



Foreign Affairs Review

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Foreword

This year marks the 30th anniversary of China's reform and opening up. At this historic moment that is worth 1.3 billion Chinese people commemorating, *Foreign Affairs Review* (English edition) which is also the journal of China Foreign Affairs University and China National Association for International Studies is published.

Why should *Foreign Affairs Review* be published at this very moment? It is because China has undergone great changes over the past 30 years. It is not exaggerated to describe the changes as earth-shaking. All the Chinese people, who have been to China, have the same feeling. And those who have never been to China also feel the increasing influence of China from the growing number of daily consumption of Chinese products.

China successfully held the Olympic and Paralympic Games this year. The U.S. subprime lending crisis triggered the current global financial tsunami. All these, in particular, make more people of the world hope to have a better and more comprehensive understanding of China. This, of course, also means re-understanding and getting knowledge of China's foreign policy and the development trend of international relations, which is clearly conducive to world peace and development.

Foreign Affairs Review is oriented towards China's foreign affairs and international relations research. It is a selection of great works of China Foreign Affairs University and China academic circle of International Studies. It is also a window for explaining and understanding China's foreign policy, from which the reader can get different views and ideas of Chinese

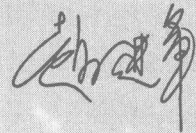
Foreword

scholars as they observe and interpret the relationship between China and the outside world from their own perspective. It can be said that *Foreign Affairs Review* is also a platform for Chinese and foreign scholars to carry out theoretical research and policy discussions and exchanges in the field of foreign affairs and international relations.

Chinese sages of the past attached great significance to the doctrine of the mean. Today, China's diplomatic idea of "building a harmonious world" searches for wide-ranging peace and balanced development of the world.

This *Foreign Affairs Review* publishes articles are written by former Vice Foreign Minister and current Director of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council Wang Yi and other well-known Chinese scholars such as Qin Yaqing, Zhu Liquan, Wang Jisi and Wang Yizhou. The topics of articles cover the Neo-Asianism, Neo-internationalism and China's diplomacy in the 21st century, the international system and China's diplomatic option, the international legal order and China's peaceful development as well as considerations on China's diplomacy over the past 30 years and so on. The editor hopes that these articles can contribute to the mutual understanding and respect between China and the outside world.

Foreign Affairs Review is jointly published by China Foreign Affairs University and the World Affairs Press, and issued at home and abroad. Subscriptions and contributions from Chinese and foreign readers are welcome so as to enhance our ties and cooperation.



Zhao Jinjun
Editor-in-chief for *Foreign Affairs Review*
President of China Foreign Affairs University



China Foreign Affairs University

China Foreign Affairs University (CFAU) is an institution of higher learning operating under the guidance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the suggestion of Premier Zhou Enlai, China Foreign Affairs University was founded in September 1955.

China Foreign Affairs University follows the 16-character code of conduct formulated by Premier Zhou Enlai, namely, "Unswerving Loyalty, Mastery of Policies, Professional Competency and Observance of Discipline" in its efforts to train ethically qualified and professionally competent personnel for foreign service, who are at the same time linguistically proficient, with a wide knowledge, and a potential for doing practical work, research and innovation.

Over the past 50 years China Foreign Affairs University has turned out about 20,000 students, among whom many have been charged with ministerial responsibilities, served in the capacity of ambassadors and counselors in Chinese embassies abroad, worked in other governmental departments or agencies. Some of them have become outstanding professors or scholars. In recent years, in-service training for Foreign Ministry's employees and training programmes for senior diplomats have been conducted on campus. These alumni have become the backbone force of China's foreign service, and have made tremendous contributions to China's diplomacy. CFAU has thus become China's "cradle of diplomats".

Foreign Affairs Review, both a journal of China Foreign Affairs University and the official journal for China National Association for International Studies, has been rated as "National Excellent Journal for Social Sciences", "National Core Journal for Humanities and Social Sciences", "Famous Journal for Humanities and Social Sciences of Beijing Higher Learning Institution".

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Pondering over Neo-Asianism of the 21st Century

*Wang Yi**

Abstract: Early Asianism derives from Asian political and academic elites' contemplation on national subjugation as well as Asia's future and destiny, which were triggered by the invasion of Western powers in the 19th century. In Japan, this ideological trend was gradually alienated into something which served as an excuse and tool for aggression against and exclusive domination over Asia. Asianism was in a transitional period during the Cold War. Shortly after it was revived by the Bandung Conference in 1955, Asianism came to a standstill due to such factors as the Cold War and the differences between Asian countries. Stimulated by the successes of European integration, Asianism made some headway in the 1980s. The Asian consciousness cultivated in the process of Asian regional cooperation after the end of the Cold War heralded Asianism of the 21st century. In the meantime, some groundwork was laid for Asianism at economic, security and cultural levels and at the level of regionalization. Neo-Asianism should be a cooperative, open and harmonious Asianism.

Key words: Asia; Asian Consciousness; Asianism; Neo-Asianism

* Wang Yi, Director of Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council.

I. Early Asianism

No clear geographic coordinates and intercontinental boundaries existed in Asia before modern times. In a general or traditional sense, the Asia in people's minds roughly comprises of Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia. But in a broad sense, Central Asia, West Asia and the region east of the Ural Mountain range in Russia are also within the actual geographical limits of Asia. Asia covers about 30% of the world's land area and is inhabited by about 60% of the world's population. This study deals with Asia in a broad sense but focuses on those Asian regions in a traditional sense.

Historically, Asia had long been in the forefront of the world, making outstanding contributions to the progress of human civilization. Among the Four Great Ancient Civilizations, China, India and ancient Babylonia are in Asia. The world's three major religions—Christianity, Buddhism and Islamism—all have their origin in Asia. The ancient oriental philosophy of Asia has enlightened the human mind, and the great inventions by Asians have exerted an impact on the progress of the world civilization. Asia had for a long period of time been leading the world economic trend. The data given by Paul Bairoch in *International Industrialization Levels from 1750-1890* show that, in the early period of the Western Industrial Revolution, Asia accounted for about two-thirds of the world's GDP with China and the Indian subcontinent taking up a share of 32% and 24% respectively.

As the modern times began, however, Asia fell behind in the surging Industrial Revolution and started to decline in self-seclusion. In 1900, China and India accounted for only 7.7% of the world's GDP while Britain, France, Germany, Russia and Italy accounted for 54.5% and the United States alone for 23.6%. Following the occupation of Goa, India by Portuguese colonists in 1510, almost all Asian countries were subjected, in varying degrees, to aggression and colonization by Western powers and

their people suffered immensely from the scourge of war and the humiliation of being bullied.

Faced with Western powers' invasion and national subjugation, a number of political and academic elites of Asian countries began to examine the positioning of Asia as well as of their respective countries in the world from the perspective of international relations in modern times. Pondering over the destiny of their own nation in conjunction with the future of Asia, they advanced the concept of Asianism from different angles, which evolved into "early Asianism".

Early Asianism roughly went through two stages of development.

The first stage began after the outbreak of the Opium War between China and Britain and the Black Ship Incident between Japan and the United States in the mid-19th century and continued up to the eve of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. During this period, some Japanese intellectuals pioneered the idea of "a united Asia". Japan, China and Korea all belonged to the Oriental civilization system and were all under mounting pressure from aggressive Western powers, hence the need for "Sino-Japanese collaboration" and Japan-China-Korea "Triple Alliance", they argued. In the meantime, similar propositions voiced by some of the political top brass and thinkers of the Qing Dynasty were heard in China.

It was in this period, too, that a debate over the country's strategic orientation was becoming white hot in Japan, during which the theory of "departing from Asia for Europe" represented by Fukuzawa Yukichi eventually gained the upper hand. The Constitution of the Great Japanese Empire was promulgated in 1889 and the Imperial Diet inaugurated in 1890. Having introduced constitutional monarchy into the country, Japan began to follow the example of Western powers in pursuing the line of building a prosperous country and a powerful army while directing its spearhead, first of all, at Korea and China.

The second stage began with the outbreak of the Sino-

Japanese War in 1894 and went on to the Eastern Conference called by the Tanaka Cabinet in 1927, at which an outline of Japan's policy toward China, a policy of invading China, was adopted. During this period, Western powers further stepped up their efforts to carve up Asian countries, particularly China. Asia's, especially China's confrontation with Japan turned hot and became a principal contradiction as Japan grew rapidly into an Asian power while Japan and Western powers colluded with each other and, at the same time, constrained each other.

Against this background, 1897 saw the founding of the East Asia Association in Tokyo, which was followed by the creation of the Common Culture Association the next year, and then these two associations were merged into the East Asia Common Culture Association, which became a center for the study of East Asia, especially China in the then Asia and produced a variety of systematic expositions on "Great Asianism". In the meantime, Early Asianism was led astray and gradually alienated and degenerated into something which served as an excuse and tool for aggression against and exclusive domination over Asia.

From late 19th century to early 20th century, a number of early Chinese revolutionaries and thinkers such as Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Zhang Taiyan, Liang Qichao and Li Dazhao, too, began to study and expound Asianism from different perspectives, and they were successively joined by India's Gandhi and Tagore as well as some intellectuals from Korea and Southeast Asia. Hence, Asianism became a common topic among politicians and intellectuals in Asia.

The common features of early Asianism can be summed up as follows.

Firstly, as a direct reaction to the oppression by Western powers, it is imbued with a rudimentary nationalist and anti-colonialist consciousness.

Secondly, as an ideological and cultural phenomenon in the wake of the collapse of the traditional international relations in East Asia, it spurred the elites in Asian countries to rethink the

causes of the change from prosperity to decline in their respective countries as well as in Asia and prompted them to think profoundly about their own destiny and interests as well as cultural commonality.

Thirdly, it obviously smacks of antagonism and exclusiveness. For instance, Asianism was understood by Japanese scholar Katsu Kaishu as “a strategy of alliance against Western powers”.

Fourthly, such discussions in Japan were most active, which became a fertile ground for fostering and propagating awareness about the strategy of expanding outward and controlling Asia.

After experiencing many setbacks from the very beginning of its birth, early Asianism died on the vine for the following main reasons.

Firstly, the then oriental countries were extremely weak and feeble. China, in particular, was impoverished and weak, finding itself in a most difficult time in its history, although it was a major force in Asia. The global balance of power tilted heavily against Asia, hence the lack of an adequate material base to bolster Asianism.

Secondly, Asianism was brought forth prematurely without having an advanced theory as its guide and failed to strike a chord with people in power, especially with the general public in Asian countries. And this theory was mingled with various kinds of narrow nationalist ideas under the cover of Asianism.

Thirdly, Japan, the first country to free itself from the control of Western powers and to build industrial civilization, made a wrong choice and moved toward the opposite of Asianism. Japan deviated itself from its identification with Asia by choosing to “depart Asia for Europe”, then sided with Western powers and confronted Asian countries with arms and power just as the Western powers did, and finally entered into alliance with world fascism, embarking on militarism and external expansion, a road of no return. As early as 1919, Li Dazhao, a founder of the Chinese Communist Party, hit the nail on the head when he pointed out: “Japan’s Great Asianism is a doctrine of aggression rather than of peace, a doctrine of

imperialist annexation of weaker nations rather than of national self-determination, and it is Japanese militarism rather than Asian democracy.”

In 1924, Dr. Sun Yat-sen made a famous speech in Kobe, Japan shortly before his death. Basing on the political experience gained during his whole life, he articulated his last warning to Japan at this crucial time in history. He said: “You, the Japanese nation, has taken in European and American cultures of the rule of Might while retaining the essence of the Asian culture of the rule of Right. What role will Japan play in the world culture of tomorrow? To serve as a lackey of the Western rule of Might or to act as a bulwark in defense of the Oriental rule of Right? It is up to you, the Japanese nationals, to make a cautious choice after careful examination.” Regrettably, however, Japan has paid no heed to warnings and admonitions from its neighboring countries and the international community. The Japanese militarism that had gone farther and farther down the road of aggression and expansion brought enormous calamities to the people of Asian countries and cost Japan heavily in the end.

II. Asianism in the Transitional Period

The transitional period of Asianism lasted for nearly half a century from the end of World War II to the end of the Cold War.

After World War II, a number of newly emerging Asian and African countries that had shaken off colonial rule raised up a new banner of regional unity. Strong proponents of the Asian-African Conference, such as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Nehru and Sukarno, brought forth the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference, which have had far-reaching repercussions. The spirit of promoting unity and cooperation as well as seeking common ground and shelving differences advocated by the conference greatly inspired Asian countries in their efforts to work together and attain development, and catalyzed the revitalization of Asianism.

However, the process of the Asian-African Conference soon came to a standstill, and Asianism was hindered from further growth due to the following reasons.

Firstly, as Asia was under the shadow of the Cold War, Asian countries were generally speaking split into two major camps confronting each other. The lack of a basic political consensus and a complete geological concept made it difficult to press on with Asianism.

Secondly, Asia was plagued by incessant local wars and uneven economic growth although Asian countries had successively freed themselves from foreign invasion and colonial rule and embarked on a political rebirth. The lack of a peaceful environment and a material base made it difficult to press on with Asianism.

Thirdly, Asianism was affected by what happened to or in major Asian countries and the status of their mutual relations. Having been subjected to blockades and containment by the United States and other Western countries for a long period of time, China was virtually excluded from the international system. Japan pursued the "economy first" doctrine domestically and stayed in step with the United States internationally. India focused on South Asia and the Non-Aligned Movement. Sino-Japanese and Sino-Indian relations had for long remained abnormal. The lack of leading forces in Asia, still less coordination between them, made it difficult to press on with Asianism.

After the 1970s, Western Europe quickened its pace of integration and achieved remarkable successes and the worldwide trend toward regionalization was in the offing, giving quite a stimulus to Asian countries. In the late 1970s, Japanese Prime Minister Ohira Masayoshi proposed the "Pacific-Rim Economic Sphere" concept. And in the 1980s, the United States, Japan and Australia initiated the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, under whose impulse the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was established. The transitional-stage concept and practice laid the groundwork and gathered

strength for Asian cooperation of the new period and for neo-Asianism.

III. Groundwork for Neo-Asianism

The post-Cold War era has presented Asian cooperation and development with unprecedented opportunities. In his famous book *Megatrends Asia*, futurologist John Naisbitt noted that Asia has begun to take its destiny into its own hands, Asians have begun to rediscover Asia and Asian collective consciousness is rising. It is precisely this Asian collective consciousness that has heralded neo-Asianism of the 21st century. Some groundwork has been laid in the following aspects.

Firstly, underpinning at economic level.

The economic take-off in a number of Asian countries since the 1990s gave an impetus to Asian development as a whole. From 1990 to 2004, Asia's share of the world's GDP rose from 15% to 23.8% while its share of the world's export trade increased from 26% to 31.8%. Between 1995 and 2005, Asia's average annual growth rate in GDP and foreign trade was about twice of the world average and its rate of contribution to global GDP or trade growth was only second to that of North America. In 2005, Asia attracted 22.7% of the world's total FDI, represented one-sixth of the world's stock market capitalization, transacted one-third of the world's total foreign trade, held 70% of the world's foreign exchange reserves and had 25.5% of the world's Internet users. With a population five times as large as that of North America and four times as large as that of the EU, Asia enjoys tremendous market potential and prospects unmatched by other regions.

An authoritative international research institute predicted that at the current relative growth rate, Asia's economic aggregate will surpass that of the EU by 2010, equal to that of the North American Free Trade Area by 2020 and account for more than 40% of the world's GDP by 2040. Recent years have

seen multinational corporations and international consortiums rushing to Asian markets, especially markets in newly emerging countries like China and India, in a bid to gain domination over them. Quite a few world-renowned strategists and economists share identical views that the focus of the world economy is shifting to Asia.

Secondly, underpinning at the level of regionalization.

On the basis of the economic development successively achieved by Asian countries and the deepening of the circular flow of intra-regional economy, regional cooperation emerged as the times required, which, with extensive support, is operating well at all levels, in a wide range of areas and on a two-track approach (government and non-government sponsorships). The two pillar mechanisms, namely the ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and Korea) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, are developing in depth. The ASEAN+3, in particular, has opened up 18 areas of cooperation, established more than 50 dialogue mechanisms and launched over 100 cooperation projects of various kinds, serving as the main channel for promoting Asian cooperation.

The Asia Cooperation Dialogue initiated by Thailand has become the first intergovernmental pan-Asia cooperation platform across all sub-regional boundaries in Asia. With a galaxy of elites from all countries in the region, the Bo'ao Forum for Asia lends intellectual support for pan-Asia Cooperation Process. Constant progress has been made in the ASEAN integration and the development of the Mekong River valley, and the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is gradually regaining its vibrancy. In the short span of a few years, more than 40 free trade agreements have been signed or are being negotiated by countries in the region, the total value of currency swap agreements exceeds US\$ 71.5 billion and the Asia Bond Fund amounts to US\$3 billion. The Asian Highway Network and Trans-Asian Railway projects have made continuous headway, and the Asia Currency Unit is in gestation.