特别是特朗普当选美国总统搅动国际关系的力度最大。

近年来,欧洲民粹主义极右势力呈群体性上升趋势,不少欧洲国家的政党生态已发生重大变化。其中尤为突出的是:2014年5月欧洲议会选举中民粹党异军突起,一举拿下近五分之一议席,从上届的近50个席位猛增至140多个议席;在北欧,瑞典民主党已是议会第三大党,而丹麦人民党以第二大党身份成为执政联盟重要一员;在东欧,波兰法律与公正党以超半数的议席单独执政,匈牙利青民盟则联合其他政党掌权;更值得注意的是,英国独立党在公投脱欧中起了关键作用,法国、德国、意大利、奥地利、荷兰等国民粹主义政党的民意支持率急剧上升,而2017年荷、法、德三国将先后举行议会或总统选举,意大利也可能要提前举行议会选举,其中法、德、意三个欧盟核心成员国选举的结果对欧洲政治生态的影响可能更为深远。

创立于1972年的法国极右翼民粹党“国民阵线”业已成为法国传统左、右翼阵营之外的第三大政治势力。2002年该党主席让·玛丽·勒庞在总统选举中曾闯入第二轮投票,只是在左右翼合力阻击下才未能胜出。现在该党在老勒庞的女儿玛丽娜·勒庞领导下民意支持率已跃居全国第一,今年4月总统选举中进入第二轮投票似无悬念,在5月第二轮对决中是否会再次被左右两大阵营联手击败有待事态发展。如果她当选法国总统,并实施该党的反移民、反欧盟和退出欧元区的政纲,对欧盟的打击效应将超过英国脱欧。

德国选择党是2013年在欧债危机的背景下，打着反对用德国纳税人的血汗钱来填补南欧国家债务无底洞的口号成立的。当时这一主张虽遭主流舆论鄙夷，但在部分普通民众中却引起了共鸣。2015年夏天，债务危机被来势凶猛的难民潮挤出舆论焦点，该党乘机充实其政纲，经济上主张退出欧元区，政治制度上鼓吹直接民主，社会政策上反对多元文化，抵制伊斯兰教在德国传播。正是凭借这些政策主张，并借助民众对默克尔难民政策的不满情绪，该党于2016年3月在巴符州、莱法州和萨安州分别以高得票率进入州议会，接着于9月在梅前州以20.8%得票率成为该州第二大党，两周后又在首都柏林取得14.2%的选票进入州议会。至此，该党已在全国16个州中的10个进入州议会。民调显示，今年9月大选后该党进入联邦议会已无悬念，但不可能主导德国政局。

意大利“五星运动党”自2009年诞生以来不断发展壮大，已成为颇有号召力的最大反对党。该党也主张直接民主，厌恶当权的政治精英统治，以“反建制”、“反全球化”和反对欧盟扩大权力为其核心政策理念，其鲜明的观点和政策目标受到中下层群众特别是青年学生和工薪阶层的支持。早在2013年大选中，该党支持率已超过中右政党而仅次于中左的民主党。2016年6月该党两名女青年一举拿下罗马和都灵两个重要城市的市长职位。2016年12月，时任总理伦齐为贯彻其改革主张和排除制度障碍而发起“修宪”公投，“五星运动党”发动群众以创纪录的65%多数予以否决，迫使伦齐总理不得不辞职。在当前意经济停滞、主权债务加重、银行业危机凸显、青年就业困难的情势下，如提前大选，该党有可能获胜。

1956年成立的奥地利自由党直至上世纪80年代影响力还有限，但到上世纪末支持率已上升至20%以上。该党喜欢推动公投民主，鼓吹排外乃至种族主义口号，1999年大选中得票率飙升至27%，作为第二大党与奥人民党组成右翼联合政府，一度遭致欧盟成员国制裁和孤立。2011年该党通过名为“奥地利优先”的新党纲，虽认同欧洲联合，但主张各成员国保留更多自决权，反对把国家主权和权力让渡给欧盟，抵制全球化。由于目前奥经济增长乏力和失业率居高不下，而外来移民和难民的压力有增无减，该党的支持率也进一步攀升。民调显示，如现在举行议会选举，该党有可能成为议会第一大党。

以海尔特·维尔德斯为首的荷兰右翼自由党是从反伊斯兰开始的，鼓吹关闭清真寺，禁止可兰经，之后转向反欧盟，声称布鲁塞尔和伊斯兰是对荷兰的两大威胁。该党认为经济全球化、技术更新、僵化的政治体制以及来自阿姆斯特丹、鹿特丹和海牙的都市精英和欧盟的压力是造成荷兰当前困境的罪魁祸首。西方媒体分析，该党上述论调已能影响“大部分民众”，其势头正在席卷荷兰，今年3月

大选中可能赢得成功，即使维尔德斯在荷现行政治体制下无法成为首相，其对荷政策走向的影响力不容低估。

欧洲民粹主义的特点是什么？西方学者一致指出，民粹主义作为一种执政风格，它善于蛊惑煽动，绕开老牌精英而直面民众，并积极利用大众传播工具。尽管欧洲各国民粹主义的兴起过程不尽相同，但政治上有共同的实质要素，大致可以归纳为三大特点：一是反全球化。谋求减少国家经济受全球化影响的程度，反对欧洲的欧元和全球性金融以及奥巴马政府主张的贸易协议，对欧洲一体化持质疑甚至抵制态度，并把目前欧洲存在的经济困境和社会不公归咎于全球化的发展。二是奉行排外民族主义和本土文化保护主义。反对外来移民和多元文化，认为外来移民是对保持民族身份的威胁。三是反感基于规则的政策制定。对政治家即兴解决问题的能力受到规则制约感到不耐烦，渴望强势个人领袖随心所欲打破“现行秩序”，提出的政策主张往往缺乏深思熟虑，言行常常自相矛盾。

欧洲民粹主义政党的崛起有其深刻的根源，是西方政治、经济制度结构性危机导致的结果。首先，这是国际金融危机和欧洲主权债务危机持续影响的产物。经济全球化本是社会生产力发展的客观要求和科技进步的必然结果，对全球经济发展起了促进和推动作用，但它是双刃剑，也带来了社会不公和贫富悬殊扩大的负面效应。欧盟虽标榜“团结互助”和“共同发展”，但实际上东西欧和南北欧之间的发展鸿沟不仅凸显，而且有增大之势。以欧洲经济实力最强、发展情况较好的德国为例，据德意志电视一台每日观察网站2016年12月13日报道，目前该国贫困人口比例已达历史新高，即15.7%，2015年共有670万人过度负债。另外，欧元虽带来诸多便利并减少了交易成本，但其先天性缺陷，即只有统一货币而没有共同的财政经济政策，并束缚陷入困境国家的手脚，即无法通过贬值货币增加出口以摆脱困境，由此引发了一些国家对欧洲一体化的失望和摆脱欧元束缚的念头。第二，这是欧洲的民主政治制度陷入危机，传统大党普遍失信于民的反映。这表现在：草根民众对政治精英统治的不满持续上升，越来越多的选民认为传统主流政党已不再能代表他们的利益，德、法、奥、意等国传统执政党的民意支持率普遍大幅度下降，在近几年的选举中大量失票即是例证。在欧盟层面，各成员国民众不满欧盟总部庞大官僚机构高高在上指手画脚，耗费巨额公共财富而效率低下，制定的政策规定不接地气并限制了成员国主权，因而疑欧、反欧情绪持续上升。不少选民为了表示“抗议”而改投民粹主义右翼政党。第三，移民和难民问题助长了民粹主义的崛起。欧盟实行以商品、资本、人员和服务四大自由流通为标志的单一大市场，导致东欧和巴尔干地区穷国的打工者大量流入英、德等富国以享受高福利待遇，引起接受国民众的强烈反对，而近年来中东北非大量难民

的涌入及其造成的暴恐袭击和社会不安宁因素又引发德、法等欧洲大国民众的恐惧和不满，也帮助民粹主义势力增加了吸引力和号召力。

无独有偶，正当欧洲民粹主义群体性崛起之际，特朗普出乎欧美主流社会意料当选为美国总统，而特的言行不仅要颠覆奥巴马的政绩和政策遗产，而且与英、法等国民粹主义政党领导人遥相呼应，相互鼓励和支持。不仅如此，特朗普支持英国脱欧，抨击欧盟已成为德国的“工具”，公然唱衰和分裂欧盟；声称北约已经“过时”，批评欧洲多数盟国的国防预算没有达到应占国内生产总值2%的规定，要挟欧洲盟国为美国维护其安全付出代价；扬言要同俄罗斯改善关系，与欧盟国家围绕乌克兰问题对俄实施制裁的态度唱反调；抨击默克尔的难民政策犯了“灾难性的错误”，并下达备受争议的“禁穆令”，等等。所有这些，都与欧盟的外交和安全政策基本理念相悖，导致美欧关系不和与冲突，而对欧洲民粹主义却起了鼓舞和支持的效应。

必须指出，欧洲民粹主义的代表人物借助蛊惑人心的口号获取草根阶层的支持，但不等于其政策主张可以治理西方政治经济制度的结构性危机和解决中下层民众的不满和关切；而特朗普的“美国优先”、“要让美国重新伟大”的口号本质上与奥巴马的“不当世界老二”、“要让美国领导世界一百年”的野心一脉相承，都代表了华尔街垄断资本和美国维护其世界霸权地位的利益。其信口开河的政策主张和指令已遭致国内和欧洲的强烈批评和反对，能在多大程度上得到落实还有待观察。

面对欧洲民粹主义的兴起和贸易保护主义的上升，以及特朗普竞选期间和当选后对中国的挑衅性言论，我们要保持政治定力，冷静观察，沉着应对。既要充分认识挑战的严峻性，作好对策预案，也要看到存在的有利条件和机遇，坚定信心。要充分发挥我强项，积极做有关各方工作。中国已今非昔比，有足够的能力和手段应对各种挑战。只要保持清醒头脑，敢于并善于斗争，就有可能在错综复杂的较量和角逐中争取中美关系过渡到相对稳定，特别是使欧洲保持为我国实现两个百年目标的互利共赢合作伙伴。✎

中东格局变化加快

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中东位于欧、亚、非三大洲交汇处，战略地位重要，又拥有丰富的油气资源，历来是大国角逐要冲。该地区民族、宗教、教派关系复杂，加上大国的插手干预，冲突不断，热点频发，但在多数时间，动乱局限在局部地区，烈度可控，多数国家保持相对稳定和正常发展。这是中东局势的常态。

2010年底爆发的中东大动乱，加上美国推行“新干涉主义”，打破了这种常态：群体性抗议浪潮一度波及几乎所有阿拉伯国家，四国政权更迭，三场战争爆发，中东地区出现超常态的大动乱。

2014年，“伊斯兰国”猖獗，攻城略地。一些学者认定：中东进入新的“大乱局”，陷入全面危机，政治秩序崩溃，政治版图解体，旧格局被彻底打破，主权国家体系根基动摇。中东没有最乱，只有更乱。把局势描绘成一团漆黑，毫无希望。这些观点以偏概全，夸大其词，误导公众，干扰决策。两年多时间过去，事实证明上述论断均不准确。

2016年中东局势如何评估，2017年又将如何演变，令人关注。

一、整体局势相对稳定，局部动乱仍难安定

阿拉伯国家当下呈现三种状况：一是，2012年后，多数阿拉伯国家逐步平息动乱，恢复稳定，正常发展。二是，发生政权更迭的突尼斯和埃及于2014年先后成立民选政府，基本控制局势，正艰难地恢复经济，改善民生。三是，处于战乱的叙利亚、伊拉克、利比亚、也门，出现一些积极变化，局势仍难安定。中东不可能完全稳

定，但现在已经恢复到大大动乱前总体稳定、局部动乱、烈度可控的常态。

二、“伊斯兰国”由盛转衰，失败已成定局

“伊斯兰国”利用叙利亚内战和伊拉克动乱，发展力量，攻城略地，强势崛起。美及几个地区大国出于推翻巴沙尔政权的短视考量，予以纵容，甚至支持。由于“伊斯兰国”的反人类暴行威胁了美及地区大国的利益，特别是俄罗斯于2015年出兵空袭“伊斯兰国”并取得明显成效后，美及地区大国改变态度，加大打击“伊斯兰国”的力度。伊拉克政府军从“伊斯兰国”手中夺回费卢杰、拉马迪和提克里特等重镇后，于2016年10月对“伊斯兰国”在伊拉克的最后据点摩苏尔发起总攻。参战的有政府军、库尔德人武装、什叶派和逊尼派民兵，共约3万人。困守摩苏尔的“伊斯兰国”武装约8000人。政府军已收复东城区，正向西城区推进，取胜只是时间问题。在叙利亚，政府军于2016年12月收复北部重镇阿勒颇，从而控制了全部五大城市。“伊斯兰国”势力被压缩在拉卡地区。据估计，“伊斯兰国”在叙、伊控制的地盘丧失80%以上，人力、财力锐减。这个反动落后的“哈里发国”失败已成定局。这不仅对叙和伊走向稳定意义重大，对整个中东，乃至世界的反恐斗争都会产生利好影响。这股势力仍在顽抗，还可能流窜到中东其它国家、欧洲和非洲。只要存在滋生恐怖主义的土壤，就难以彻底根除恐怖主义。反恐斗争长期化。

三、处于战乱的四国出现一些积极变化，但仍难以稳定

（一）叙利亚政府军收复了阿勒颇，重新掌握战场主动，巴沙尔总统站稳脚跟。在俄罗斯、伊朗、土耳其三国调停下，政府军与反对派武装实现停火，并重启政治谈判。谈判先在哈萨克斯坦进行，2月23日转至日内瓦由联合国秘书长叙利亚问题特使德米斯图拉主持，谈判未取得突破，连双方代表直接对话都未能实现。3月3日，特使宣布双方就下一轮会谈的议题达成一致，即组建民族团结政府、修订宪法、举行大选、反恐。3月25日将举行第5轮谈判。和谈虽然继续，但要取得突破恐非易事。

叙利亚除政府军外，还有“伊斯兰国”武装，库尔德人武装，反对派武装、土耳其部队和美的特种部队。战场上的格局历来是谈判桌上的筹码。战场上得不到的，也不可能通过谈判得到。

政府军得到俄罗斯、伊朗、黎巴嫩真主党支持。反对派武装成分复杂，包括

恐怖势力“征服阵线”，得到美国、沙特、土耳其支持。库尔德人武装得到美、俄支持，又被土视为土库尔德工人党的分支，予以打击。俄、美、伊、土间达不成妥协，叙危机难以真正解决。

(二) 击毙卡扎菲已5年，利比亚仍然是军阀割据。4个政府并存：位于东部城市图卜鲁格，由国民代表大会支持的东部政府；位于首都的黎波里，由宗教势力支持的救国政府和联合国主导下成立的民族团结政府，以及位于德尔纳的“伊斯兰国”“政府”。民族团结政府虽得到国际社会承认，但缺乏民意支持，力量虚弱，不具备执政基础。民众生活艰难，人身和财产安全得不到保障，整个国家陷入无政府状态。当年，以人道救援的名义，积极推翻卡扎菲政权的美欧大国，对当下陷入严重人道危机的利比亚，却无所作为。

(三) 也门内战已造成8000多人死亡。胡塞势力控制萨那，得到伊朗支持；哈迪政府偏安南方，得到沙特支持。沙特军事介入成效不大。同时，“伊斯兰国”和基地组织乘机发展。当下，胡塞势力和哈迪势力均有政治和解的意愿，沙特也无意继续打下去。在联合国代表主持下，双方举行和平谈判，但诉求差异巨大，实现和解尚须进行艰苦的讨价还价。

(四) 伊拉克拥有合法政府和军队，但库尔德人在北部高度自治，逊尼派势力也不听命于什叶派势力控制的政府。各派能联手发动摩苏尔收复战，令人鼓舞，但战后参战各方是否会为争夺对第二大城市的控制和管理权发生冲突，令人担忧。

四、俄、美在中东博弈，俄频频得分，美麻烦增多

2011年，美国提出“亚太再平衡战略”，全球战略重心东移。同年，阿拉伯世界爆发大动荡。奥巴马推行“新干涉主义”，造成利比亚和叙利亚乱局，为“伊斯兰国”势力崛起提供了机遇。随后，奥巴马政府调整中东政策，实行收缩。主要思路是：（一）放缓推行“新干涉主义”，避乱求稳；（二）减少军事介入；（三）利用矛盾，玩弄平衡，使用“巧实力”，让对立势力相互牵制。根据新思路，美国与伊朗就核问题达成协议；推动巴勒斯坦与以色列和平谈判，但因以色列的顽固态度而失败；拒绝直接军事干预叙利亚；对“伊斯兰国”放纵，企图让“伊斯兰国”与叙政府恶斗，两败俱伤；在伊朗和沙特间玩弄平衡，既使之相互牵制，又不让冲突失控；对俄罗斯军事介入叙危机无可奈何又不甘心，与俄博弈加剧。美对中东投入减少，影响力下降，但又离不开、放不下，仍要保持主导地位。奥巴马的中东政策未取得预期效果，反而与传统盟国沙特、土耳其、

埃及、以色列关系紧张。

俄罗斯强势重返中东。2015年9月30日俄出兵空袭叙利亚境内的恐怖势力，战绩显著，远强于美主导的反恐联盟。俄军的介入打击了“伊斯兰国”的嚣张气焰，削弱了反对派武装力量，增强了叙政府军的战斗力，政府军得以转守为攻，不断收复失地。叙国内力量对比发生变化。美被迫改变态度，由拒绝与俄合作反恐，到与俄联手推动叙危机政治解决进程的启动，但因俄、美战略目标不同，分歧严重，政治解决进程举步维艰。

俄与埃及、沙特的关系明显发展。土耳其在未遂政变后，与美交恶，主动改善与俄的关系。俄不计前嫌，热情回应。2016年12月20日，俄、伊、土三国外长在莫斯科达成“莫斯科声明”，表示，三国愿协助叙政府和反对派起草和解协议，并充当担保人。显然，俄在叙问题上话语权增加。

近几年来，俄一直谋求重返中东，出兵叙利亚是俄重返的靓丽一招。俄在中东频频得分，美在中东的麻烦增多。然而，俄经济困难，国力有限，对中东不可能超出国力地投入，虽然在中东影响有所恢复，但不可能替代美的主导地位。

五、特朗普如何调整中东政策令人关注

特朗普政府的外交政策尚在调整和制定之中，其中东政策也不明朗。从现有资料看，有几点值得注意：一是强调反恐，甚至表示要联手俄罗斯共同反恐。美于3月9日向叙增派400名海军陆战队，加上已经在叙的特种部队，在叙美军达到900人。此前，美、俄、土三国军事高官在土会谈，协调三方在叙军事行动。二是更加偏袒以色列，不再坚持以“两国方案”解决巴以矛盾，对以扩建定居点态度暧昧，甚至扬言要将美驻以使馆牵往耶路撒冷。这已引起巴方和阿拉伯国家的批评和不满。三是对伊朗更加严厉。竞选时，特朗普严厉批评伊朗核协议，但这是一份国际协议并得到联合国认可，美不可能单方面予以废除，也难以独自退出。特执政后加强了对伊朗的制裁，双方在霍尔木兹海峡军事对峙，两国关系更趋紧张。四是改善了与沙特的关系。五是批评过去美实行“政权更迭”政策得不偿失。这是否意味着特在中东无意制造新的战乱？

有学者认为中东是特朗普外交的当务之急；也有学者认为，特将进一步从中东脱身。笔者认为，特不会改变美战略重心东移亚太的决定，美可能加大反恐力度，但无意，也无力增加对中东的投入，同时，美在中东仍有许多利益，离不开，放不下，还要维持其主导作用。

六、地区大国力量消长，博弈继续

(一) 伊朗遭受美更多打压。伊朗在叙利亚、伊拉克、也门、黎巴嫩以及打击“伊斯兰国”等地区热点问题上均在发挥作用，具有一定的话语权。但伊核协议签署后，美并未及时解除对伊制裁，美参、众两院还于2016年11月作出决定，将《对伊朗制裁法案》延长10年，美、伊关系未实质改善。伊朗经济有所恢复，但没有像一些人预计的那样“爆炸式”地发展。以沙特为首的逊尼派国家，对伊朗疑虑很深。沙、伊间博弈持续。特朗普对伊朗态度更加严厉。鉴于伊朗“什叶派”和“波斯人”的属性，以及美国不会容忍其影响力过分扩大等因素，伊朗不可能在以“逊尼派”和“阿拉伯人”为主体的中东地区发挥主导作用。

(二) 沙特困难增多。油价低迷，沙2015年财政赤字高达980亿美元。沙特组建联军，介入也门战事，进展不顺，劳民伤财，难以为继。对叙利亚政策极端，坚持推翻巴沙尔政权又无法实现，陷于被动。强烈反对“伊核协议”，夸大伊朗的威胁，热衷于与伊朗对抗，引发美国不满。美国会还通过决议承认“9·11”受害者及其家属有权状告沙特政府，更加引起沙特不满。但美沙保持盟友关系仍是双方的利益所在。特朗普上台后，美沙关系有所改善。

(三) 土耳其内外交困。土长期以来，热衷加入欧盟。中东爆发大动乱后，土极力介入中东事务。叙内战爆发后，土站在美国、沙特一边，逼压巴沙尔下台。埃及废黜穆尔西，土予以谴责，公开支持埃及穆兄会。“伊斯兰国”猖獗时，土开放土叙边界，听任“伊斯兰国”走私石油，人员和物质自由进出。俄罗斯军队空袭“伊斯兰国”后，土还击落一架俄军机，与俄交恶。土政府与土库尔德人工人党矛盾激化，土不断袭击位于伊拉克和叙利亚的库工党基地，库工党则在土境内频频发动恐怖袭击。土的行为引起地区许多国家的不满，土在地区的影响明显下降。

2016年7月15至16日，土发生未遂政变。土政府进行严厉镇压和广泛清洗，引发美、欧批评。土指认旅美土宗教领袖居伦策划了政变，要求美引渡，美未予理睬，引起土强烈不满。土与美、欧关系趋紧。与此同时，土对击落俄战机表示道歉，主动改善与俄关系。土调整对叙政策，在安排叙反对派武装人员撤离阿勒颇和推动叙政府与反对派停火和和谈方面，与俄罗斯和伊朗联手协调。

库尔德人三分之二居住在土耳其，库尔德人的独立倾向是土心腹大患。土不顾伊拉克和叙利亚政府的反对，公然出兵伊、叙，以扩大在库尔德问题上的发言权。

当下，土正在为实现总统制组织全民公投。欧洲舆论担心土总统制会导致专

制独裁，持批评态度。

有人认为，土耳其政局酝酿着大的变动。

（四）埃及艰难复兴。塞西在军方的支持下，基本稳定局势。当务之急是发展经济，改善民生，巩固政权，恢复在地区的影响力。世界经济不景气影响埃运河收入和侨汇收入；恐怖袭击不时发生，严重地打击了旅游业；加上埃经济政策调整远不到位，吸收外资不畅，经济复兴步履艰难。对地区事务的影响力，缓慢恢复。

（五）以色列处境孤立。伊朗核协议签署，美、伊关系松动；美战略重心向亚太转移，在中东实行收缩；美、以关系出现不协调，以对自身的安全日益不踏实，从而对巴勒斯坦态度趋向强硬。另一方面，阿拉伯大国埃及、沙特、叙利亚、伊拉克自顾不暇，对巴支持减少，又使以有恃无恐。国际社会对以阻扰巴、以和谈不满，一些欧洲国家对以态度转为严厉，但都无力促使以改变对巴政策。特朗普执政后，以美关系明显升温。

地区大国间的博弈，主要表现在沙特与伊朗关系上。如果没有域外大国的挑唆和支持，不会酿成大的冲突。伊斯兰什叶派与逊尼派间的教派矛盾，明显地被地区大国在地缘斗争中利用和放大。

七、巴勒斯坦问题被边缘化

法塔赫与 Hamas 分歧严重，无法团结对以。阿拉伯世界对巴支持力度减弱。特朗普政府更加亲以。以色列态度更趋强硬。以、巴力量对比越来越对巴不利。巴、以和谈难以启动，即使启动也难以突破，巴勒斯坦问题实际上已被边缘化。在这种态势下，巴激进势力可能再次转向暴力，但因力量对比悬殊，暴力冲突难有成效，也不会失控。

八、库尔德人力量壮大，独立倾向增强，建国恐非易事

伊拉克库尔德人已经高度自治，2016年初提出要举行“独立公投”，遭到有关各方反对。叙利亚库尔德人力量增强，2016年3月提出在叙北部库尔德人地区建立联邦自治区，立即遭到叙政府、土耳其和美国的反对。库尔德人赶紧声明，他们要成立的是“联盟”而不是“联邦”；要的是“自治”，而不是“独立”。土耳其库尔德人与政府的矛盾加剧，土政府十分警惕库尔德人的独立倾向。库尔德人分别居住在土耳其、伊朗、叙利亚、伊拉克等国，历史上从未建国。库尔德人

独立建国，不仅危及有关四国的主权和领土完整，还会冲击地区地缘格局，库尔德人内部意见并不统一，国际社会也不支持。库尔德人独立建国恐非易事。

结 论

王毅外长3月8日指出：当前中东再次处于关键十字路口，既存在动荡加剧的风险，也蕴育着迎来和平的希望。影响中东局势的因素很多，既有内因，也有外因。进入新世纪后，小布什政府发动了阿富汗战争和伊拉克战争；奥巴马政府挑起了利比亚战争和叙利亚战争，美是制造中东动乱的主要外因。特朗普政府如何确定中东政策，令人关注。近几年，俄罗斯重返中东，美俄博弈，成为影响中东局势的又一重要因素。2017年中东几大热点可能会有所降温，但不可能实现和平；动荡还将继续，加剧的可能性存在，但并不太大。中东确实处于关键十字路口。🌀

特朗普执政后的内外政策

丁原洪 中国前驻欧盟使团团长

特朗普是在美国社会严重分裂的大背景下当选的。他以美国政治体系“局外人”的身份，凭借“离经叛道”的方式赢得大选，更进一步撕裂美国社会。从胜选到就职，他经历了美国历史上罕见的不顺当的总统交接过程，即使胜选已成定局，质疑、批评、指责之声仍不绝于耳。这预示特朗普执政之路不会是平坦的。

当下，美国内外舆论多将特朗普的内外政策冠以“孤立主义”、“贸易保护主义”、“民粹主义”的定性，实际上这些并不确切。特朗普并未放弃维系美国全球霸主地位的战略，何以谈起“孤立主义”？基辛格讥讽这是不懂外交政策的一些人的浪漫幻想。美国从来都在奉行“贸易保护主义”，奥巴马临下台还公开背弃诺言，拒绝承认中国市场经济地位，这难道不是“贸易保护主义”的表现？“贸易保护主义”并非特朗普独有的政策特征。特朗普借助美国广大民众对精英政治的不满之势入主白宫，但他作为美国垄断资产阶级的一员成为总统，必然也要服从于、服务于美国国家的根本利益，或者更确切地说华尔街的利益，他怎么可能成为体现普通民众利益的“民粹主义者”呢！特朗普标榜自己奉行的是“美国优先”、“美国第一”主义，按照马克思主义的观点，他的执政理念是以“极端民族利己主义”为主臬的。

美国内外各方对特朗普执政的忧虑或诟病，主要集中于他的“不确定性”，这或许有一定道理，但他就职后内外政策的走向并非全然不可知。这是因为：

美国迄今仍是世界上综合实力最强的国家，全力维系其在全球的主导地位是其国家利益所决定的，这也是任何一届政府制定政策的基点，包括特朗普在内概莫能外。其实，特朗普提出的“美国第

一”与奥巴马所声言的“美国绝不做强二”，两者核心内涵是一致的，根子都是“美国例外论”。所不同的是，两人在实现“维系美国在全球的主导地位”这一战略目标过程中，在战略布局、策略运用以及采取的方式方法上会有差异。

特朗普以美国共和党总统候选人的身份赢得大选，他执政后的内外政策必然会体现共和党历来的右倾保守色彩。从他年轻时代，就是里根总统的崇拜者，他竞选时提出的“让美国重新伟大”，“以实力求和平”，都是当年里根竞选总统时的口号。他胜选后与英国首相特雷莎·梅通话时，特意强调：希望重建当年里根总统与撒切尔夫人之间的“亲密”关系。从他竞选获胜前后的言行中，不难看出里根执政的影子。

特朗普是接替执政八年之久的民主党总统奥巴马入主白宫的，根据美国总统两党轮替的规律，特朗普执政定会反奥巴马之道而行之。据传，他将废除奥巴马任总统时定下的70%法令，首当其冲的是医保法和TPP（跨太平洋伙伴关系协定）。奥巴马下台前的短暂时刻，异乎寻常地在内外政策上“挖坑”，既是为保留自己的执政遗产，也是为特朗普执政设置障碍。

根据特朗普当选总统前后的言行以及他的两本著作（2011年出版的《是强硬的时候了：让美国重新伟大》和2015年出版的《重新伟大，如何整顿遭到削弱的美国》），特朗普执政后的内政外交政策，与奥巴马时期相比会有以下几点主要变化：

一、平息广大民众对现行体制和精英政治的不满，弥合大选折射出的美国社会的严重分裂，对特朗普来说是当务之急，也是对其执政的最大挑战。奥巴马执政后期将过多精力放在“维系美国在全球主导地位”的国外问题上，而没能够搞好美国国内经济，从而导致民主党大选失利。他汲取这一教训正从重振美国制造业入手，在工作安排上改为“先国内后国外”、“先国内经济后国外地缘政治”。

为提振美国经济，增加就业，特朗普正从重振美国制造业入手，就职前已一再通过税收这个杠杆，逼使实体经济企业留在国内或从国外迁回。他的如意算盘是重振实体经济，扩大基础设施建设，发展创新行业，扭转经济发展低迷，就业机会减少的现状，这样做或许能取得短暂成效，但也会造成财政赤字更加严峻，债务负担继续加重，使美国经济更难以实现可持续发展，增加政治不稳定因素。

二、当今危及美国政治经济形势的社会不平等现象，是垄断资本主义制度固有矛盾造成的，而美国带头推进的以新自由主义为核心思想的全球化更使这种不平等导致社会的大分裂。奥巴马在告别欧洲的演讲中，告诫西方各国：“世界通向全球化的道路必须纠正，不同国家面临相同的挑战，那就是必须着手应对社会不平等。”特朗普想做的并不是什么“逆全球化”、“反全球化”，而是对全球

化给美国带来的不利一面试图加以“纠正”而已。他认定美国过去在贸易谈判中“吃了亏”，上台后不仅会放弃TPP（跨太平洋伙伴关系协定）、TTIP（跨大西洋贸易与投资伙伴关系协定），试图修改“北美自由贸易区”这类基于全球化的多边贸易协定，而且会对国际上这些年来本着“全球治理”理念所做的各种努力，例如联合国气候变化协议等“兴趣大减”，甚至不排除拒不履行美国已做出的承诺。

三、美国历届政府从来都奉行实力外交，美成为唯一超级大国后更是如此。特朗普明确提出“以实力制胜”的理念。他认为，实现外交政策必须以强大的军事实力支持，在美国国家利益攸关问题上敢于使用武力，或以武力相威胁；只有向所有国家展示美国军事上的绝对优势，才能震慑其他国家。

对于奥巴马政府刚刚通过的2017年6110亿美元的国防预算并不满意，扬言他上台后即取消防务预算削减制度，大幅度增加军费，更新军事装备，以应对美国面临的“全球威胁”。据称，仅海军总数将从目前的274艘增加到350艘。这一决定受到五角大楼和军工企业的极大欢迎，认为“军工复合体的繁荣时代到来了”。联系到特朗普组建了罕见的具有“军人色彩”的政府，上述动向对世界和平意味着什么，是必须密切关注的大问题。

四、美国二战后在世界各地建立起的军事同盟网，是其称霸全球的主要抓手。特朗普上台后为了维系美在世界上的主导地位，还会维持这一军事同盟网，但从其信奉的“民族利己主义”出发必会做出调整：一是本着“等价交换”的原则，盟国要继续享有美国的“安全保护”，就必须多交“保护费”；二是在非美国国家利益攸关的问题上，例如乌克兰危机等，美国不会再出钱出力。

特朗普执政后，美国同盟国的关系将会呈现重大变动。从特朗普胜选后，美国盟国由于估计错误，毫无思想准备，一片惶恐。甚至发生日本首相安倍匆忙赶赴纽约，“拜见”尚未就职的特朗普这种外交史上的丑事。

五、在美俄关系降至冷战结束后“最低点”的形势下，特朗普竞选获胜前后一再对普京示好，并且选定与普京过从甚密的埃克森美孚公司首席执行官雷克斯·蒂勒森出任国务卿这一重要职务，日前又主动公布普京的来信，并发表声明回应来信提到的“俄美关系仍然是确保现代世界稳定与安全的重要因素”的想法“太对了”。“希望双方能把这些想法付诸行动，不必另寻路径。”这一切表明特朗普执政后将会把改善美俄关系放在重要位置。

促使特朗普不顾共和党内有强烈的反俄情绪而采取拉拢俄罗斯的决策，看来主要原因有二：一是采纳基辛格等知名人士的建议，缓解与俄的紧张关系，以扭转奥巴马时期一面对付中国崛起，一面又与俄罗斯交恶，使美国在美中俄三角关系中处于不利地位的局面；二是认定对美国霸权的主要威胁不再是俄罗斯，而是

中国。2016年12月24日，美国总统国家安全事务副助理本杰明·罗兹对记者说，俄罗斯对国际秩序和稳定只构成短期威胁，而“从长远看，中国将是一个比俄罗斯强大得多的国家，对美国来说比俄罗斯更强有力的竞争对手”。这与特朗普在其著作中所阐述的“对美国来说，中国是‘经济竞争的主要对手’、军事领域的‘潜在敌人’”的观点是一致的。

尽管美俄之间存在着战略目标分歧，双边关系难以根本改善，而中俄战略伙伴关系符合双方利益，不会因美国改变对俄政策而动摇，但特朗普把离间俄中关系作为一项战略举措付诸实施，还是应予以高度重视。

六、特朗普打破中美建交30多年来的常规，与台湾当局领导人蔡英文通电话并称其为“总统”，继而公开质疑“一中原则”，并非出于其个人的“莽撞”、“无知”，而是蓄谋的“战略试探”。此举与其说是试图以台湾问题为筹码在中美贸易谈判中获取更大利益，毋宁说是在“明修栈道，暗度陈仓”，即摆出欲与中国进行贸易战的架势，行突破“一中原则”对美制约之实。去年年底美国国会通过2017财年国防预算法案，突破美台之间不得进行官方交往的承诺，公然明文规定允许助理国防部长以上官员同台湾军方交往，就是证明。

不仅如此，特朗普又任命被美媒称为“鹰派中的鹰派”，素以主张对华强硬、武装台湾而闻名的彼得·纳瓦罗为白宫国家贸易委员会主席。据称，特与蔡通话就是出自此人的建议。特朗普上台前这一系列举措表明，他有意对华显示强硬，并与大力拉拢俄罗斯相配合，企图藉此分化中俄，扭转因与中俄“两面为敌”而使美国自己陷于战略被动的局面。

特朗普不惜激怒中国，采取上述举措的另一原因是，共和党内历来有一股强大的“反共”、“仇华”势力，从不认同“一中原则”。他们对尼克松1972年访华，同中方达成按照“一个中国原则”实现关系正常化十分不满，利用“水门事件”的机会，联手民主党议员，以“威胁弹劾”方式逼尼克松辞职，使尼向中方作出的建交承诺告吹。1978年，卡特政府刚与中方按照“一中原则”正式建交，1980年里根代表共和党竞选时就公开提出当选后与台湾“复交”。虽然在中方坚决斗争和苏联与美国争霸加剧双重压力下，里根的承诺未能实现，但他在与中方达成8.17公报的同时，向台湾作出“六点保证”，实即支持台湾走“独立”之路。这次特朗普代表共和党竞选纲领中，只字未提中美三个联合公报，而首次在纲领中写上“六点保证”。由此可见，特朗普上台前对华政策上的言行，绝非偶然。

虽然“一中原则”已是国际社会的共识，特朗普图谋突破不会得逞，但在台湾民进党执政的配合下，他依然会利用台湾问题给中美关系制造麻烦。对此，必须提高警惕并做出准备。

七、特朗普执政后的中东政策会有较大调整，一是伊核问题，一是巴以关系。对于奥巴马因与伊朗达成有关核协议而开罪以色列、沙特等中东盟国，共和党国会议员早有不满。日前，在共和党推动下，美国参众两院决定延长对伊朗制裁，奥巴马虽不赞同，但未敢否决。特朗普扬言将推翻该协议，恐非妄言。尽管有关伊核协议是六国与伊朗达成的，要废除并非易事，但美国作为超级大国，完全有办法阻挠协议的顺利实施。

较之伊核协议，特朗普欲改变奥巴马时期的巴以“两国方案”，将会引发中东地区形势的更大震荡。他先是与以总理内塔尼亚胡“亲切通话”，强调全力加强美以合作，继而任命主张以色列在约旦河西岸扩建定居点并将以首都迁往耶路撒冷的“亲犹人士”戴维·弗里德曼律师出任美国驻以大使。奥巴马政府为了进行牵制，对联合国安理会日前要求以色列停建约旦河西岸定居点的决议案投了弃权票，从而使1979年以来旨在谴责以色列定居点计划的联合国安理会决议首次获得通过。这极大地激怒了以色列，以总理怒斥决议是“可耻反犹”，是奥巴马政府背后操纵，决定报复。特朗普从旁要以坚决“顶住”，待其上台。这一插曲预示，特朗普执政后必会调整中东政策，从而使中东陷入更大的混乱，对欧洲乃至全球形势也将形成重大冲击。

八、当前人们比较关注的乌克兰危机、叙利亚内战、朝鲜核问题，并不在特朗普议事日程的前列。他拒绝接听乌克兰总统波罗申科的电话，认定“伊斯兰国”是美国的“最大威胁”。叙利亚总统巴沙尔虽是“坏人”，但“伊斯兰国”比他“更坏”。联合俄罗斯等有关各方力量对付“伊斯兰国”才是正理；声称金正恩年轻执掌一国不易，愿与其面商朝核问题，在美韩日三方极力鼓吹朝拥核、发展导弹形成严重威胁的喧嚣中，表示朝拥有能打击美国本土的核弹“绝不可能”，等等。可以看出特朗普并不像奥巴马政府那样认为这几个热点具有紧迫性。从他“利己主义”的思维出发，他不想在这些并非对美利益攸关的问题上出钱出力，为他人“火中取栗”，宁可把它们推给别人。看来，他设想将乌克兰的包袱丢给欧盟，将叙利亚问题交由俄、土等国解决，将朝核问题加在中国身上。这样无论事态如何发展，对美国都会是有益无损，进退自如。

综上所述，特朗普执政后美国与世界各方的关系都会有重大变化。不仅美国国内由于各种矛盾交织，局势难以稳定，而且世界政治经济金融形势也会持续动荡不安。在这特殊历史时刻，中国应更加坚定不移地走自己的路，既要有忧患意识，更要有战略定力。在维护国家核心利益上，要坚决贯彻习近平主席在中央政治局民主生活会上指出的：“敢于针锋相对，不在困难面前低头，不在挑战面前退缩，不拿原则做交易，不在任何压力下吞下，损害中华民族根本利益的苦果。”

全球化、去全球化及民粹主义新社会思潮

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毫无疑问，缘起于第二次世界大战之后而高涨于冷战终结的当代全球化（globalization）目前正面临去全球化（deglobalization）的巨大挑战，而当前世界的去全球化则与欧美的新一轮民粹主义新社会思潮紧密相关。本文将简要介绍和评析全球化、去全球化以及当前民粹主义新社会思潮相互之间的关系，以求教于国际关系学与外交学界的专家学者。

一、全球化正面临去全球化的严峻挑战

对全球化的定义及其起始时段迄今仁者见仁，智者见智。目前比较普遍的看法则是世界历史上有两波全球化，其一为19世纪中期至20世纪初期（第一次世界大战前），其二为20世纪第二次世界大战（以下简称二战）之后直至今天的当代全球化。我们目前所讨论的全球化就是指二战后的这一波全球化。当代全球化是在经济全球化——通过国际贸易、资本流动、跨国生产、技术转移等促使商品、技术、信息、服务、货币、人员等生产要素跨国跨地区的流动而形成全球范围的有机经济整体的过程——的强烈推动下，国际政治和世界社会产生巨大变动的过程，就如著名英国学者安东尼·吉登斯（Anthony Giddens）所指出的那样：“全球化不仅是经济的而且是政治的、技术的和文化的全球化，它主要是在1960年代后期世界传输体系发展的影响产生的。”这也就是说，当代全球化导致在世界范围内一个地域发生的社会、政治和经济活动对于另一个地域中的个人和社区会产生直接的影响，以致各个社会领域相互依存度不断地提高并且相互依存的范围日益扩大，国际政治、经济、

社会、文化乃至军事的互动及其过程因此不断加快，地方、国家与全球事务的联系也日益深化。

然而，不容置疑的是，当代全球化目前正面临着去全球化的严峻挑战。“去全球化”概念是由菲律宾大学教授、国际知名左翼社会学家沃尔登·贝洛（Walden Bello）于2001年提出。2002年贝洛在其专著《去全球化：新世界经济的创意》（Deglobalization: Ideas for a New World Economy）中指出：“去全球化……是指将经济从强调生产以出口为目标转向生产以当地市场为目标”显然，贝洛是在1999年11月具有左翼色彩的西雅图反全球化风暴（在世贸组织第三届部长会议于西雅图开幕之际所发生的呼吁世贸组织关心贸易环境和劳工福利政策等问题的对全球化表达不满的声势浩大的抗议活动）影响下，从学理的角度提出了必须通过去全球化，改变当代由新自由主义为主导的全球化发展方向。

比较具有讽刺意味的是，虽然去全球化概念是由来自南方发展中国家的左翼知识分子所提出，但是，近年来对全球化所形成的去全球化实践却是来自北方的发达国家右翼。其中最为明显的表现就是：在主要西方（北方）发达国家中，极右翼政党将全球化妖魔化为南方发展中穷国向北方发达富国大量输出移民，同时从发达国家夺走大量工作机会的策略，因此为了保护自身的利益发达国际必须采取措施实行去全球化，比如运用国家的力量强行保护本国市场，阻遏技术、信息、服务、货币、人员等生产要素跨国跨地区的高度流动，降低当代国际体系中各个领域相互依存度乃至缩小国家间相互依存的范围。2016年6月英国的脱欧全民公决以脱欧派最终赢得胜利，以及11月美国总统大选以推崇保护主义的共和党候选人特朗普获胜这两大事件是出自西方发达国家的去全球化最为充分的体现。

欧洲的一体化本身是与二战后当代全球化相伴而行的过程，既是对全球化的反应也是对之的促进（欧盟在区域一体化过程中身体力行的商品、资本、服务、技术、人员的自由流动就是顺应全球化潮流的表现），因此，英国选择脱离欧盟实际上是对去全球化的推波助澜。更有甚者，根据西方学者的分析，英国选择脱欧之后迅速导致英镑对所有主要货币的贬值，使得英国商品的价格降至低点，这恰恰是与当年英国主动放弃金本位制如出一辙，极大地推动了去全球化。极端保守和践行孤立主义的特朗普当选美国总统更为充分地体现出去全球化对全球化的严峻挑战。特朗普在2017年1月宣誓就任美国总统之后接连签署一系列行政命令——正式宣布美国退出跨太平洋战略经济伙伴协定(TPP)、决定美国将动用联邦政府资金在美墨边境修建隔离墙、暂停所有难民入境，暂停向伊拉克、伊朗、利比亚、索马里、苏丹、叙利亚以及也门等7个中东地区国家的普通公民发放签证，并且这7国持美国签证的公民在未来一个月内禁止入境美国，直至美国务院和

国土安全部制定出更加严格的审批程序等。毫无疑问，特朗普的所作所为集中体现出去全球化的新发展。

其实，西方发达国家内部形成的去全球化潮流并非始于2016年。早在2007至2008年世界金融和经济危机爆发后，在小布什和奥巴马两届政府的推动下，美国国会通过了《2009美国复苏与再投资法令》（American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009，简称ARRA），该法令包含了带有明显保护主义色彩的“购买美国货”条款，要求任何由新的刺激计划投资的公共建筑或公共工程项目必须只使用在美国生产的钢铁和其他制成品。与此同时，欧盟则也再度施行新的农业补贴以保护欧盟的农产品市场。这显示出，当代全球化所面临的去全球化挑战源自发达国家。也正是这一系列源自发达国家的去全球化行动极大地促使当代全球化进入低潮：“自2008年以来世界贸易与产值的比例几乎没有发生变化，从而成为自二战以来此类停滞持续时间最长的一段时期。跨境金融资产存量与全球产值的比例在2007年达到57%的峰值，到2015年降至36%。最后，外商直接投资(FDI)流入与全球产值比例依然远低于2007年的3.3%。”

形成近年来去全球化潮流的原因是多方面的，比如2007至2008的全球性金融和经济危机的影响；冷战终结后全球化加速发展而当全球历史上最大投资热潮放缓后，许多大宗商品的需求大大下降；以及全球信贷热潮的结束，导致跨境金融资产持有量的下降等等。然而，值得注意的是，在很大的程度上，当前源自于西方发达国家的去全球化与目前欧美的时代思潮（zeitgeist）关系十分紧密，而这股时代思潮就是民粹主义，并且主要为右翼的民粹主义新社会思潮。

二、民粹主义新社会思潮及其对去全球化的影响

英国学者丹尼尔·奥尔伯塔兹（Daniele Albertazzi）和澳大利亚学者邓坎·麦克唐奈尔（Duncan McDonnell）在他们合著的《21世纪民粹主义》（Twenty-First Century Populism）一书中指出：民粹主义是一种意识形态，这种意识形态“将善良且同质的普通人民与一伙精英及危险的“他者”相互对立起来，并认为后者是剥夺（或者试图剥夺）前者即拥有主权的人民的权利、价值观、成功、身份和声音的群体。”简而言之，作为一种意识形态，民粹主义所强调的就是维护社会普通平民利益而反精英、反权威和反对外来的“他者”，并主张可采用各种破坏性的政治手段来达到自身的目的——“当‘人民’作为历史行动者出现时，相对之前的形势，总是具有越轨性或犯罪倾向。”追根溯源，民粹主义肇始于古代罗马。英语“populism”的词源就是古罗马拉丁

语的“Populus”，即英语的“people（人民）”，如“罗马人民(The Roman People)”的拉丁语就是“populus Romanus”。古罗马共和国时期元老院内与贵族党人(Optimates)分庭抗礼的民众党人(Populares)就是试图通过民粹主义的方式动员罗马大众来获取自身的统治地位，著名的尤里乌斯·凯撒(Julius Caesar)就是其中的代表人物。经过中世纪的蛰伏，民粹主义在欧洲宗教改革时期再度兴起，之后在18、19和20世纪的欧美则时起时伏。进入21世纪，民粹主义逐渐在欧美成为一种新的时代思潮(zeitgeist)或新社会思潮，并且对欧美各国乃至全球事务产生重要的影响。

作为一种新社会思潮，21世纪欧美的民粹主义意识形态依然崇尚所谓人民大众的力量，强调处于社会底层与中层的民众或人民应该联合起来，对社会上层的政治精英展开直接的政治斗争，但是，这股社会新思潮却并不主张废弃西方的民主制度而走集权政治的道路，而是强调在所谓的民主政治框架内反精英、反权威和反对政治上的建制派。值得注意的是，当前流行于欧美的民粹主义新社会思潮明显地分为左右两翼，其左翼的代表有希腊的联盟党以及美国2016年大选中崛起的民主党左翼桑德斯及其支持者们所持有的民粹主义；而右翼则当属现任美国总统特朗普、法国极右翼政党国民阵线领导人玛丽·勒庞、英国独立党领袖法拉奇等所鼓吹的民粹主义。当今欧美左翼与右翼民粹主义最为主要的分野在于：前者仅呼吁和推动中下层人民反精英和建制派，而后者不仅反精英和建制派，而且鼓吹和煽动大众反对和排斥他们所认为的被精英和建制派呵护的“他者”或“外来群体”如难民、移民、穆斯林等。由此可见，“左翼民粹主义关注民众—精英相互斗争的二元性，而右翼民粹主义则强调民众—精英之间冲突的三元性。”然而，更为重要的是，总体而言，正是右翼民粹主义社会思潮对当今国际政治经济，尤其是对去全球化产生最为重要的影响。首先，目前流行于欧美的右翼民粹主义新社会思潮与传统的民族主义相互合流形成了新型的民粹民族主义。民族主义始终强调全人类分为不同的民族，民族认同是最为重要的群体认同、民族利益是每个民族的最高利益，而为了维护本民族的利益民族需要建立自己的国家——民族国家，并且只有通过民族国家才能增进、扩展和加强本民族的利益。当前欧美右翼民粹主义与民族主义相结合所形成的民粹民族主义一方面反精英、反权威和反建制派，另一方面反自由贸易、反资本输出、反区域一体化、反外来文化、反移民、反穆斯林，企求主权民族国家通过一系列去全球化的措施，如采取贸易保护主义、限制对外直接投资、拒绝接受难民、阻遏外来移民以及退出区域一体化机制等来保护中下层民众利益。毫无疑问，英国的脱欧与美国的特朗普上台都与此紧密相关。

其次，近年来兴盛的欧美右翼民粹主义新社会思潮促使欧美尤其是欧洲的极右翼政党势力大增，放手力促去全球化。比如对欧洲一体化和全球化充满怀疑态度的中东欧右翼政党纷纷上台执政。匈牙利青年民主党领导人奥尔班自2010年起就一直担任匈总理，他对欧盟的一体化政策批评有加，并在国际难民问题上与包括联合国在内的国际机构公开叫板。在波兰，法律与公正党于2015年大选中获得了独立组织政府的资格，新总理贝娅塔·希德沃在其第一次记者招待会上要求将会场上的欧盟旗帜撤下，仅留下波兰国旗，充分表现出当前波兰政府对欧洲一体化乃至全球化的负面情绪。

传统上作为欧洲一体化发动机和全球化推进器的法国与德国内部，极右翼民粹主义政党势头也大幅度提升。法国国民阵线在玛丽·勒庞的领导下支持率不断上升，其势头比她的父亲让-玛丽·勒庞更为强盛。形成这种形势的主要原因就在于她领导的国民阵线大力推行民粹民族主义，强调法兰西利益至上，主张法国脱离欧盟，提倡贸易保护主义，从而吸引了中下层法国民众的追捧与支持。自2015年以来，德国极右翼政党选择党的支持率也大大上升，该党极有可能在2017年9月的德国联邦议会大选中获得5%以上的支持率而进入德联邦议会。此外，西欧、北欧的欧盟成员国如荷兰、瑞典、丹麦等国的右翼民粹主义政党势力也急剧上升。荷兰极右翼民粹主义政党自由党（PVV）极有可能在2017年的议会选举中胜出，成为第一大党。其领导人吉尔特·威尔德斯已承诺，如大选获胜组阁将就荷兰是否继续留在欧盟举行全民公投。作为欧盟创始成员国的荷兰似乎正在右翼民粹主义的推动下，步英国脱欧的后尘。北欧的瑞典从2014年起，极右翼民粹主义政党民主党就成为议会中的第三大党，而丹麦的右翼民粹主义政党丹麦人民党目前是议会中的第二大党，并且是执政联盟的重要一员。

最后，右翼民粹主义对左翼民粹主义产生强大的影响，促使两者在相当部分反全球化议题上的合流。虽然当前的左翼民粹主义主要强调民众-精英二元对立与斗争，而右翼民粹主义则专注于民众-精英-他者的三元冲突与争斗，但是右翼民粹主义对欧美精英所提倡的全球主义的激烈批评则引起了左翼民粹主义的共鸣，因此在反对贸易自由化、限制资本的跨国流动、保护本国国内市场、强调购买本国产品、以及反对将国内的工作机会输出国外等一系列与去全球化相关的议题上，左翼民粹主义明显地向右翼民粹主义靠拢，形成了两者的合流。在2016年美国总统大选中，不论是共和党候选人唐纳德特·特朗普还是民主党候选人希拉里·克林顿都明确表示坚决反对跨太平洋伙伴关系协定（TPP）就是这方面的一个证明。尽管希拉里·克林顿与特朗普不同，并非民粹主义者，但是其反对TPP的态度则明显地反映出美国右翼民粹主义思潮对左翼民粹主义乃至中左的民主党

在去全球化问题上的影响。

三、民粹主义新社会思潮兴起的原因简析

当前欧美的民粹主义尤其是右翼民粹主义新社会思潮对去全球化产生直接的影响，而有意思的是，恰恰正是当代全球化本身，特别是冷战终结后全球化的深入发展激发起民粹主义新社会思潮在欧美的兴起。早在1998年笔者曾在《新民晚报》上发表小文章《全球化——一柄双刃剑》，提出全球化在促进全球经济一体化和推进全球发展的同时也造成全球性的贫困扩散以及生态环境恶化等全球性问题。近年来民粹主义新社会思潮在欧美乃至全球的兴起在很大程度上反映出了全球化的这种双刃剑效应。

首先，全球化的不断深化造成处于北方发达国家内部中下层民众的实际生活水平下降，这直接为民粹主义尤其是右翼民粹主义的兴起创造了深刻的群众基础。在很大的程度上经济全球化是“资本胜利的时代”，这导致在美国这样强调完全自由竞争资本主义国家出现了16万最富有的家庭拥有的财富相当于1.45亿最穷家庭财富的总和，以及全美最富有20人坐拥的资产比美国一半人口的财富总和还要多等极度不平等现象。即使在强调社会福利和平等的欧盟及其成员国中，强资本、弱劳工的趋势也并未随着欧洲一体化的深化和扩大而遭到遏制。进入21世纪的十年之后，欧盟各成员国内部收入不平等不断加剧，20%最富有的上层人士的收入是20%最贫困的底层人们的收入的5.2倍（2014年统计数字），并且这一贫富之间的差距还在扩大。显而易见，在当代全球化大潮中，欧美中下层的人们不仅未得到好处，反而生活得更为艰辛，于是他们中的相当一部分人便成为秉持反全球化的民粹主义新社会思潮的中坚力量。

其次，自2008年世界金融危机以来，发达国家的中产阶级不断衰弱和下层化促使欧美各国仇视倡导全球化的精英阶层的人们越来越多，他们怀念过去民族国家的辉煌及其对自身利益的维护，民粹主义尤其是右翼民粹主义新社会思潮因此而大受追捧。2016年7月，麦肯锡全球研究院发布了一份名为《比他们的父母还穷？发达经济体收入的停滞或下滑》的研究报告，报告指出，中产阶级的衰落是全球发达经济体共有的现象，全球25个发达经济体中，从2005到2014年70%家庭的收入都遭遇了下滑，而在1993—2005年，这个数字只有2%。毫无疑问，在中产阶级急剧衰落之时，往往会刺激激进的政治思潮和运动，当前民粹主义新社会思潮，以及在欧美社会右翼民粹主义与民族主义的相互结合而导致产生民粹化的民族主义的高涨等都与此息息相关。

再次，近年来，欧美社会具有强烈挫败感的中下层群体不愿继续容忍因全球化而得利的外国人、憎恨伴随全球化而兴盛的多元文化主义和社会道德准则的变更等也给民粹主义新社会思潮的兴起创造了社会条件。由于在全球化不断深化的过程中持续遭受挫折，欧美各国的底层群体普遍地憎恶那些欢迎全球化和欧洲一体化的多元文化主义和国际主义精英。他们尤其厌恶伴随全球化而来的社会道德准则的变更，如强调普遍的性别平等、保护少数群体的权利，赋予LGBT（男女同性恋者、双性恋和变性者）同等的权利等，于是希望通过反精英、反权威、反全球化来促使本国回归固有的西方社会传统道德。

最后，美国和欧洲国家在解决与全球化浪潮紧密相关的难民、移民、经济增长动能不足、以及民众生活水平及社会福利下降等问题上进退失据也给民粹主义新社会思潮的兴起创造了有利的环境。自2008年全球金融危机爆发迄今，美欧发达国家的统治精英在促进经济持续稳定增长、推进全球经济治理、解决发展失衡、应对难民危机等方面表现欠佳，导致欧美各国的普通百姓怨声载道，纷纷认为继续依赖相信全球化、自由化的政治精英和建制派们已经没有出路，而只有依靠强调“人民大众”利益和回归民族国家利益至上的民粹派政治家才能真正解决问题。也正是在这样的大环境下，民粹主义新社会思潮在欧美找到了宣泄口，在失意的中下层群体中形成一股反全球化和冲击传统精英政治以及正统建制派政治的强大旋风，并由此而对当代全球化形成去全球化的巨大挑战。🌀