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China Center for Contemporary World Studies

Chief Editor: Guo Yezhou
Executive Editor: Hu Hao

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Contents

Several Dimensions to Understand the CPC	Liu Yunshan	1
Endeavoring to Open Up New Prospects for the CPC's International Relations: On Studying and Implementing Comrade Xi Jinping's Important Thoughts about the CPC's International Relations	Wang Jiarui	7
Essential Information Conveyed by President Xi Jinping's Visit to Europe	Guo Yezhou	15
Observations about Public Diplomacy in BRI by Looking at BCIM Economic Corridor Practices	Sun Haiyan, Huang Rui	24
Maintaining Peaceful and Open Environment to Promote Win-Win Development along "the Belt and Road"	Hu Hao	34
Openness Comes from Confidence Frankness Manifests Sincerity	Zhang Weijie	39
China's Extension of Strategic Opportunity Period: Significance, Timing and Practice ...	Jin Canrong, Guo Zhenjia	47
Start of China's "New 35 Years" Development Strategy	Zhao Minghao	55
Adapting to the New Situation of Globalization and Building a New Open Economic System	Zhang Yansheng	61
New Trends of International Trade: Revival of Multilateral Free Trade Framework or Rise of New Regional Free Trade Framework?	Ding Yifan	70
Enhancing Strategic Mutual Trust and Laying a Solid Social Foundation for "Silk Road Economic Belt"	Kong Hanbing	79

AIIB and Reform of International Financial System Wang Xun 86

Beijing to Paris: Probable Gap between International
Expectation and China’s Contribution Lin Yongliang 96

Be Calm in Dealing with Chaos in World Situation
..... Jiang Lingfei 111

Perception Gap between China and US on Building a
New Model of Major Country Relations and China’s
Policy toward US Wang Jisi, Wu Shengqi 119

Transformation of Strategic Mindsets and China-US
Cooperation Zhao Minghao 133

Analysis of New US Counterterrorism Strategies
..... Zheng Dongchao 144

New Features of Regional Security Situation in East Asia:
Maritime Territorial Disputes and Major Country Power
Rivalry Zhu Feng 158

Ukrainian Crisis: An Opportunity for Managing China-
US-Russia-Europe Relations Wang Yiwei 168

China’s “Peaceful Rise” Also Depends on Europe
..... Pierre Defraigne 178

Appendix

Major Events of CCCWS in 2014 194

Major Events of CCCWS in 2015 202

Several Dimensions to Understand the CPC

—Remarks made at “The CPC in the Eyes of European Scholars” workshop on 11 June, 2014

Mr. Liu Yunshan, Member of Politburo Standing Committee and Member of the Secretariat, CPC Central Committee

It is my great pleasure to be at Copenhagen Business School to conduct face-to-face exchange with you. Centering on the theme of this workshop, seven experts have just now presented the results of their studies on China and the Communist Party of China (CPC), of which many viewpoints are insightful, and especially many constructive suggestions for furthering CPC studies are very good. Through your presentations, I feel deeply that over the years you have, by your fruitful studies, made positive efforts to enhance the outside world's understanding of the CPC and that of Europe in particular and thereby to promote Sino-European mutual trust and cooperation. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to you on behalf of the CPC.

As some of the experts just mentioned, the rise of China is a major event of the world today. China's rapid development and ever unfolding vitality have caught the world's attention and have also attracted more and more scholars to study China. Some other experts mentioned that in order to study China, it is necessary to study well the CPC. Why? The answer is simple: the CPC is the ruling party of China and the leading core of China's cause of revolution, construction and reform. The accomplishments of China's development today are attained under the leadership of the CPC.

The utmost fundamental feature of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the leadership of the CPC. Without the CPC, there would be no New China; neither would there be socialism with Chinese characteristics. In order to study China and socialism with Chinese characteristics, it is necessary to study the CPC. In fact, to study the CPC well is to take the core of studying China, to find the key to answering the questions such as where contemporary China is from and where it is going.

In regard to CPC studies, we adopt the attitude of openness, inclusiveness, support and cooperation. Some of the scholars wish to study the CPC from the angle of decision makers, hoping to be in contact with China's decision makers and to learn decision making process of the CPC. This is a very good angle. Decision making process of the CPC is open and transparent. For instance, we have timely made public the resolution of the Third Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee on comprehensively deepening the reform and follow-up measures in implementing various reform plans since the plenum. If it is of your interest and necessity for your studies, Chinese decision makers and people involved in decision making process would like to meet you. Furthermore, international experts and think tanks engaged in CPC studies may as well conduct cooperation with Chinese scholars and research institutions, in which we have no obstacles and wish to help find appropriate channels. Problem-oriented approach is an important research method. China faces many problems and challenges, but we do not evade problems. All issues that China and the CPC face are open to research, in which it is our hope that you make constructive results in your research. As a Party member for over forty years and one who has long engaged in Party building, I believe that one can take such dimensions to observing and studying the CPC as follows.

Firstly, historical dimension. In order to observe and study the CPC, it is necessary to have in view the macro historical backdrop of contemporary China and to understand the historical megatrend of the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. At the beginning of the 20th century, China was subject to internal turmoil and external threat, to disunity and

disintegration. As such, saving the country became the most urgent historical subject. As the lyrics of our national anthem have it, “the Chinese nation faces its greatest peril”. What was to be done under these circumstances? The Chinese then resorted to many means. Political parties of various persuasions stepped into the historical arena of China. Constitutional monarchy, parliamentary system, multiparty system and presidential system were all tried in the country but none of them worked. Not until the CPC came into being in 1921 and synthesized basic tenets of Marxism with national conditions of China was a correct way found to lead the people to make democratic revolution, to realize independence of the nation and liberation of the people and to establish a New China. In the sixty years and more in power, the CPC has unswervingly explored and practiced, especially kept pushing forward reform and opening up, in leading the people to establish and develop socialism with Chinese characteristics. It is worth noting that the CPC has led the people in ushering in a new era in history. Everything in China today has to do with the CPC, whose leading and ruling position is not self-styled but chosen by history.

Secondly, people’s dimension. Since its founding, the CPC has held high a banner of serving the people wholeheartedly, which is the basic objective of the Party. The CPC has constantly represented the fundamental interest of the greatest number of the Chinese people rather than special interest of one or several interest groups. All the way from revolution to construction to reform, the Party has never changed on this, and as Deng Xiaoping remarked, “we take it for basic yardstick to judge the success and failure of various policy measures of ours if the people are supportive, if they concur, if they are gratified and if they allow.” This has become the motto of the Chinese Communists. In practice, whatever the people are supportive of, concur, are gratified with and allow we will act firmly and actively. When we first started with the reform and opening up, we came across one kind of resistance or the other. However, as reform benefited the people and was supported by the people, we were duty-bound not to turn back. Since the 18th National Congress of the

CPC, we have been very forceful in dealing with corruption by “hunting tigers as well as flies” as our slogan goes. The reason behind is that it has the sympathy and support of the people. The demand of the people is the basis for our work. Though there is one shortcoming or another within our Party, we have in general won the support of overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. According to the *Pew Global Attitudes Report 2013*, 85% of the Chinese are “very satisfied” with the direction of their country, which is rare in the world. Is such a high satisfaction rate anything other than the best indication of the support of the Chinese people for the CPC?

Thirdly, cultural dimension. The Chinese nation has a longstanding civilization of over 5000 years, whose fine cultural tradition has nurtured the CPC to take root, grow, develop and be in power in the country. The values and ideas for governance that the CPC stands for are imbued with the same spirit of the fine traditional Chinese culture. For instance, the traditional Chinese culture calls for benevolence, honesty and justice, which are on the same wavelength as the core socialist values promoted by the CPC. The people-oriented value of the traditional Chinese culture is in connection with the objective of serving the people upheld by the CPC. The traditional Chinese culture stands for the ideas of seeking harmony and seeking common ground on major issues, which are also reflected in the governance ideas of the CPC. Our Party has advanced the sinicization of Marxism, which in fact is to synthesize Marxism with the traditional Chinese culture in an organic way. As such, in order to observe and study the CPC, it is necessary to have cultural perspective that links and combines the unique cultural tradition of the Chinese nation with the core socialist values promoted by the CPC.

Fourthly, practical dimension. Practice is the sole criterion for truth. For a ruling Party, without development of national economy and improvement on the people’s livelihood, the CPC’s legitimacy would be out of the question. The CPC has presided over a major country peopled by 1.3 billion and, through hard working over the long years and especially through reform and opening up in the past thirty years and more, has turned a poor and backward country in the past into a thriving, prosperous

one that is full of vitality with ever-improving living standard of the people. Though our overall level of development is not high yet, our society is basically moderately affluent, being well-fed and well-clothed. Over thirty-odd years ago, China's per capita GDP was merely over 300 USDs, and now the figure is more than 6000 USDs, which is a noticeable progress. Furthermore, China has done well in dealing with the impact of the international financial crisis in recent years and made important contributions to the rest of the world, which is well received internationally. Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the Party Central Committee, with Comrade Xi Jinping as its General Secretary, has led the people to grasp reform in promoting development, to grasp style of work in promoting party-building and to further open up new prospects of social-economic development, which has elevated the cohesion of the Party among the people. All these universally recognized facts attest to the full the governance capacity of the CPC. As such, it helps one master the secret code of development and progress of contemporary China to observe and study the CPC in practical dimension.

Fifthly, the world dimension. China's development cannot be detached from the rest of the world. The CPC has always stressed on obtaining world perspective, global intellectual horizon and open-mindedness in adopting strong point from other countries. As General Secretary Xi Jinping puts it, China will always be a major learning country. We are ready to draw on fine results of cultural attainments of the rest of the world and to learn from good experience and methods of political parties of various countries. It is up to the CPC to be mindful of its origin, to absorb know-how from other countries and to face the future. Now, the CPC has maintained ties with over 600 political parties and organizations in over 180 countries. Be it in power or not, we would like to compare notes with parties in foreign countries and to draw on their useful wisdom. In party to party exchanges, we have felt profoundly that the world is colorful and there is no one-size-fits-all model for different countries, and that just as politics is diversiform so also there is no unified yardstick to judge all parties. One should note that political ideas vary from country to

country and from party to party, and it is precisely the variance that makes it valuable and dynamic for parties to compare notes and learn from one another. As such, to observe and study the CPC, it is advisable to keep in the context of the macro background of political plurality of world political parties. Only by keeping in mind such a world comparative dimension, can one understand the CPC in a correct, comprehensive and unbiased manner.

The above are my suggestions for experts working on the CPC studies, which include some of our experience in enhancing the party-building. Standing at a new historical starting point, we are full of self-confidence in the future of our Party. Such self-confidence arises from the long and hard struggle of the Party, from its creativeness and accumulated strength, and from the successful practice of the Chinese path, the Chinese theory and the Chinese institutions. Of course, self-confidence is not self-conceit. We are sober minded that on our road ahead there will surely be various risks and challenges and there are quite a few major issues crying for solutions in enhancing the party-building, promoting reform and development, and maintaining social stability. Only by boldly facing and coping with the problems and by unyieldingly conducting self-purification, self-improvement, self-remaking and self-regeneration, can we preserve the Party's quality of being vanguard and its organizational purity, can we keep fresh vitality and dynamics for developing contemporary China.

Finally, I wish to say that since all scholars presenting are interested in studying China and the CPC, you are welcome to visit China more often. To study China, if you do not go to China and do not get in-depth understanding the country, the results of your studies and the reality will be poles apart. Likewise, to study the CPC, if you do not meet the leading cadres or ordinary members of the Party, the two ends will be poles apart. So, we warmly welcome all of you to China and are willing to provide you with assistance.

Endeavoring to Open Up New Prospects for the CPC's International Relations: On Studying and Implementing Comrade Xi Jinping's Important Thoughts about the CPC's International Relations

Mr. Wang Jiarui, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), former Minister of the International Department of the CPC Central Committee (IDCPC), Honorary Chairman of the Council of China Center for Contemporary World Studies (CCCWS)

Since the 18th National Congress of the CPC, the Party Central Committee, with Comrade Xi Jinping as its General Secretary, has accurately grasped the changes in the world pattern and China's development trend and guided the diplomatic theory and practice with Chinese characteristics to continuously attain new developments and breakthroughs. The CPC's international work is an important front of the Party and an important integral part of the overall diplomacy of the country. Standing at a new historical starting point, we should take Comrade Xi Jinping's Diplomatic and Strategic Thinking as basic guideline for action, study profoundly and implement Comrade Xi Jinping's important thinking on the Party's international work, keep on enhancing our strategic and innovative awareness and bring into full play our special features and advantages in striving to open up new prospects of the Party's international work and make new contributions to the Party's cause and China's overall diplomacy.

Comrade Xi Jinping's Important Thinking on the Party's International Work Is Rich in Content

Comrade Xi Jinping's Diplomatic and Strategic Thinking has important and far-reaching bearings on guiding the Party's international work in the new era. The Chinese Dream has constructed a bridge of mutual understanding and win-win cooperation between our Party and the international community. Having rich connotation, his views on the times, on civilization, on the world, on strategy and on security have laid down a solid theoretic foundation for the Party's international work. His expounding on the relationship between the domestic environment and the international environment provides a new dimension to the accurate double positioning of the Party's international work. His comprehensive, balanced diplomatic layout and sophisticated diplomatic tactics bring about new vitality for overall improvement on the quality of the Party's international work. Comrade Xi Jinping sets great store by the Party's international work, giving meticulous guidance to it and being personally involved in it, and has made a series of important remarks on it, which has come down as Comrade Xi Jinping's important thinking on the Party's international work, being an important integral part of Comrade Xi Jinping's Diplomatic and Strategic Thinking.

By accurately grasping the phase characteristics of Marxist doctrine on party-to-party relations under the new historical circumstances, development and innovation have taken place in guideline, principles and methods of party diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. By studying and understanding the connotation and essence of Comrade Xi Jinping's Diplomatic and Strategic Thinking, we have further established the guideline of the Party's international relations and extended the principles and methods for handling party-to-party ties on the basis of the cardinal principles governing party-to-party relations; we seek common ground and set aside differences on the one hand, and hold up bottom-line on the other; we strengthen exchanges of ideas and improve affinity on the one

hand and maintain political consciousness on the other; we go beyond ideological differences on the one hand and guard and struggle against plots of Westernization and conspiracy of splitting up China. Such a guideline has helped our Party remain sober-minded and take the initiative in complicated and changing international political tides.

By upholding its double positioning, the objective and tasks of the Party's international work in the new situation have been clarified. The Party's international work is both an important front of the Party and an important integral part of China's overall diplomacy. Comrade Xi Jinping observes that the Party's international work "should strive to become an effective way in promoting the development of China's international relations, an important window to display the fine international image of the Party, an important platform for the leading members of the Party to observe and study the outside world and an important channel in serving the policy-making of the Party's Central Committee". This important thinking has ascertained the historical positioning and self-positioning of the Party's international work, broadened the space for its development and guided us to extend the Party's superiority in publicity and its fine tradition of keeping close links with the people to its international work, which has gradually brought forth a three-dimensional pattern of Party diplomacy, public diplomacy and people's diplomacy, giving play to integrated advantage and comprehensive effects.

By establishing the strategic layout of the Party's international work in the new circumstances, we have given comprehensive and systematic answers to such important questions as "what is to be done" and "how to do it" for the Party's international work in the new era. According to Comrade Xi Jinping's overall layout and requirements, we have further epitomized the Party's international work in the new era as "to grasp party ties", "to grasp research", "to grasp contact-building" and "to grasp the image-making of the Party". The "four grasps" are interconnected, intermingled and complementary to each other and embody special features of the Party's international work that are rich in connotation, extensive in denotation and of high flexibility, together forming an organic whole of the

Party's international work.

Taking Comrade Xi Jinping's Important Thinking on the Party's International Work as Guideline

Comrade Xi Jinping's Diplomatic and Strategic Thinking and his important thinking on the Party's international work have set the direction for the Party's international work in the new era and established its concrete planning and layout. On the basis of in-depth studies and comprehension, we should forcefully implement the guideline in the style of work featured "leaving footprints after stepping on the rock and leaving fingerprints after grasping the iron" and strive to open up new prospects in the Party's international work.

Centering on China's overall diplomacy, we should do a good job in "grasping party ties" in order to promote sustained, stable and healthy development of state-to-state relations. The Party's Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping as its General Secretary has come up with the important concept of "the Chinese Dream" and launched a new process of deepening reform comprehensively. Holding high the banner of peace, development and win-win cooperation, China is approaching the center of the world arena, the CPC is also stepping into the limelight. Under the new situation, we set more store by combining the organizational advantage of our Party with the features of international party politics, resulting in the fact that the Party's international work better embodies the unique institutional advantage of socialism with Chinese characteristics as well as the important features of major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. We should continue to enrich the content of party ties and to innovate on the forms of party exchanges to better serve consolidating and strengthening the Party's governing position and its endeavor to keep developing socialism with Chinese characteristics, to serve China's overall diplomacy and to enhance the international influence of the Party and the country. First of all, we should give play to the unique advantage of multi-tiered exchanges with the ruling parties of the socialist countries,

strengthen exchanges with them on experience of party-building and governance and strive to enhance the leading role of party-to-party ties in the development of state-to-state relations between China and other socialist countries. Secondly, we should keep in view the task of stabilizing, managing and shaping the neighborhood of the country, implement the concepts of “amiability, sincerity, benefaction and inclusion” and strengthen relations with major parties in neighboring countries so as to strengthen mutual political trust, enhance interest ties and make greater endeavors to realize the objectives of China’s neighborhood strategy in the new era. Thirdly, we should strengthen exchange mechanisms with major parties of major countries to face structural issues in bilateral relations, to conduct sincere exchanges of ideas on fundamental, long-term and strategic topics in the spirit of seeking common grounds while preserving differences and at the service of constructing a new model of major country relations. Fourthly, we should unswervingly establish the concept of a community of common destiny between China and other developing countries and, upholding the correct view of justice and interest, deepen relations and cooperation with political parties of developing countries so as to enhance practical cooperation and promote long-term, stable development of relations between China and other developing countries. Fifthly, we should better utilize the platform of multilateral party-to-party relations so as to further organic combination of bilateral and multilateral party-to-party relations and to extensively and profoundly publicize the position and determination of the CPC and the Chinese Government in taking the road of peaceful development and win-win cooperation, improving China’s capacity of international communication.

Centering on the concerns of the Party’s Central Committee, we should do a good job in “grasping research” and actively provide intellectual support for its policy-making. As Comrade Xi Jinping points out, “To investigate and research is the basis for planning and the way for doing things.” To set store by investigation and research is an important heritage of our Party throughout its various historical stages of revolution, construction and reform, which is a key link concerns either success or

failure of the cause of the Party and the people. We should accurately grasp the features of the times and development trends of the world and persevere in observing the world, analyzing the situation and providing solutions by using the positions, viewpoints and methods of Marxism and applying historical, strategic, innovative and dialectic thinking. Comrade Xi Jinping sets great store by conducting research in the Party's international work, both expounding on the importance of good research work and putting forward ways and means of research, which serves as an important guideline of our research work in the new era. It is an important feature of the Party's international work to draw the big picture and to take long-term perspectives. It is an important advantage of the Party's international work to take close-up view, conduct in-depth communication and be vividly informative. It is the objective of the Party's international work to produce ideas, strategy and policy ideas, and more importantly to perform its duty to be a staff officer and assistant to the Party's Central Committee. Following closely the developing and changing relations between China and the outside world, we should strengthen our research on important issues that are of overall, strategic and forward-looking bearings, and on "two systems" to deepen our understanding of the essence and superiority of socialism and of the law governing its development and to make in-depth analysis of world socialism and theory and practice of capitalism. We should study the law governing the development of party politics of the world, sort out foreign parties' experience and lessons in governance and party-building and provide references on advancing modernization of governance institutions and capacity of China. We should strengthen our research on the world landscape and international order, focus on new changes in the balance of international forces and new postures of global geostrategic contests and more actively put forward "Chinese solutions" on global hot-spots and thorny issues and important issues that involve China.

In order to help nurture forces that are informative of China and friendly to the country, we should assiduously and perseveringly "grasp contact-building". It is a traditional advantage of the Party's international