

National Institute for Global Strategy, CASS

BUILDING THE COMMUNITY OF COMMON DESTINY IN NEIGHBORING AREAS

International Joint Study Report (No.2)

Edited by

Wang Linggui & Zhao Jianglin



社会科学文献出版社
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Preface and Acknowledgements

Wang Linggui

Executive Vice Chairman of Board of Directors & Secretary General, National Institute for Global Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

With the theme of “Building the Community of Common Destiny between China and Its Neighbors: Challenges and the Future”, the International Think Tank Forum was held from 18th to 19th November 2016, in Beijing, by the National Institute for Global Strategy (NIGS) of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and University of International Relations. After the event, attending experts made further explorations around the theme of the forum. This monograph is the result of these further studies and represents the phased outcome of joint study by NIGS and major foreign think tanks.

Recently while talking ideas with foreign think tank scholars, I was shocked by one of them who mentioned two facts. He said that, the world at large, especially those developed economies, have formed their impression about China from different materials and sources, 80% to 85% of which was written or reported in English by scholars from western countries. Conversely, among China's materials and sources for learning about neighboring countries, 85% to 90% of them are from the similar origin, which is quite narrow. As one think tank that Supplies products of policy studies, if we refer to homogeneous sources when producing products of policy studies, will they help us learn about other countries and serve for formulating foreign policies? Will they help us reach more consensus and increase mutual interests? The answer is negative. The foundation of diversified civilizations is the diversification of thoughts and ideas, because our brain always craves for various knowledge and truths.

As for the idea “Community of Common Destiny”, it has been mentioned by President Xi in various major events and the concept of “raising Awareness about Human Beings Sharing a Community of Common Destiny” is elaborated in details. Dating back to May 2014, on the 4th Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, President Xi addressed that “Asia today is home to 67% of the world's population and accounts for one third of the

global economy”, that “Peace and development of Asia is closely connected with the future of the mankind. Asia’s stability and revival is the blessing of peace and development of the world.”, and that Asian countries should “jointly build a road for security in Asia that is shared by and win-win to all”. In March of the following year, President Xi delivered a speech titled “Towards a Community of Common Destiny and a New Future for Asia” at the opening ceremony of Boao Forum for Asia Annual Conference. During the speech, President Xi indicated that community of common destiny was the “new future for Asia” and he believed that as long as China and other Asian countries kept their goal and work together, they would bring about common prosperity.

Facing the fast changing international and regional landscapes, we must see the whole picture, follow the trend of our times and jointly build a community of common destiny, which is not all about sharing common interest, but also includes the sharing responsibility. In that sense, building a community of common destiny does not equal to establishing an institutional arrangement that transcends ethnicity and nation. By establishing acknowledgement of interest and obligation among Asian countries on the foundation of mutual beneficial cooperation, we can have the opportunity to build win-win and multi-win partnership from in-depth interaction. Aiming at co-consultation, co-construction, sharing, and co-prosperity, the Chinese government is making great effort to advance the development of Asian Community of Common Destiny that embraces toleration, interaction and integration.

When it comes to Asia, it has been known that this continent is home to multiple cultures, whose coexistence have been relying on mutual respect and tolerance. Over the past several decades, Asian countries have gradually transcended their differences in ideology and social system. Mutual trust and toleration, accumulated throughout the history, allows us to resolve serious crisis and tackle major challenges, and has served as the theoretical and practical foundation for joint studies on “Community of Common Destiny”. Today, we propose the establishment of Community of Common Destiny not only because the interests of Asian countries become intertwined, but also a new dynamic is needed to be explored for countries to coexist in this multi-polar world. The theories and practices learned from the establishment of Asian Community of Common Destiny may well form a new example for resolving conflicts worldwide which likely to be a public model.

Last but not least, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my associates for their support in this project. I also want to thank my team, including those responsible for translating and proofreading, and the editors of Social Science Academic Press, without whose efforts this monograph might not be published and benefit the readers in time.

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• **Conceptual Exploration** •

Introduction

The Community of Common Destiny between China and Its Neighbors: A New Paradigm for Promoting World Socio-Economic Development

Wang Lingui

Executive Vice Chairman of Board of Directors & Secretary General, National Institute for Global Strategy (NIGS), CASS

Zhao Jianglin

Senior Research Fellow, National Institute for Global Strategy (NIGS), CASS

On 18th to 19th November, 2016, the National Institute for Global Strategy (NIGS), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) and University of International Relations, organized the International Think Tank Forum on “Building the Community of Common Destiny between China and Its Neighbors: Challenges and the Future” in Beijing. About 30 experts and scholars from 20 neighboring countries and 30 expert delegates from China gathered to discuss the theories and practices with regards to promoting the Community of Common Destiny (CCD) between China and its neighbors.

The participating experts generally agreed that the CCD was a new paradigm for promoting regional socio-economic development, and for shaping international cooperation and international order from an entirely novel perspective. Despite that countries and regions are having varied socio-economic development difficulties and challenges, and that their understanding of the concept of the CCD differs, the notion for common development and common security is widely shared and generally advocated by all participating scholars.

The Community of Common Destiny: a New Perspective for Shaping International Cooperation and International Order

Exploring the Connotation of the CCD

Views of the Chinese Scholars

Prof. Cai Fang, Vice President, CASS and Chairman of Board of Directors, NIGS, CASS, pointed out that the Chinese government has been strongly advocating for an inclusive, interactive and integrated approach to the process of building the CCD for consultation and common development. Think tanks play an important and indispensable role in such an endeavor.

Mr. Lu Zhongwei, Former Director-General, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, talked about the advantages of building the CCD in terms of political relations, geographical neighborhood, and economic complementarity, and suggested to translate those advantages into incentives and benefits for practical collaboration, mutual support, and sustainable growth among countries in the region.

Views of the Foreign Scholars

Mr. Syed Hasan Javed, Ambassador (Retired) of the Foreign Service of Pakistan, and Director, Chinese Studies Centre, National University of Science and Technology (NUST) of Pakistan, commented China for being a main driving force for peace and development, and went on to say that one should acknowledge and understand China's peaceful rise. The past development model was a zero-sum game, which had caused many difficulties, but China's rise provides the world with a reason and an opportunity for optimism. What the Belt and Road Initiative advocates is exactly a win-win development model. We should not be confined to the old way of thinking.

Mr. Kyee Myint, Senior Researcher, Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (Myanmar ISIS) believed that the concept of building the CCD had four main principles. Firstly, it assures that all countries treat each other equally and with respect. Secondly, it seeks win-win cooperation and shared development. Thirdly, it aims for collaboration and sustainable security. And lastly, it promises inclusiveness and mutual learning among civilizations. The CCD is an important strategy of China for ensuring peaceful and stable relations with its neighbors. It is believed that the CCD is in essence of China's efforts to develop cordial relations with its neighbors to ensure a peaceful and stable external strategic environment. The concept of the CCD is centered on economic initiatives. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the

Belt and Road Initiative are the two main pillars of this concept. Its ultimate goal is to demonstrate China's responsibility as a big country, and to establish a new world economic order.

Opportunities and Challenges Facing the Building of the CCD

Views of the Foreign Scholars

Ms. Yulia A. Kryachkina, Researcher, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies (RISS), commented that Russia's present strategy in the Asia and Pacific region was very clear. Russia hopes to connect with the Belt and Road Initiative as well as other projects, such as the Eurasia Economic Union, and the Eurasia Initiative of Korea. The cooperation between China and Russia in the economic area has been dynamic and significant, as well as in the political arena. To address the security issues, the key is to build mutual trust for development.

Mr. Sayed Mahdi Munadi, Director, Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, argued that the Asia region was facing serious challenges from separatism, terrorism and extremism. Actions are needed to maintain regional peace and development. In that regard, mutual support under the concept of CCD is necessary. Security and economy are complementary to each other, since economic initiatives are effective ways to deal with unemployment, poverty and energy shortage. On the other hand, Mr. Munadi argued that alliances or associations of any forms should be discouraged and the Belt and Road Initiative should be pursued in indirect ways. What is needed today in the region is a new form of conservatism for measured, rather than radical changes.

Mr. Sompong Sanguanbun, Dean, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, Rangsit University, Thailand, commented that the long history of relationship between China and Thailand goes back to a thousand years. The two countries share common values and traditions, and have similar religions. In recent years, Sino-Thai relationship developed very fast. For future development, China will need to assure other countries that winners will not take all. It will also be necessary to take into consideration the interests of all countries and commit to shared responsibilities.

Mr. Sow Keat Tok, Deputy Director, Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, Asia Institute, University of Melbourne, Australia, believed that nationalism was harmful for the common development of Asia Pacific countries, which made it extremely difficult to form any global thinking. Therefore, it is necessary to control nationalistic extremists.

Views of the Chinese Scholars

Mr. Wu Li, Director and Senior Research Fellow, Tibet Think Tank, CASS, believed that the building of CCD was aligned with the world development trend. The Belt and Road Initiative and the CCD reflect China's efforts to promote common development, win-win cooperation and open-mind approach of China for friendship and peaceful development in the region.

Mr. Xu Yongquan, Deputy Director, China Center for Contemporary World Studies, International Department of Central Committee of CPC, underscored the importance of the Belt and Road Initiative and the CCD and stated that they were public goods in fact that the Government of China provided to the world.

Mr. Huang Renwei, Deputy Director, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, remarked that the smooth implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative required the support of big countries. It would be a great challenge if the major powers such as the US, EU and Russia continued the Cold War and geopolitical mentality, not giving any consideration to shared interests.

Prof. Lin Limin, Department of International Politics, University of International Relations, believed that the biggest challenge facing building the CCD came from trust-building and confidence-building. Historical issues, land and marine territorial disputes, as well as issues related to civil wars all play a part in that regard. It is widely observed that Asia is rising while the West, including the US and Europe, is declining. The gravity of world development is shifting, not only to the Asia-Pacific region, but also from oceans to inlands. It offers new opportunities to the building of CCD.

Building the Economic Community between China and Its Neighbors: Achievements and Challenges Co-Exist

Scholars in China and from other countries have a lot of consensus about building an economic community. While acknowledging many achievements in the area of economic cooperation, they discussed directions of future economic cooperation in Asia as well as ways to overcome many current challenges.

Great Achievements are Made but Some Challenges Remain

Cognition of the Foreign Scholars about the Concept of Building the Economic Community

Mr. Bruno Jetin, Associate Professor, Institute of Asian Studies, University Brunei Darussalam, stated that the Belt and Road Initiative became a hot topic

in the region. The initiative will have far-reaching implications in China, Asia and even the whole world. The Belt and Road Initiative is destined to bring more dynamics to Asian economies, helping all Asian countries prosper and develop. Besides the Belt and Road Initiative, there are other initiatives and ideas, we need to find common ground among these initiatives and common interests of China and other countries including ASEAN countries. It is important to ensure that infrastructure and inter-connectivity projects between China and ASEAN member countries can avoid adhocness and are sustainable.

Mr. Hyung-Gon Jeong, Senior Research Fellow, Korea Institute for International Economic Policy, observed that there is a lot to gain from a closer community between China and ASEAN. By 2020, the East Asia community of common destiny would also become a reality. The main economic driving force in the future is economic integration, hence high-quality and high-level free trade zones are needed. Meanwhile, Asian countries should make even greater efforts in the area of energy cooperation to ensure energy security in the region. Inter-connectivity is critical to economic activities. On the other hand, greater attention should be given to exchanges of non-governmental organizations and promoting cultural and social exchange.

Mr. Dushni Weerakoon, Deputy Director, Institute of Policy Studies, Sri Lanka, informed that Sri Lanka was facing a lot of challenges over concerns regarding domestic and geopolitical policies, and relations with China. China is the largest source of budget support and financial aid for Sri Lanka. Some believe that the infrastructure development in Sri Lanka supported by China is not transparent, and such investments would bring more liabilities rather than foreign direct investments. These concerns to a large extent stem from the perception that Sri Lanka and China became very close in recent years. In fact, the suspension of the Colombo Port City project has greatly impacted Sri Lanka's economy. It should be acknowledged that China is an important, and probably the most important, economic partner for Sri Lanka today.

Buyankhishigiin Otgonsuren, Senior Researcher, Center of International Studies, Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS), National Security Council of Mongolia, talked about the current status of the China-Mongolia-Russia Economic Corridor and the progress of triangular cooperation among the three countries. Triangular cooperation is going well, and the mid-term roadmap has been concluded. To strengthen cooperation under the economic corridor project, it is necessary to link up the domestic development planning of all parties. Mongolia proposed the Steppe Road Initiative in 2011. Mongolia also supports the idea of connecting the Steppe Road with the Silk Road of China. Mongolia has several advantages in this regard, including Mongolia's geographic

location, low trans-shipment cost, Mongolia's mid-term and long-term planning frameworks for road and railway development, and the fact that Mongolia has no outstanding historical issues or any territorial disputes with its two neighbors, China and Russia. Mongolia is a safe country, where there are no threats from the so-called "three evil forces".

Ms. Chuluungombiin Narantuya, Senior Researcher, Center for Russian Studies, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia, observed that the primary objective of Mongolia's foreign policy is to maintain equal, friendly and cooperative relations with China and Russia. Mongolia's permanent neutrality has no political connotation and represents its non-alliance policy. Mongolia strives to develop mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries and regions. The Northeast Asian region, where Mongolia situates and where good development platforms also exist, has great potentials for the development of mutually beneficial cooperation among the countries concerned.

Mr. LE Kim Sa, Deputy Director, Centre for Analysis and Forecasting, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, remarked about China's cooperation with the Greater Mekong River sub-region, and hoped that there would be no military conflicts in some of the disputed areas. In the economic sphere, China took measures to encourage economic cooperation in the Lancang River and Mekong River region, e.g. lowering tax rates. On the other hand, non-conventional security issues have brought about a great deal of pressure on China. He also commented that the Greater Mekong River sub-regional cooperation and the Belt and Road Initiative are complementary to each other. The Greater Mekong River sub-region has a lot of potentials. It will be very helpful to evaluate the cooperative activities in this area in order to find ways to enhance mutual understanding and cooperation among the countries concerned.

Cognition of the Chinese Scholars about the Concept of Building the Economic Community

Mr. Li Wei, Senior Research Fellow, Director-General Assistant, China Institute of Contemporary International Relations, emphasized that from a long-term perspective, globalization was beneficial to all countries in the world. A fair and transparent process is a prerequisite for increased economic cooperation in the Asia region. Ultimately all initiatives and mechanisms, despite of their differences, aim to promote cooperation and development among Asian countries. To address the uneven development among Asian countries, it is necessary to transfer and maximize benefits among all countries.

Ms. Zhao Jianglin, Head, Division of International Economic Relations, National Institute of International Strategy, CASS, touched upon the concept

of building of the CCD and suggested to focus on the commonalities, rather than the differences, among the member countries. She stressed that member countries should be encouraged to enhance comparability and pursue common development. Furthermore, it is necessary to reduce the gaps and increase synchronization of economic development in order to maintain the desire of member countries for common development. In that regard, every effort should be made to avoid competition for resources, and to establish a system of matching responsibilities with interests within the community. Lastly, she recommended to conduct a feasibility assessment of the economic community in the region.

Policy Recommendations for Future Economic Cooperation

Mr. Do Tien Sam, Former Director General, Institute of Chinese Studies, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, suggested to link economic cooperation with ecological environment protection and to strengthen economic integration, rather than competition, between China and its neighboring countries. Attention should also be paid to non-conventional security issues, including issues related to smuggling and counterfeit currency.

Mr. Roman Mogilevskii, Director, Institute of Public Policy and Administration, University of Central Asia, Kyrgyz Republic, observed that there were some problems in the economic cooperation between China and Central Asian countries. In his view, Chinese enterprises should make some changes to the modalities and areas of investments in Central Asian countries. Infrastructure development should be sustainable and compliant with local requirements. Chinese enterprises are also recommended to invest more in manufacturing, agricultural and service industries. In addition, China is expected to make more technology transfers and China may wish to increase cooperation in the area of organic agriculture.

The Mongolian scholar suggested to enhance mutual understanding and increase mutual trust among the three countries — China, Mongolia and Russia to avoid, to the maximum possible extent misjudgment and cognitive bias. It would be helpful to identify the converging point for mutually beneficial and win-win trilateral trade and economic cooperation. Furthermore, it is important to profit from the respective advantages of the three countries, and to ensure that specific economic corridor cooperative projects are mutually agreed upon and meet local interests. Furthermore, it is necessary to enlarge the industries from natural resources to agriculture, animal husbandry, tourism, new energy, etc. It is recommended to set up guidelines for harmonized management of the triangular cooperation to ensure interconnectivity of the cooperative mechanisms. In that

case, coordinating mechanisms among foreign and domestic departments of the three countries should be established for better and more effective coordination and management.

Mr. Danilo Israel, Senior Research Fellow, Philippine Institute for Development Studies (PIDS), Philippines, commented that China is of critical importance to the economy of the Philippines. Overall the Sino-Philippine relations are progressing, while some small fluctuations happened. He recommended that the two countries should agree on visa-free arrangement so that Chinese tourists may visit the Philippines without needing a visa. The two countries will have further trade and investment, and people-to-people and non-governmental exchanges. He believed that the South China Sea is not a fundamental issue in the Sino-Philippine relations. He also recommended to extend the line of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road to include Manila.

With regards to the comments that China's influence over Sri Lanka's economy and inter-governmental dealings lack of transparency, the Sri Lankan scholar suggested that the Governments should strengthen transparency, as well as better play the role of civil society and non-governmental organizations. In the future, China may wish to increase investments in manufacturing and service industries. On the other hand, Sri Lanka, out of consideration of geopolitics, needs to balance the interests of various parties.

Building the Security Community between China and Its Neighbors: Mechanisms Deficiency and Future Development

The need to build the security community largely stems from people's concern that security impacts development. There is a strong consensus that the process of regional security cooperation need to link with that of economic cooperation and that there is a need to further strengthen security cooperation in the region. The participating scholars generally agreed that the main constraint to security cooperation in the region related to the lack of regional security cooperation mechanisms. This has contributed to the fact that presently a variety of regional security issues remain to be dealt with effectively. Therefore, the scholars have put the building of security mechanisms as a priority for cooperation in the future.

Cognition of the Security Community

Views of the Foreign Scholars

Ms. Park Jiyoung, Director and Senior Researcher, Centre for Global

Governance, Asian Institute for Policy Studies, Korea, believed that security was critical to the development of East Asia, in particular, the issue of balancing the interests of different parties. In her view, the CCD proposed by China is an excellent idea, but may be difficult to achieve in the security area. For regional stability, what is needed is innovative and sustainable mechanisms for dialogue and exchange based on short-term and long-term goals, respectively. For the short-term, we need to deal with issues of terrorism, while mechanisms for building mutual trust are required for the long-term.

The Thai scholar Mr. Sompong Sanguanbun believed that China had always been a force for regional stability.

Mr. Bali Ram Deepak, Professor, Center of Chinese and Southeast Asian Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India, explored, from the perspective of constructivism, the building of the CCD between China and India. In his view, the Belt and Road Initiative helps deconstructs pseudo community of common destiny established during the colonial period, and reinstates the close cultural relationship. The Belt and Road Initiative is a Chinese proposal for re-globalization, by which China hopes to bring the scattered small forces of globalization together.

Mr. Kin Phea, Deputy Director General, International Relations Institute of Cambodia, Royal Academy of Cambodia, commented that Sino-Cambodian relationship had a long history. There is also close military cooperation between the two countries. With regards to building the CCD, Cambodia adheres to the “One China” principle, and advocates for multilateral consultations to solve the South China Sea issues.

Views of the Chinese Scholars

Mr. Wang Junsheng, Head, Division of Regional Studies, National Institute of International Strategy, CASS, argued that the CCD implied an interest community and responsibility consciousness. The main constraints to building the CCD come from several dimensions: historical and territorial issues, relatively low political trust between China and some neighboring countries, and the challenges of China-U.S. competition. The concept of CCD still carries some ambiguity and needs to be clarified.

Mr. Yang Danzhi, PhD, Division of Regional Security Studies, National Institute of International Strategy, CASS, compared the concept of CCD with the “CICBMA” (Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia) mechanism, and argued that currently there did not exist any widely recognized regional security architecture in Asia. The “CICBMA” mechanism has made some efforts and progress in this direction, but its development has