



AMBASSADORS' VIEWS ON
THE BELT
AND ROAD INITIATIVE

各国大使眼中的

一带一路

孙超◎主编

Edited by Sun Chao

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五通为线 行动成果绘制崭新蓝图

国际视角 讲述世界发展之中国方案

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推进“一带一路”从倾听开始

习近平主席提出的“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，在短短几年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，首先要做好政策沟通，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记录，较之于巴巴的政府文件，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。

现在本书作者孙超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（副部长）、党组成员

北京

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 6 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, financial, 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 and 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 authori-

tative. 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 (Vice Minister) of
Development Research Center of the State Council
Beijing

一个更健康、更公平的全球化战略

我很荣幸应邀参与《“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做出了解读和评价，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，致力于缓解它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我国实体经济转型升级、创新发展中贡献自己的力量。

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”倡议看成一个只为共建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，也使它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，使它们的经济社会发展起来，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，在国际上也需要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，可以说是一种常态。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，给共建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”倡议实施过程中，应该记住很多共建国家是不发达国家，它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过去。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。“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。对我采访的文章中提到，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，为中国开放、改革提供了有益的借鉴。同时我也参与了20世纪80年代末、90年代初世界银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，同时也要有政治敏锐性，才能有理有力地维护国家利益。

今天中国成为世界上很有影响力、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”包罗万象，不管什么背景的读者、观众都可以关注大使访谈，都能从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紧密联系，甚至与世界各国的发展都密不可分。《各国大使眼中的“一带一路”》为大家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。

早年在华盛顿工作时，我就认识了本书的作者孙超。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、热心读者推荐本书。

祝宪

新开发银行副行长、首席运营官

上海

A Healthier and Fairer Globalization

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.

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 po-

tential 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 sensitiv-

ity, 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.

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 life. 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 Chinese 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. 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

世界正在进入一个充满不确定性的新时期。对包容性和高质量增长的乐观预测，与对多方面潜在的灾难性冲突的悲观预测并存。中国的“一带一路”倡议是目前改变全球地缘政治和经济格局的最深刻的发展之一。与历史上类似的巨大变化一样，国际上反应的多样性是可以理解的。这对于塑造了二战后国际秩序的超级大国美国更是如此。华尔街和跨国公司的一些商业精英认为“一带一路”是当今世界的重要经济机会；而华盛顿的一些政策制定者和舆论领袖往往解读为这是“中国威胁论”的主要表现。如何让世界准确全面地了解“一带一路”的理念和运作，需要更多的国际对话和更广阔的全球视野。孙超的《各国大使眼中的“一带一路”》，尤其是书中她与20位各国大使政要的访谈，是增进国际间沟通、避免相互误判的力作。无论是中国国内读者还是海外人士，都可从中获益良多。

李成

美国布鲁金斯学会约翰·桑顿中国中心主任及资深研究员

The world is entering a new era of uncertainty. The optimistic outlook for inclusive and high-quality growth coincides with the pessimistic predictions of many catastrophic conflicts. China's Belt and Road Initiative is one of the most profound developments that have changed the global geopolitical and economic landscape. Like the dramatic changes in history, it is understandable that the international responses are diverse. This is especially true for the United States—the superpower that shaped the international order after World War II. Many business elites of Wall Street and multinational companies believe that the Belt and Road provides an important economic opportunity for the world while some policy makers and opinion leaders in Washington often regard this as the performance of the “China threat theory.” For the world, more international dialogues and broader global perspectives are greatly needed to understand the concept and operation of the Belt and Road accurately and comprehensively. Through in-depth dialogues with ambassadors and global leaders, Sun Chao's *The Ambassadors' Views on the Belt and Road Initiative* is a masterpiece to enhance international communication and to avoid misjudgment. Readers from China and overseas can benefit a lot.

Li Cheng

Director and Senior Fellow of the John L. Thornton
China Center, the Brookings Institution