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## 各国大使眼中的 "一带一路"

AMBASSADORS' VIEWS
ON THE "BELT AND ROAD" INITIATIVE

为世界提供中国方案

孙超◎著



## NEW

# 新秩序

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#### 图书在版编目(CIP)数据

新秩序:各国大使眼中的"一带一路"/孙超著.一北京:中国发展出版社,2018.7

ISBN 978-7-5177-0740-0

I.①新… II.①孙… III.① "一带一路"—国际合作—研究 IV.①F125

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2017)第189168号

书 名:新秩序:各国大使眼中的"一带一路"

著作责任者: 孙超

出版发行:中国发展出版社

(北京市西城区百万庄大街16号8层 100037)

标准书号: ISBN 978-7-5177-0740-0

经 销 者: 各地新华书店

印刷者:河北鑫兆源印刷有限公司

开 本: 787mm×1092mm 1/16

印 张: 29.25

字 数: 511千字

版 次: 2018年7月第1版

印 次: 2018年7月第1次印刷

定 价: 168.00元

联系电话: (010) 68990646 67899620 购书热线: (010) 68990682 68990686

网络订购: http://zgfzcbs.tmall.com//

网购电话: (010) 68990639 88333349

本社网址: http://www.develpress.com.cn

电子邮件: cheerfulreading@sina.com

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我希望你们能够看到所有访谈,因为它凝聚了各位大使、专家和高级官员的智慧,非常特别,能够提供一些关于"一带一路"倡议的启发。访谈将告诉你们,我们目前面临的挑战是什么,也能告诉你们潜在的收益是什么。希望大家用心阅读,仔细体会。

I hope you will be watching all the interviews because these line up ambassadors, experts and senior people who have been interviewed are very special and can give you some inspiration on the "Belt and Road" Initiative, what are the challenges and what are the potential benefits. So watch it all and get in touch.

# 欧洲复兴开发银行董事总经理 马蒂亚·罗玛尼 Managing Director of EBRD Mattia Romani

"一带一路"大使访谈是一个分享优质观点的高水准平台。我希望全球的受众通过这个项目都能够更好地了解"一带一路"倡议以及其他中国正在参与的重要事务。

The "Ambassador Interview" program could be really a good way to share very good viewpoints. And I hope that the global audience will also watch this to understand better what the "Belt and Road" Initiative is about and other very important issues that China is engaging in.

# 联合国开发计划署国别主任 文霭洁 Country Director of UNDP in China Agi Veres

"一带一路"倡议为全球经济发展和外交提供了一个有意义的计划。"一带一路"倡议借鉴了曾在历史上改变古代国际贸易的丝绸之路,为我们提供了现代解决方案,有助于进一步推动市场一体化、基础设施建设,并且形成区域间新的联系。

The "Belt and Road" Initiative provides an interesting plan for global economic development and diplomacy. Taking reference from the historic Silk Road, which transformed the nature of international trade links in ancient times, the "Belt and Road" Initiative offers a modern-day solution that fosters further market integration and infrastructure, forging new ties among communities and regions.

# 捷克驻华大使 贝德日赫·科佩茨基 Ambassador of Czech to China Bedrich Kopecky

我想传递给亲爱的中国朋友们这样一条信息:我们相信"一带一路"倡议是未来的重要战略,不仅仅是对中国和埃及,对全球的经济发展也是如此。埃及会全面支持该倡议并且在力所能及的范围内帮助其取得成功。如果你喜欢我传达的信息,那么希望你可以认真阅读我的访谈。谢谢。

I'd like to convey a message to my dear friends from China that we believe that the "Belt and Road" Initiative is a very important Initiative for the future, not only for China and Egypt, but also for the economic development of the whole world. We Egypt support all the way and we will do everything we can to make it a success. If you like my message, I would like to invite you to see my interview. Xie Xie.

埃及驻华大使 穆罕默德·奥萨马·塔哈·马格杜布 Ambassador of Egypt to China Osama Elmagdoub

我想祝福"一带一路"大使访谈取得成功。这是一个非常好的品牌。你们所做的工作在"一带一路"的框架内,具有非常重要的意义,与中国的发展息息相关。祝愿你们越办越好。

I would like to wish the "Ambassador Interview" program a success. This is a very good brand of "Belt and Road" interview. Your work is within the "Belt and Road" framework, very meaningful. Your comments, analyses and researches are closely linked with China's development. Wish your work a success.

哈萨克斯坦驻华大使 沙赫拉特·努雷舍夫 Ambassador of Kazakhstan to China Shakhrat Nuryshev

我想说中国人民真的很幸运。你们国家有一群非常聪明的人。他们具有远见,努力寻求中国在世界上的最佳位置。我衷心祝贺这一倡议取得成功,希望未来两国能够共同合作,我们也将尽自己最大的努力帮助你们实现这一倡议。

The best thing I can say is that you Chinese are very lucky. You have very wise people at your own country. And they really think far and they are really working hard to get China to the best position in the world. My congratulation for the new development and I hope we can be your associate and to do as much as we can to help your Initiative.

科威特第一副首相兼国防大臣 纳赛尔·萨巴赫亲王 First Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Defense of Kuwait Sheikh Nasser Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah

我想鼓励看到此栏目的朋友们意识到"一带一路"倡议的重要性。该倡议由习近平主席提出,不仅造福中国,更将惠及全世界。真主保佑你们。

I'd like to encourage the ones who see this program to realize how important the "Belt and Road" Initiative is. This idea brought by Chinese President Xi Jinping is going to bring the hope to

the whole world. God bless you.

#### 阿曼驻华大使 阿卜杜拉·萨阿迪 Ambassador of Oman to China Abdullah Saleh Al Saadi

人们经常会问的一个问题就是:为什么当今世界如此混乱?我给出的答案是:因为我们缺乏具有远见的领导人。但现在,在中国,就有这样一个有远见的领导人,习近平主席,他提出的倡议不仅能够影响中国,甚至能够影响世界上的许多其他区域。而且这一概念已经成为现实,以巴基斯坦为例,中巴经济走廊已经建立。我们感谢习近平主席提出的这一愿景,我们愿意在巴基斯坦将这一愿景变为现实。这一互联互通的概念将会促进多边共同发展,不仅惠及巴基斯坦以及中亚国家,也将为世界带来新的繁荣。

A question often being asked today is why the world is in such turmoil, and the answer to this is because we have had no visionary leaders. But here, in China, we have a visionary leader, President Xi Jinping, who comes out with an idea that not only affects this region, but affects many parts of the world. So it is a concept that has been translated into reality, in the case of Pakistan through CPEC, the China Pakistan Economic Corridor. So, we are very grateful to the vision that has been raised by President Xi Jinping, and we are very happy to translate this vision into reality in Pakistan, which will be a development multiply, not only for Pakistan, but for the world, because once the connectivity concept is fixed with Pakistan, with the Central Asian countries, there will be prosperity.

巴基斯坦外交国务秘书 塔米娜 Foreign Secretary of Pakistan Tehmina Janjua

我想对"一带一路"大使访谈节目的观众说,作为西班牙驻华大使,中国的老朋友, 我认为"一带一路"倡议是一项明智的计划,需要我们坚定发展和实施。我很高兴中国对 外开放,因为世界需要中国,中国也非常需要世界。非常感谢!

I want to convey a message to the watchers of this program. As the Ambassador of Spain to China, your friend, I think it's a very wise idea that needs to be developed and carried on steadily. I welcome China to open itself to the world, because the world needs China and China also needs very much the world. Thank you very much!

西班牙驻华大使 曼努埃尔·瓦伦西亚 Ambassador of Spain to China Manuel Valencia

我非常高兴有机会向中国观众传递我作为斯里兰卡驻华大使的观点, 尤其是"一带一

路"给斯里兰卡带来的机遇。斯里兰卡是"一带一路"倡议的有力支持者和伙伴,是古代丝绸之路上的重要节点,未来我们可以进行更多合作。我希望能够通过我的声音,增进斯中两国的友谊。同时希望此次访谈能为大家提供一个了解斯里兰卡及其人民的机会。

I'm very glad that I've been given this opportunity to give my views as Ambassador of Sri Lanka to China, particularly opportunities generated by the "Belt and Road" Initiative. As Sri Lanka being a strong support and partner of the "Belt and Road" Initiative and member of historic Silk Road, there are many more we can share. I hope that my interview can enhance our friendship in the future. I also hope this interview will provide opportunities for you to understand Sri Lanka and its people.

斯里兰卡驻华大使 卡鲁纳塞纳·科迪图瓦库 Ambassador of Sri Lanka to China Karunasena Kodituwakku

有机会能够接受"一带一路"大使访谈的采访,我感到非常的高兴,也非常希望能够通过这个节目向中国和世界各国的朋友们转达我们越南人民的问候,同时衷心祝愿世界经济、中国经济不断进步发展。我们相信"一带一路"倡议一定能得到沿线各国的大力支持,谢谢大家。

Today it gives me great pleasure to have interview with "Belt and Road" Ambassador Interview Program. I hope to convey greetings from Vietnamese people to friends from China and the world through this interview program. I sincerely wish the world's economy and China's economy can grow continuously. We believe that the "Belt and Road" Initiative can definitely get support from countries along the routes. Thank you.

越南驻华大使 邓明魁 Ambassador of Vietnam to China Dang Minh Khoi

#### 序言一

### 推进"一带一路"从倾听开始

习近平主席提出"一带一路"倡议,得到了国际社会的热烈反响。"一带一路"开局良好,在短短四年多的时间里取得了超出预想的进展和效果。

"一带一路"秉持"共商、共建、共享"的丝路精神,主要内容是"五通",即政策沟通、道路联通、贸易畅通、货币流通和民心相通。要把"共商、共建、共享"落到实处,首先要作好政策沟通,把"一带一路"与相关国家的发展战略进行对接。其前提是,充分了解相关国家的战略、政策和对"一带一路"的真实想法。因此,我认为,推进"一带一路"不妨从倾听开始。

"一带一路"倡议提出后,本书作者孙超就"一带一路"倡议采访了数十位相关国家 驻华大使和国际组织领导人,其成果连续在《中国发展观察》杂志上发表,形成"一带一路"大使访谈专栏。

大使访谈具有其独特价值。一是权威性,大使代表一个国家,他所表达的意见并非个人意见,而是代表国家意志,这和专家学者发表个人意见是不同的,通过大使访谈,我们了解到的是相关国家政府的想法。二是双向性,大使不仅了解其本国的政策,而且比一般的官员更了解中国、更了解"一带一路"倡议,同时他还承担着不断深入了解"一带一路"的使命,因此,大使访谈还会让读者了解到相关国家对"一带一路"的关注点。三是鲜活性,大使访谈都是面对面交流的纪录,较之干巴巴的政府文件,大使访谈生动鲜活,有很多个性化的内容,读来令人兴趣盎然。

现在本书作者将大使访谈结集出版,这是一件有意义的工作。我愿意向读者朋友推荐 这本访谈录。

是为序。

隆国强 国务院发展研究中心副主任、党组成员 北京 2017年冬至

#### Preface I

## To Promote the "Belt and Road" Initiative, Start from Listening

The "Belt and Road" Initiative put forward by President Xi Jinping received overwhelming responses from the international community. The Initiative had a wonderful beginning and the great achievements it has made in just four years are more than expected.

The "Belt and Road" Initiative is guided by the silk principle of "extensive consultation, joint efforts and win-win cooperation", with main contents of "Five Connectivity": achieving policy, infrastructure, trade, finance, and people-to-people connectivity. In order to put the silk principle in place, we must give priority to policy connectivity, connecting the "Belt and Road" Initiative to related strategies of other countries. The precondition is to fully understand the strategies, policies and the heartfelt opinions about the "Belt and Road" Initiative of other countries concerned. Therefore, to promote the "Belt and Road" Initiative, we may start from listening.

After the Initiative was proposed, Sun Chao, the author of this book interviewed dozens of ambassadors and leaders of international organizations. The achievements of these interviews were published continuously in *China Development Observation*, a well-known core magazine of Development Research Center of the State Council. Moreover, Sun Chao launched the "Belt and Road" Ambassador Interview Program.

The ambassadors' interviews are of great significance. First, they are authoritative. On behalf of a country, an ambassador's opinions are not personal but represent national wills, which are different from the views expressed by experts and scholars. Through ambassador interviews, we can understand what views a country holds about the Initiative. Second, they are bilateral. Ambassadors not only understand their countries' policies but also have a better insight about China and the Initiative than other officials of foreign countries. At the same time, they undertake the mission of deepening their understandings of the "Belt and Road" Initiative. Therefore, by interviewing ambassadors, audiences will find what these countries pay attention to. Third, they are vivid. These interviews are all face-to-face communications rather than dull government documents. Thus, they are vivid and interesting with distinctive contents.

It is very meaningful for Sun Chao, author of this book, to publish these in-depth interviews. I sincerely recommend this book to all the audience.

This is the preface of the book.

Long Guoqiang
Vice President of
the Development Research Center of the State Council
Beijing
Winter Solstice 2017

#### / 序言二

## 一个更健康、更公平的全球化

2017年,我很荣幸应邀参与到了"一带一路"大使访谈栏目,至今印象深刻。能将我的工作同"一带一路"倡议对接,是一件很令人振奋的事情。

在中国,恐怕没有人不知道"一带一路"倡议;即使是在国外,这个倡议也广为人知。关于"一带一路"倡议的意义,很多学者和有影响力的人物都作出了解读和评价,探讨很广泛也很深入。我的解读不一定有很多特色,不过我想结合我的工作谈一谈对"一带一路"倡议的理解。

第一,2015年7月21日,金砖国家新开发银行正式开业,创始成员国为巴西、俄罗斯、印度、中国和南非,总部设在中国上海。作为一家新型多边开发银行,其使命就是支持新兴市场和发展中国家基础设施的建设和可持续发展,致力于缓解他们长期以来面临的资金瓶颈,为全球经济加快复苏提供新动力,这一点与"一带一路"倡议的初衷非常吻合。新开发银行希望能在中国实体经济转型升级创新发展中贡献自己的力量。2017年5月"一带一路"国际合作高峰论坛上,有六个多边金融机构与中国政府签订了MOU(谅解备忘录),这六个金融机构包括世行、亚行、新开发银行、亚投行、欧开行和欧投行,这表明我们积极支持"一带一路"倡议的意向。

第二, "一带一路"大有文章可做,不可把眼光放得太窄。我们不能简单地把"一带一路"倡议看成一个只为沿线国家建设更多基础设施的倡议。在"一带一路"倡议的框架下,实现基础设施的互联互通确实是重中之重,但绝不是全部。我认为它是一个新版的全球化战略,是一个中国提倡的全球化战略,是一个更健康、更公平的全球化战略。如何通过这个战略的实施,把那些欠发展的国家更深入地纳入全球化过程中来,纳入全球供应链当中,使这些国家自身的潜力和比较优势得到充分发挥,摆脱贫困,也使他们得以从低收入国家变成中等收入国家,进而从中等收入国家变成高收入国家,使他们的经济社会发展起来,这应该是"一带一路"倡议非常关键的一个方面。

第三,要理性对待对"一带一路"倡议的不同解读,凝聚更多国际共识。倡议是中国

提出的,但目标是促进各国共同发展。在初期,中国可以担任更多建设性角色,把平台搭建好,但是归根结底还需要国际支持。"一带一路"作为一个全球性倡议,当然可以有不同解读,也需要在国际上能有一个被大家广泛认可的国际版。有不同解读,甚至有一些误解,这本身并不奇怪,可以说是一个常态。但是如果有负面的解读,那需要多做一些解释性工作,更需要通过实践,让事实证明我们的初衷。"一带一路"倡议可能会给中国带来一些看得见的好处,但是它更大的贡献是全球性的,给沿线国家和地区带来的变化比给中国带来的好处多得多。同时,在"一带一路"倡议实施过程当中,应该记住很多沿线国家是不发达国家,他们的条件与今天的中国很不一样,不可能把中国的经验全部移植到他们国家去。要重视、尊重当地的法律、法规、文化,同时也要考虑当地的一些国别情况可能给中国的企业和投资方带来的一些不利条件甚至风险。要针对不同情况和条件,拿出不同的应对方法。通过"一带一路"倡议的实施,还必须给当地的老百姓带来实实在在的好处。只有这样,广大老百姓才会真心实意地支持。当然,这也涉及如何将战略和实际相结合的问题。中国与其他国家地区的建设思路有相同点也有不同点,只有汇聚更多共识,大家才能够拧成一股绳,才能一起发力。

在"一带一路"背景下,新开发银行的很多工作可以促进倡议的实施。对我的采访文章中提到,新开发银行的成员国都是发展中大国,在各自的区域内发挥着引领作用。尤其是中国,经历了由计划经济到社会主义市场经济的重要过渡,一跃成为世界第二大经济体。我的工作经历恰恰是中国改革开放40年来沧桑巨变的折射:我的工作生涯前一半是以国内为主,特别是在财政部;后一半基本是在国际组织,包括三个机构,分别是亚洲开发银行、世界银行和新开发银行。我亲身经历了中国和国际机构的合作不断发展的过程。

我个人的职业生涯,从相对比较青涩到相对比较高层的领导岗位,既经历过积极的事件,也应对过很多挑战,甚至可以说是危机。比如,当初中国走向社会主义市场经济的时候,世界银行提供了一些援助和建议,在有条件、有选择的情况下中国政府给予积极采纳,对中国开放、改革提供了有益的借鉴意义。同时我也参与了20世纪80年代末、90年代初世行从对中国暂停贷款、制裁到恢复的整个博弈过程。另外,20世纪90年代末,国外一些别有用心的人在达赖集团的唆使下,利用中国西部扶贫项目向中国施加压力,我们当时也面临了严峻挑战。这些挑战给我的启示就是,在国际机构,特别是在发展领域,既要有自己坚实的技术能力和基础,同时也要有敏锐的政治敏感性,才能有理有力地维护国家利益。

今天中国成为了世界上很有影响力、发展方面最有成绩的一个大国,我们也可以把有效的经验有的放矢地分享到其他国家去。从这个角度来讲,根据我在国际机构包括世界银行的一些经验和经历,我觉得新开发银行既要学习其他成熟的国际机构的成功经验,也需要与时俱进。中国和其他发展中国家应该能够探讨出新的路子,在新的领域创建新的平台,做出新的成绩,这可能是我个人到新开发银行任职的重要目标,希望能够把这家银行做成一个跟其他银行有所不同,有自己品牌和特色、有自己突出业绩的新的多边国际机构。

"一带一路"大使访谈正如我的工作生涯,见证着这个国家的成长,见证着"一带一路"从襁褓中走出,向着更加成熟的方向迈进。"一带一路"必定是个有前途伟量的倡议,"一带一路"大使访谈栏目也必将跟随倡议的步伐不断前进。

"一带一路"包罗万象,不管什么背景的读者、观众都可以关注大使访谈,都能在各个中外决策者身上得到启发。倡议虽然宏大,但与我们的生活息息相关,中国的发展与每个人的生活都联系紧密,甚至与世界各国的发展都密不可分。"一带一路"大使访谈为读者、观众提供了观察中国的新视角,透过不同国家、不同领域的声音聆听中国故事。

早在华盛顿工作时,我就认识了本书的作者、"一带一路"大使访谈总策划孙超。她曾经在美国哈佛大学学习,也曾在联合国、国际货币基金组织等国际组织工作,是一位有着国际化视野和实践经历的青年学者,我非常愿意向海内外的有识之士、热心读者们推荐本书。

祝 宪 新开发银行副行长、首席运营官 上海 2018年3月8日

#### Preface II

#### A Healthier and Fairer Globalization

In 2017, I am privileged to be invited to join the "Belt and Road" Ambassador Interview Program, which impressed me a lot. It is inspiring for me to connect my work with the "Belt and Road" Initiative.

In China, I believe almost everyone knows this Initiative and it is also quite well-known abroad. As to the meaning of the "Belt and Road" Initiative, many scholars and key influencers have conveyed their understandings with extensive and profound discussions. My interpretation does not necessarily have many specialties, but I want to express my understandings about the "Belt and Road" Initiative on the basis of my work.

First of all, on July 21, 2015, New Development Bank (NDB) was officially open. Its founding members include Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. Its headquarter is in Shanghai. As a new type of multilateral development bank, its mission is to support the construction of infrastructure and sustainable development in emerging markets and developing countries. It is committed to alleviating the financial bottlenecks that they have faced for a long time and providing new impetus for the accelerated recovery of the global economy, which is consistent with the original intention of the "Belt and Road" Initiative.

The NDB hopes to make its own contribution to the transformation, upgrading, innovation and development in the China's real economy. At the "Belt and Road" Forum for International Cooperation in May 2017, six multilateral financial institutions signed the MOU (Memorandum of Understanding) with the Chinese government, which shows that we actively support the "Belt and Road" Initiative. The six financial institutions include the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the New Development Bank, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the European Development Bank and the European Investment Bank.

Second, the "Belt and Road" Initiative is quite promising and we should take a long-term perspective. We cannot simply regard it as an initiative that helps to develop more infrastructures for the countries along the "Belt and Road". Under the framework of it, to achieve the connectivity of infrastructure is the priority, but the content of it is much more than that. I regard it as a new version of globalization, one that was put forward by China and that is healthier and fairer. It should be a critical aspect of the Initiative to consider how to integrate less developed countries into the globalization process and into global supply chains more deeply through the implementation of the Initiative. In that case, their own potentials and comparative advantages

can be fully exploited to lift them out of poverty and enable them to move from low-income to middle-income countries, and then from middle-income to high-income countries, making their economy and society more developed.

Third, we should rationally deal with the different interpretations of the "Belt and Road" Initiative and achieve more international consensus. The Initiative was put forward by China, but the goal is to promote common development among all countries. In the early days, China can play a more constructive role in building the platform. However, in the later stages, the international supports will be needed. As a global initiative, it can be interpreted differently, but we also need to have a widely-recognized version at the international level. There are different interpretations, even some misunderstandings, which is not surprising. However, if there are negative interpretations, we must do more work and prove our original intentions through facts. The "Belt and Road" Initiative may bring some tangible benefits to China, but its greater contribution is global, bringing much more benefits to countries and regions along the "Belt and Road". At the same time, in the implementation of the "Belt and Road" Initiative, it should be remembered that many countries along the "Belt and Road" are less developed countries. Thus, their conditions are quite different from these of today's China and it is impossible to transfer all of China's experience to these countries. We should understand and respect local laws, regulations and culture. Meanwhile, we need to take into account some potential unfavorable conditions and even risks Chinese enterprises and investors are facing due to different situations in some countries. According to different situations and conditions, we should come up with different solutions. The implementation of the Initiative must also bring tangible benefits to the local people. Only in this way will the general public give sincere and full supports. Of course, this also involves how to combine strategy and practice. There are similarities and differences in development visions between China and other nations, and only to gather more consensus can we bring us all together.

Much of the work of the NDB can contribute to the implementation of the Initiative. As mentioned in the interview with me, the members of the New Development Bank are all big developing countries and play a leading role in their respective regions. China, in particular, has gone through an important transition from a planned economy to a socialist market economy, becoming the second largest economy in the world.

My work experience is precisely the reflection of the vicissitudes of China's reform and opening-up over the past 40 years. The first half of my career was in China, especially in the Ministry of Finance; the latter half was largely in international organizations, including three institutions: the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and the New Development Bank. I have personally experienced the continuous development of cooperation between China and international institutions. For example, from the late 1980s to the early 1990s, I also participated

in the whole process of game from the suspension of loans to sanctions on China and to restore lending to China by the World Bank. In addition, at the end of the 1990s, at the instigation of the Dalai clique, some foreign people with ulterior motives took advantage of poverty alleviation projects in western China to exert pressure on China, and we faced severe challenges at that time. These challenges have taught me that in the international institutions, in the area of development particularly, we must have our own solid technical capacity and foundation, as well as a keen political sensitivity, in order to be able to effectively defend our national interests.

Today, China has become one of the most influential and successful countries in the world. We can also share our effective experience with other countries. From this perspective, based on some of my experience in international institutions, including the World Bank, I feel that the New Development Bank needs to learn from the successful experience of other mature international institutions and keep pace with the times. China and other developing countries should be able to explore new ways, create new platforms and make new achievements in new areas, which may be an important goal for me personally to serve in the New Development Bank. I hope I will be able to make the bank a new multilateral international institution with different features from other banks. It will have its own brand and characteristics, as well as outstanding performance.

"Belt and Road" Ambassador Interview, like my career, has been witnessing the growth of the country and the emergence of the "Belt and Road" Initiative from infancy towards maturity. The Initiative must be promising and ambitious, and the "Ambassador Interview" Program must follow the pace of the Initiative and witness more advancements.

The "Belt and Road" Initiative is inclusive. Readers from various backgrounds can appreciate the Ambassador Interview, and can be inspired by every decision-maker at home and abroad. Although the Initiative is grand, it is closely related to our lives. China's development is closely linked to everyone's life, and even the development of the world. This book provides readers and audience with a new perspective to observe China and to listen to china's stories through voices from various countries and fields.

When I was working in Washington D.C., I knew Sun Chao, the author of the book, Head of the "Belt and Road" Ambassador Interview Program. She studied at Harvard University and gained working experiences in different international organizations, including the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund. She is a young professional with international perspectives and practical experiences. I sincerely recommend this book to all the audience at home and abroad.

Zhu Xian Vice President, COO of the New Development Bank Shanghai March 8, 2018

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