

China's Global Strategy

(2013-2023)

SIIS Project Team

September 2013



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Foreword i

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY ii

I. Internal and External Environments and Global Strategy 1

1. Development and change of internal and external environments

2. A generally favorable international strategic situation

3. Strategic challenges in a new era

4. Strategic objectives in the coming decade

II. China's Major Power Diplomatic Strategy 4

1. China's diplomatic strategy on traditional powers

2. China's diplomatic strategy on emerging powers

3. China's diplomatic strategy on regional powers

III. China's Neighborhood Diplomatic Strategy 10

1. The general strategic situation in the surroundings

2. Strategic objectives of China's neighborhood strategy and ways for their achievement

3. China's diplomatic strategy on the northern sub-region

4. China's diplomatic strategy on the eastern sub-region

5. China's diplomatic strategy on the southwestern sub-region

IV. China's Diplomatic Strategy on Developing Countries 13

1. China's overall strategy on developing countries

2. China's diplomatic strategy on the Middle East, Africa and Latin America

V. China's Realm-Specific Diplomatic Strategy 16

1. Global economic governance

2. Maritime issues

3. Resource issues

4. Climate change

5. Security issues

6. Cultural exchanges

7. Cyber governance

VI. Our Recommendations 21

1. Staying unswervingly to the path of peaceful development

2. Adhering to and materializing the NMMPR Concept

3. Creating a surrounding environment of peace and harmony

4. Laying new foundations for cooperation with other developing countries

5. Remodeling existent realm-specific mechanisms and creating new realm-specific orders

6. Fostering a global view keeping abreast of the times

Appendices 27

1. Project Team Members

2. Acknowledgements

The constant change of the world and the endless crop-up of challenges have led people to see things with a different eye and a different mind. Through cool-headed and objective study of the present-day situation, this research group hopes to offer some strategic thinking and approaches for fueling world peace with additional positive energy. Based on our perspectives of China's global diplomatic strategy, we have focused our study on the development of a constructive framework for promoting peace, development and win-win cooperation – the trend of our time.

Now that on its historic march toward the goal of becoming one of the world's biggest and strongest powers, China needs to pool knowledge for its diplomatic theories and strategies. It has become a convention nowadays for the governments and think tanks of major powers in the world to publish strategy reports. China, however, has just come around the door. With a pioneering spirit, this research group has initiated some theoretical and practical studies of China's global diplomatic strategy. This China's Global Diplomatic Strategy of ours is devoted to a forecast of the trend of development of the world situation and China's overall strategic environments in the coming decade, a look into China's forthcoming strategies (the major-power strategy, the developing-country strategy, the neighborly strategy, and the realm-specific strategy), and a presentation of our recommendations on pertinent strategic thinking and policy measures.

Contained in this report are totally our own viewpoints instead of those of our affiliation, the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS). Neither do they represent the stand of the Chinese government. An effort to initiate debates and discussions, we hope our readers will offer us their valuable comments and criticism.

YANG Jiemian
Project Director
September 5th, 2013

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Executive Summary

In the years running up to 2023, we will see the constant deepening of world multipolarization, economic globalization, cultural diversification, and social informatization. China's comprehensive national strength will keep growing, and its interaction with the international community will attain a record level. Continuing its journey toward the goal of growing into a big and strong global power, China will see tremendous changes in its internal and external environments and meet with numerous problems and challenges in its foreign relations. Given this situation, China will have to revamp its strategic thinking, strategic culture, and strategic vision; renovate its overall diplomatic theories and thinking; and work out matching-up diplomatic strategies and policies. The core Chinese diplomatic concepts are equality, mutual trust, mutual inclusiveness and learning, and win-win cooperation, with maintenance of world peace and stability eyed as its main goal and peaceful development opted as its dominating approach.

Seizing the external strategic opportunities, China achieved rapid development in the past decade. The coming ten years will still be a period of strategic opportunities for China, and see a further rise of its international position and role. It can be well predicted, however, that it will meet with lots of complicated challenges on the diplomatic front. As the spotlight in world strategic concerns, China will come under tremendous pressures as all the rising powers would receive. Internally, it will also be exposed to a mixture of challenges including economic remodeling, in-depth reform and vigorous social changes; and externally, it will see a prominence of maritime disputes with some of its neighbors. In addition, it will be demanded by others to perform and fulfill its responsibilities and obligations as a major power.

Self-reinforcement and self-development will remain China's top priority. While continuing efforts to deepen

its various domestic reforms and promote the smooth economic restructuring, China will accelerate its social development and perfect its social management and service systems. On this basis, China will try to keep itself both in line with the historic trend of development and take the initiative to improve its environment. Meanwhile, it will adopt forward-looking and positive attitudes in face of the course of diffusion and transfer of powers and influences in the world, take part in the course of reform and development of global governance mechanisms, promote New Model of Major Power Relations (NMMPR), become reliable friends and honest partners of developing countries, and share development results with its neighbors. During its interaction with the world, China will try to continuously enhance its capabilities of providing international public goods. Centering on the making and implementing the post-2015 renewed global partnership for development, China will provide more material public goods. Centering on the protection of its overseas interests and international cooperation of peace and security, China will provide more public goods in security. Centering on Chinese Dream and China Road as well as exchanges of experiences and cooperation in running state affairs, China will provide more conceptual and cultural public goods.

China attaches great importance to the position and role of major powers in international relations, deeming them as the keys in its diplomacy. China will spare no effort to spur development of NMMPR, and blaze a new trail free from confrontations and wars between rising and established powers. It will join hands with other major powers to step up development of mechanisms for standardizing their behaviors and regulating their interests, and spur the reform of international systems and remodeling of international norms. Initial achievement of institutionalized cooperation will be the focus of China's strategy on emerging powers and regional powers, and

bigger representation of the emerging powers as a whole in international system reform and full consideration of the interests of developing countries will be the goal it will constantly drive at.

Generally speaking, China has maintained so far a fairly good relationship with its neighbors. In the coming decade, China will implement a strategy toward neighborhood to achieve the following objectives: Promotion of common development and mutual inclusiveness and learning, minimizing of frictions and disputes, avoiding conflicts, creation of a surrounding environment benefiting its further development; Active participation in the course of regional integration and multilateral diplomacy on the basis of consolidating and furthering bilateral relations with its neighbors, so as to promote prosperity, stability and development; Acceleration of efforts to ease disputes over sovereign and other rights under the precondition of safeguarding its core national interests, and promotion of the community of common destiny with its neighbors during the course of advancement of regional cooperation. What should be pointed out here is the diversity and complexity of China's neighborhoods. Given this, China's relevant diplomatic strategy will take into full consideration the diversified characteristics of different regions when driving for its general objective of peace and harmony, and design strategies and policies oriented respectively to its northern, eastern and southwestern neighbors.

The overall objectives of China's developing country strategy include maintenance of the current development momentum of the developing countries, agglomeration of their group strength, further narrowing its gap with developed countries, increasing their rights of discourse and rule-making in world affairs, and direction of international systems and order toward the track of greater fairness and rationality. There are more than 100 developing countries in the world today. Since these

countries differ from each other in many aspects, China will take these differences into consideration and work out strategies and policies accordingly.

China has the following seven targets to achieve in its realm-specific diplomatic strategy: (1) Push for a two-pronged global economic governance strategy of opening-up for mutual benefits and win-win results and participation in cooperative governance. (2) Enhancement of its maritime resource development capacity, gradual growth into a strong maritime power, and cooperation with pertinent countries to safeguard maritime security and peace. (3) Increase its political participation in international resource affairs with other countries to build a well-balanced and well-organized political ecology for global resources. (4) Continuation of cooperation with the international community for substantial progress in GHG emissions mitigation, the central issue in global climate negotiations. (5) Cooperation with all countries in the world to pursue cooperative security, collective security and common security on the basis of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation, and devotion of utmost efforts to provide the international community with greater and better public goods in security. (6) Greater emphasis on cultural and educational exchanges with the international community, and redoubled efforts to promote organic integration between sinicization of world culture and internationalization of Chinese culture. And (7) Better display of the positive energy of the Internet in economic and social development, and enthusiastic development and perfection of the order and security of international networks

As for China's global diplomatic strategy in the coming decade, we recommend the following:

- Staying unswervingly to the path of peaceful development. During its drive for new development

and growth, China should continue to suppress the interference of narrow nationalism and populism at home and the pressure of international disputes. From its top leadership to its people at the grassroots level, the whole nation should join forces to perfect the thinking and theory about peaceful development, firmly upholding the consensus of peaceful development, and faithfully executing the historic commitment of peaceful development.

- Adhering to and materializing the NMMPR Concept. The NMMPR Concept is a great contribution to the present international relations and diplomatic theories. Through win-win cooperation, China should try to sidestep the historic fate of inevitability of conflicts between rising and established powers and, through mutual inclusiveness and learning, overturn the power-dominance theory and the major power determinism advocated by the West. China should try to transcend the Western prejudice and distortion of NMMPR Concept in terms of public opinion. China should also try to join forces with other countries to blaze an unprecedented trail in history but will surely be followed by coming generations.
- Creating a surrounding environment of peace and harmony. China's neighborhood strategy is mainly targeted at increasing opportunities and defusing challenges. Apart from continuation of efforts to promote various sub-regional cooperation, China should accelerate and integrate regional cooperation not only with its immediate neighbors but also relevant countries in a more progressive and inclusive manner. While setting its bottom line, China should strengthen its cooperation with the international community and neighboring countries in particular and make breakthroughs for effective control over the hotspot issues in the neighborhood.
- Laying new foundations for cooperation with other developing countries. Under the changed world situation, China should lay a new political foundation facilitating the transition from national liberation to national progress, a new economic foundation for common development and mutual benefit, a new diplomatic foundation for mutual support, and a new security foundation with multiple contents and mechanisms.
- Reforming existent realm-specific mechanisms and creating new realm-specific orders. China should take the initiative to participate in the reform of existent realm-specific systems, offer public goods serving the common interests of mankind, and strive for conditions and environments of greater fairness and rationality and beneficial to the progress of developing countries. When it comes to system development on new fields such as climate, space, Polar Regions and the Internet, China should pursue the goal of universal participation and common benefit and seek for common destinies in new realms in line with the principle of fairness, consultation and win-win cooperation.
- Fostering a global view keeping abreast of the times. China's global view should follow the general direction of greater balance of international forces and constant progress of our time's spirits, reflect its own positioning as a developing country and its relations with the world, and signal the historic course from international relations to global relations. China should pay attention to not only state actors but also non-state ones, not only inter-governmental diplomacy but also public and cultural diplomacy, and not only the relations of economic interests but also political, security, scientific, technological, cultural, religious, social and combined factors.

China's Global Diplomatic Strategy

(2013-2023)

In the years running up to 2023, we will see the constant deepening of world multipolarization, economic globalization, cultural diversification, and social informatization. China's comprehensive national strength will keep growing, and its interaction with the international community will attain a record level. Continuing its journey toward the goal of growing into a big and strong global power, China will see tremendous changes in its internal and external environments and meet with numerous problems and challenges in its foreign relations. Given this situation, China will have to revamp its strategic thinking, strategic culture, and strategic vision; renovate its overall diplomatic theories and thinking; and work out matching-up diplomatic strategies and policies.

As the old Chinese saying goes, to map out a strategy, the first and foremost is to get to know the overall situation because all strategies must be based actual situations. China's global diplomatic strategy must be based on, therefore, on a judgment of the present-day global and regional situations and their trend of development and on an all-round deliberation of the interactions between China and the rest of the world, and set the general principles governing the foreign policies. Starting from the new point of reform, opening-up and development, we, in the capacity of think-tank experts and scholars have tried to look into China's global diplomatic strategy in and beyond the coming decade.

The core Chinese diplomatic concepts are equality, mutual trust, mutual inclusiveness and learning, and win-win cooperation, with maintenance of world peace and

stability eyed as its main goal and peaceful development opted as its dominating approach without any attempt to jeopardize or challenge the interests or status of other parties.

I. Internal and External Environments and Global Strategy

1. Development and change of internal and external environments. Seizing the external strategic opportunities, China has already achieved rapid development during the past decade. Generally speaking, the current balance of international economic power is tilting towards China and other emerging economies, the composition of international economic power is diversifying, the world economy is undergoing another period of transition as important as the Industrial Revolution, and the reform of global economic governance mechanisms and systems is entering a vital stage. The balance of international powers and influences is also growing more equalized and pluralistic, multipolarization of international politics is becoming ever more obvious, international developmental issue is gaining more prominence in the global agenda, and the comparative rise of the Emerging Powers and the comparative decline of Western powers are becoming most noticeable. In addition, globalization and interdependence have kept deepening; traditional and non-traditional issues have come to intertwine with each other, as have domestic and international issues; and global issues have grown into the biggest challenge to the international community. Against the background of growing concern with the common interests of mankind,

both rising and established powers have come to attach greater importance to the development of international norms and mechanisms. Note-worthily, the rise of new social and political forces with non-state actors being their representatives has enlarged the space for civil participation in politics and increased their influence on domestic governance and international politics. This has resulted in the inward looking of the foreign policies of most countries and the constant infiltration of domestic codes of ethics into the international community.

2. A generally favorable international strategic situation. The coming 10 years will still be a period of strategic opportunities for China, and see a further rise of its international position and role.

So far as its economic strength and international economic cooperation is concerned, China will still maintain a fairly fast growth if the world economy achieves a gradual recovery and development. Moreover, the mode and speed of economic growth will become more balanced and sustainable, and the quality and structure will hit a higher level. The increased economic strength will promote China and its neighbors as well as countries to conduct bilateral, multilateral, sub-regional, pan-regional, trans-regional and global cooperation in an even more efficient manner.

As for its surrounding environments, China has successfully met the challenge of changes posed by some countries both inside and outside the region. It has also stabilized some hotspot issues along its borders such as the North Korea nuclear issue, prevented the territorial or maritime disputes from being exacerbated by prudent policy, and played the role as a booster and stabilizer of economic cooperation, thus injecting an increasing amount of positive energy into the surrounding environments.

As for its relations with other major powers and developing countries, China will keep to its positioning as a developing country and it can be expected to develop the New Model of Major Power Relations (NMMPR) centering around win-win cooperation with both the traditional and emerging powers, such as the China-U. S. relations featuring mutual trust, the China-Russia relations featuring mutual backing, the China-Europe relations featuring mutual benefit, China-BRICS relations featuring mutual help, and the China-Japan featuring mutual reciprocity. China will also strengthen its relations with such regional powers (middle powers) as South Korea, Indonesia, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Argentina by enhancing strategic cooperation, political and economic interactions and cultural and educational exchanges. Meanwhile, China will reinforce and extend its ties with other developing countries and foster a new-type and tighter diplomatic relationship with them that features mutual complementation and supplementation. On this basis, China will grow into a major engine powering progress of South-South cooperation and betterment of South-North relations.

As for reforming the international system, China has the capacity and capability to expand the basis of international relations and raise its voice over the rule-making of the international system. As a major developing country in the world, China will and can play an active and positive role in the reform of international system and international order. China is both able and willing to share development results with other developing countries, and realize the inter-exchange between economic strength and political influence. In a wide range of important international fields such as climatic change, energy resource, networking, outer space, and the Polar Regions, China will join hands with the international community to turn challenges into opportunities, competition into cooperation, and disorderliness into orderliness.

3. Strategic challenges in a new era. It can be predicted that the challenges confronting China on the diplomatic front in the coming decade will be even bigger in number and more complicated in character than those it met with during the previous decade.

First of all, the fundamental change of the world situation will pose a new strategic challenge to China. The change of the international configuration and the global diffusion of power gravity, especially its eastward shift to the Asia-Pacific Region, have resulted in the recombination of international forces, while the extrusion against each other of the economic, political, security and cultural sectors has led to the formation of a new tension and the simultaneous rise of traditional and non-traditional security issues. Having come under the world's strategic spotlight, China is now bearing the enormous pressure as experienced by a rising power.

Secondly, the tide of globalization and information revolution has internalized international issues and internationalized internal issues. China will experience a superposition of economic transition, deep-going reforms and energetic social changes, and undertake the particularly arduous and complicated task of meeting both internal and external challenges.

Thirdly, what is involved in the disputes between China and some of its neighbors over territorial lands and waters is their core national interests. Pressurized at home, none of these governments will have much room for maneuver, concession or compromise. For a long time to come, therefore, they can only try to bring these disputes under "management" instead of settling them completely.

Lastly, China has risen from a regional to a global power thanks to its hosting the 2008 Beijing Olympics and the 2010 World Exposition in Shanghai, and the vital role it has played in the global financial crisis. It has

not yet acquired, however, all the awareness of a major power. There is much for it to learn, for instance, about the responsibilities and obligations of a major power, and to improve, for instance, in fields such as economic and material foundations, ideological and theoretical preparations, system and law development, and publicity capacities.

4. Strategic objectives in the coming decade. First and foremost, China's global diplomatic strategy will serve its national interests and core interests in particular, safeguard its sovereignty and territorial integrity, protect the interests of state and people, and guarantee the continuous progress of its modernization. On these basis, it will serve the common interests of the whole human race. For this reason, China will take up greater international obligations and responsibilities, share more development results with others, commit itself to the promotion of world peace, and step up efforts in the development of the community of common destinies.

The overall objectives of China's global diplomatic strategy for the coming decade include promotion of the sustainable and steady growth of the world economy in cooperation with the international community; acceleration of constructive interaction on the political and diplomatic fronts; enhancement of security and military cooperation; expansion of scientific, cultural and educational exchanges; meeting global challenges in a more efficient way; mitigating and solving hotspot issues; participation in the making of international system and the formulation of new norms and standards on global governance; advancement of the mechanisms for realm-specific and regional cooperation, especially the cooperative mechanisms of the BRICS and those for security cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region; and integrated development of bilateral relations with all other countries.

Given the intricate conditions that can be well expected in the coming decade, it is necessary for China to create, on its own initiative, favorable internal and external environments and explore new strategic opportunities. Self-reinforcement and self-development will remain China's top priority. While continuing efforts to deepen its various domestic reforms and promote the smooth economic restructuring, China will accelerate its social development and perfect its social management and service systems. On this basis, China will try to keep itself both in line with the historic trend of development and take the initiative to improve its environment. Meanwhile, it will adopt forward-looking and positive attitudes in face of the course of diffusion and transfer of powers and influences in the world, take part in the course of reform and development of global governance mechanisms, promote NMMPR, become reliable friends and honest partners of developing countries, and share development results with its neighbors. During its interaction with the world, China will try to continuously enhance its capabilities of providing international public goods. Centering on the making and implementing the post-2015 renewed global partnership for development, China will provide more material public goods. Centering on the protection of its overseas interests and international cooperation of peace and security, China will provide more public goods in security. Centering on Chinese Dream and China Road as well as exchanges of experiences and cooperation in running state affairs, China will provide more conceptual and cultural public goods.

II. China's Major Power Diplomatic Strategy

China attaches great importance to the position and role of major powers in international relations, deeming them

as the keys in its diplomacy. China has kept updating its definition of big powers in line with the development of the world situation. There are three groups of major powers in the world today: traditional powers, developing or emerging powers, and regional powers. Falling into the first group are the United States, the European Union (not a country but a power for convenience's sake) and such European powers as Germany, France and Britain, and Japan, while China, Russia, India, Brazil and South Africa make up the second group of BRICS and South Korea, Indonesia, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Argentina stand as regional powers or middle powers known in the circle of international relations studies.

Upholding the guiding principles of equality, mutual trust and win-win cooperation set in its major power diplomatic strategy, China has already established various cooperative or strategic partnerships with other major powers. In the coming decade, China will spare no effort to spur development of NMMPR and blaze a new trail free from confrontations and wars between rising and established powers. It will join hands with other major powers to step up development of mechanisms for standardizing their behaviors and regulating their interests, and spur the reform of international system and the remodeling of international norms.

1. China's diplomatic strategy on traditional powers. China's diplomacy with traditional powers in the coming decade will focus on the establishment of NMMPR based on win-win cooperation with different emphasis according to the real conditions. Guided by this principle, China will try to find new fields for cooperation with these powers, handle its disputes with them in an appropriate manner, and secure the long-term and stable development of its relations with them.

1.1. China's diplomatic strategy on the United States. Sino-U.S. relations rank among China's most important

bilateral foreign relations. Although there has been a constant increase of their common interests, China and the United States differ widely from each other in many fields including political systems, development stages, ideologies and values, and their relationship is one of cooperation and competition. China's 10-year diplomatic strategy on the United States is so devised as to highlight its strategic, long-term and overall relations with the latter, and achieve the three main goals set therein: no confrontation or conflict, mutual respect, and win-win cooperation. At the same time when sidestepping the historic fate of inevitability of conflicts between rising and established powers, efforts will be made to chalk up new progress in win-win cooperation.

China would work with the United States to push forward their bilateral relations on the basis of mutual respect. Apart from deepening their economic cooperation, the two countries should bring into play all forms of mechanisms for non-governmental dialogues, step up political and security consultations, promote cultural and local-level exchanges, and create a powerful and efficient network for people-to-people communication so as to consolidate the social psychological foundation for boosting the development of their relations. They should also accelerate efforts in dispute and crisis management and control, and properly deal with issues relating to Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang on the basis of preserving core national interests.

China would also work with the United States to promote integration of regional mechanisms on the basis of mutual inclusiveness. The two should step up strategic consultation and coordination when it comes to the principle, design, mechanism and work division of regional cooperation, and pool heads to map out plans on the integration of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), the Trans-Pacific Strategic Partnership (TPP), the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership

(RCEP), the ASEAN plus X, the military alliance system in Asia with the United States in its leading, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

China would also work with the United States to advance development of global governance on the basis of close coordination. The two countries should push for a globe-wide reform of international system, and economic system in particular, so as to provide a mechanism guarantee for the sustained and balanced development of the world economy. They should also cooperate more closely over important global hotspot issues, such as maintenance of peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula and in Northeast Asia, advancement of the peace process in the Middle East, and promote stability in the Gulf Region. In addition, China would cooperate with the United States to promote the reform and perfection of some other international mechanisms, such as the multilateral mechanisms for networks, outer space, the seas and oceans, and other global sectors, as well as the mechanisms for tackling climate changes, securing energy safety, and preventing nuclear proliferation.

1.2. China's diplomatic strategy on the European Union.

China's tie with the European Union, a major force in the international co-relation of powers, is one of the most important bilateral relations in the world. In 2003, the two parties decided to form a comprehensive strategic partnership, and considerable progress has so far been achieved. Now that China-EU relations have entered a key stage of cooperation and competition, the two parties should seize the opportunity to step up cooperation on all fronts and turn their plan on comprehensive strategic partnership into true reality.

Development of a new-type China-EU relationship will be a key item on China's diplomatic agenda in the coming decade. Based on equality, reciprocity and mutual respect and guided by the principle of peaceful development

and win-win cooperation, it will go all out to promote common interests and seek strategic consensus, explore cooperation models that transcend gaps of ideologies and social systems, and put up cooperative mechanisms featuring mutual consultation, planning in advance, operation efficiency, and effective management and control of crises. What is noteworthy is the fact that EU now has 28 member states, including both traditional powers such as Germany, France and Britain, and countries from the central, eastern, middle, northern, and southern parts of this continent. These countries are carrying their own colors in EU and their relations with China. Therefore duality is an important feature of China-EU relations.

Since they share some similarities in development strategies, economic models, social management, and environmental protection and pollution control, China and the European Union should bring into best play their great market potentials and advantage of a mutually complementary economy to speed up China's economic transformation and innovation initiative, bring Europe out of its debt crisis and into economic recovery, and promote the energetic, balanced and sustainable development of the global economy. Having achieved a consensus on the honoring of the authorities of the United Nations and the settlement of international disputes with peaceful means, China and the EU should intensify their consultation and coordination when tackling international hotspot and sensitive issues and join hands to advance the reform of international system and the restructuring of the international order. They should strengthen communication with and understanding of each other, respect each other, attend to their respective core interests and values, and minimize and remove the long-term barriers blocking the development of their strategic relations. The European Union should make positive gestures on some major issues such as

recognition of China's market economy status, lift of arms embargo against China and non-interference in China's internal affairs, and join hands with China to safeguard the steady and healthy development of the China-EU strategic partnership.

1.3. China's diplomatic strategy on Japan. China and Japan are the world's second and third biggest economies in terms of country-unit. Neighboring each other, they are both important powers in the Asia-Pacific Region. Due to acts on the Japanese side, China-Japan relations have hit the bottom since normalization of their diplomatic relations. China will firmly defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity and allow no negation of the victory results of WWII. Given the situation, China would try to prevent, on the basis of adherence to its bottom line of core national interests and with an eye for maintaining the overall situation of its relations with Japan, further deterioration of China-Japan relations by urging the Japanese authorities to squarely face history and reality as well as correcting mistakes of their own making by words and deeds.

In the coming decade, China will keep directing its efforts toward development of a China-Japan strategic relationship of mutual benefit, and spur Japan to go in the same direction, thus bringing their bilateral relations back to the track of normal and steady development. China will stick to the principled stand marked in the four political documents it has signed with Japan, and work for the reconstitution and enhancement of mutual strategic trust. China will also adhere to the principle of win-win cooperation, and urge Japan to give up its Cold War mentality and belief in zero-sum game and count China's development as an opportunity instead of a threat. On the basis of mutual respect, China will strengthen its political and diplomatic cooperation with Japan and join forces with other countries to build a bright future for the Asia-Pacific Region and the whole world.

The biggest overlapping of China-Japan strategic interest are their interdependence and mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic and trade fields. China will continue efforts to promote and expand bilateral trade and two-way investment, step up communication and cooperation and play an active role in the development of China-Japan-South Korea Free Trade Area and the RCEP in East Asia, deepen mutually beneficial cooperation in various sectors including energy-saving and environmental protection, and quicken the pace of development of large comprehensive development undertakings in an orderly way.

China will also continue boosting non-governmental exchanges to consolidate the social foundation for the healthy and steady development of its relations with Japan, and promoting sister-cities or the kind which, going on in a great number and on a large scale, has come to inject lots of energy into the development of China-Japan relations. Efforts should also be continued by both China and Japan to step up cultural and educational cooperation, increase the momentum of joint studies, and widen the range of exchanges between their youths and students.

2. China's diplomatic strategy on emerging powers. The emerging powers represented by the BRICS constitute the world's new spot of growth of economic and political powers, and stand as key partners in China's foreign relations. Preliminary achievement of institutionalized cooperation with these countries will be emphasized, therefore, in China's diplomatic strategies on emerging powers. China will also strive for greater representation of the group strength of emerging powers in the reform of international system, and more consideration to the interests of developing countries.

2.1. China's diplomatic strategy on Russia. As close neighbors strategically dependent on each other, China and Russia have long maintained their friendly political,

diplomatic, economic, military and cultural relations that exemplify the NMMPPR.

In the coming decade, China will continue deepening its comprehensive strategic partnership with Russia. Given the fact that their economic cooperation has lagged behind their development of political ties, China will step up its cooperation with Russia in the energy, non-energy, financial and other sectors. In the energy sector, China will not only import oil and natural gas from Russia, but also collaborate more closely with the latter in energy exploration, processing and transportation. It will also well coordinate its cooperation with Russia in energy and non-energy sectors, increase its investment in Russia, widen fields of cooperation, and look for big-project cooperation in infrastructure, aerospace, shipbuilding, nuclear energy, and other hi-tech sectors. Bilateral cooperation in the financial sector will also be boosted to achieve settlement of bilateral trade in domestic currencies and promote the direct convertibility between the yuan and the ruble. The momentum of cultural exchanges and military cooperation will also be increased.

From a regional perspective, China will devote itself to cooperation with Russia within the framework of the SCO; continue clampdown on international terrorism, separatism and extremism; promote peace, stability, social harmony, and economic prosperity in Central Asia; and join hands with Russia in the Asia-Pacific Region to speed up development of its security and stability mechanisms, quicken its pace of economic integration, and safeguard its peace and development.

From a global perspective, China will strengthen its all-round cooperation with Russia within the frameworks of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the G20, and the BRICS, and join hands with Russia to safeguard world peace and development, fight against all forms of international

terrorism and trade protectionism, and defend their fruits of victory from the Second World War.

2.2. China's diplomatic strategy on India. Close neighbors to each other, both China and India hold an important position and stand as emerging powers in Asia. They also shoulder a special responsibility in the on-going peaceful transformation of international system.

From a bilateral perspective, China will devote efforts to solving the problems left over by history, and foster positive factors for the development of bilateral relations in line with the consensus reached by the top leaders of the two countries. From a regional perspective, China will join forces with India to coordinate their stands, minimize their disputes and drive for consensus so as to jointly safeguard stability in South Asia and spur cooperation in the Asia-Pacific Region. From a global perspective, China will set its eye on the institutional frameworks now in place, such as the BRICS and the G20 where it shares with India lots of common interests, and count the course of consensus achievement as an opportunity for elevating their positions in the international arena as developing powers.

Since the coming decade will be a key period for their development and determine the success or failure of their goal to become real emerging powers, it will be of growing importance for China and India to size up each other's position and role. On China's part, efforts will be continued to consolidate and develop the mechanisms and push the course of cooperation with India, minimize factors of negative competition, clear up distractions, create a friendly public opinion environment, and lay a positive foundation for the further development of its relations with India. Efforts will also be made to deepen its economic, trade, investment and financial relations with India, highlight military and security cooperation, promote mutual trust, increase

consultation over international issues involving their respective core interests or calling for close concern, and step up cooperation in the development of the "Asian Community", thus pushing its strategic partnership with India to a higher level.

2.3. China's diplomatic strategy on Brazil. An important country lying across the eastern and the western hemisphere, Brazil took the lead to form a strategic partnership with China in 1993. Now that China-Brazil relations have become not only bilateral but with strategic and global significance, China will work to turn its tie with Brazil into a model of new-type bilateral relationship grown with the deep-going development of economic globalization.

Given the big breakthroughs made so far in China-Brazil trade, what has come to gain spotlight in the bilateral relations is the sustainability of their trade structures. In view of this situation, China will focus its efforts on securing the sustainability of economic cooperation; press ahead with its new agenda of economic cooperation featuring simultaneous promotion of trade and investment; step up cooperation in key fields including manufacturing, infrastructure, energy and innovation; boost diversification of two-way trade; and promote cooperation in the financial sector including settlement of trade with domestic currencies. China will also exploit the great potential for cultural exchange and military cooperation with Brazil.

From a regional viewpoint, China will attach greater importance to Brazil's growing significance in Latin American, African and Middle East affairs, and willingly step up its cooperation with the latter on these regional affairs to promote the proposed China-Latin America Cooperation Forum and investment in regional infrastructure development and look for new progress in fields including minimization of regional security threats.

From a global perspective, China will strengthen its coordination and cooperation with Brazil in multilateral fields, raise the level of South-South cooperation, and forge a bigger global voice for developing countries. The two will take innovation of the mechanisms of the G20 and the BRICS as a major link of efforts, put focus on restructuring of international financial system, create international financial mechanisms featuring greater responsibility and stability, and step up cooperation among the BRICS countries. In addition, they will promote political and security cooperation, advance their common values, and sharpen their consensus on some key issues including the reform of the UN Security Council.

2.4. China's diplomatic strategy on South Africa. China and South Africa established diplomatic relations in 1998. In just a little more than ten years, however, their relations have attained three new levels: establishment of strategic partnership in 2004, uplift of this relations to comprehensive strategic partnership in 2010, and the invitation of this African country into the BRICS at the end of 2010.

In the coming decade, China will devote itself to promoting its relationship with South Africa into a model exemplifying its cooperation with African countries, emerging powers and developing nations. In the first place, it will work to strengthen bilateral cooperation, reverse the big trade imbalance, promote synchronized industrial upgrading, and accelerate achievement of the chief social and economic development objectives of both countries. Given the fact that China is eyeing for development of a well-off society by 2020 and South Africa set up goals in 2012 on its "second transition", the two countries will step up their cooperation mainly in fields including creation of trade-balancing mechanisms and promotion of two-way investment, infrastructure development and industrial upgrading so that they will

rise up simultaneously. With both China and South Africa set to launch in-depth political reforms, the two countries will increase their swap of governance experiences, non-governmental exchange and social and cultural cooperation, and enhance mutual understanding and trust to turn their cooperation into a model and key platform for South-South cooperation.

Secondly, China will launch trilateral cooperation in Africa to boost its sustainable development. China will pool efforts with South Africa to promote infrastructure development, industrialization, economic growth, poverty reduction, and achievement of global development goals, thus both laying the foundation and setting the model for South-South cooperation and providing a precedent and reference for cooperation in Africa between China and other countries.

In the third place, China will take the BRICS, the G20, the UN, the G77 + China, and the Non-alignment Movement as a platform to step up internationally bilateral cooperation; drive for consensus on key international issues involving the common destiny of the mankind; spur the substantive progress of South-South cooperation, and work for the collective development of developing countries and their collective involvement in global affairs.

3. China's diplomatic strategies on regional powers. Also known as middle powers in the academic circle of international relations, regional powers refer to countries with a considerable national strength and certain political and economic influence in their region, some of which are even globally influential, and have seats at the G20. The regional powers include Canada, South Korea, Indonesia, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Argentina.

Ever since the 21st century, some of these regional powers have seen a marked growth of their comprehensive national strength, come to play a greater role in their

respective region and regional organizations, and become a major and even leading force in the political and economic affairs of their regions. In addition, some regional powers have come to cut a figure in global affairs during the current course of peaceful transformation of international system, as evidenced by the inclusion of Canada, South Korea, Indonesia, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Mexico and Argentina in the G20. Both China and the majority of these regional powers stand as the driving force behind the reform of the international economic system and global governance. China's cooperation with these regional powers will not only spur further development of its bilateral relations, but also benefit its cooperation with their respective regions to prepare the foundation and pivot for global multi-polarization.

China's interaction with regional powers is mainly at three levels. At the bilateral level, China has already secured strategic partnership with most of these countries, started all-round cooperation with them at multiple levels and in a wide range of fields, initiated frequent political exchanges and close economic contacts with them, and are now extending bilateral cooperation into cultural, educational, sports, social and other fields. At the regional level, China has managed to develop institutionalized cooperation through these regional powers and their regions. Through cooperation with South Korea, for instance, it has promoted the China-Japan-South Korea Free Trade Area; through cooperation with Saudi Arabia and Turkey, it has enhanced mutual understanding and cooperation with the Middle East; and through cooperation with Mexico and Argentina, it has pushed forward cooperation with Latin America. At the global level, China has managed to increase developing countries' rights of rule-making and discourse over international system through cooperation with emerging and regional powers.

Yet China has just started the group cooperation with

regional powers, and therefore in the coming decade China needs to work with others for substantive progress in fields such as political philosophies, social systems, development levels, and common promotion of interests. Apart from top-level design of general thinking, strategic objectives and ways for their achievement, China needs to enlarge and consolidate its domestic foundation for development of such cooperation.

III. China's Neighborhood Diplomatic Strategy

1. The general strategic situation in the surroundings. The areas surrounding China, namely, the Asia-Pacific Region, are those involving China's core and important interests on the lands and the seas. Generally speaking, China has maintained a fairly good neighborhood relationship. Firstly, it has secured frequent high-level exchanges with all its neighboring countries, achieved normalization of bilateral relations with them, and established partnerships of different types with most of them. Secondly, China has managed to solve, through peaceful means, lots of problems left over by history, such as settlement of disputes over land borders with twelve neighboring countries and continuation of negotiations with the other two of India and Bhutan. Thirdly, its economic cooperation with neighboring countries has kept developing rapidly, as evidenced by the rocketing of their trade volume from about US\$100 billion dollars at the beginning of this century to over US\$1,350 billion dollars at present and the growth of these areas into a region with the biggest economic vitality and potential in the world today. Lastly, it has seen constant progress in its cooperation with neighboring countries to develop regional multilateral mechanisms. The SCO, for instance, has developed from its initial design to fight terrorism, separatism and extremism toward the goal of boosting

security, economic and cultural cooperation. China and the ASEAN has created the world's biggest free trade area of developing countries. And the China-Japan-South Korea cooperation has developed into an independent platform with a permanent secretariat. Viewed as a whole, the situation of China's surrounding areas has maintained a momentum of stability and development. Although some territorial and maritime disputes still stand there, yet they are generally controllable.

2. Strategic objectives of China's neighborhood strategy and ways for their achievement. In the coming decade, China will implement a strategy toward neighborhood to achieve the following objectives: Promotion of common development and mutual inclusiveness and learning, minimizing frictions and disputes, avoiding conflicts, creation of a surrounding environment benefiting its further development; Active participation in the course of regional integration and multilateral diplomacy on the basis of consolidating and furthering bilateral relations with its neighbors, so as to promote prosperity, stability and development; Acceleration of efforts to ease disputes over sovereign and other rights under the precondition of safeguarding its core national interests, and promotion of the community of common destiny with its neighbors during the course of advancement of regional cooperation.

China's basic approaches for fulfilling its neighborhood diplomatic strategy will include: Firstly, to build consensus on peace, development, and win-win cooperation. China will continue efforts to develop cooperative partnerships with all its neighboring countries, and drive for an updated version of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence with an Asian feature and world significance on the basis of respect for each other's core interests and matters of close concern. Secondly, to enrich the connotation of the Asian economy and promote its institutional improvement. China will

boost regional economic cooperation on the basis of bilateral economic collaboration, and try to keep the Asian economy as the main engine of the world economy and increase its rights of rule-making and discourse over global economic governance, especially when it comes to matters concerning trade, investment, finance, and science and technology. Finally, to promote the institutionalization and efficiency-oriented development of Asian security cooperation. China will vigorously promote common security in its neighboring areas on the basis of safeguarding its sovereignty and territorial integrity with the aim of turning Asia's great economic strength into a source of driving development of peace and regional security systems. It will also devote efforts to the control of regional hotspot issues and creation of conditions for their ultimate solution.

What should be pointed out here is the diversity and complexity of China's neighborhoods. Given this, China's relevant diplomatic strategy will take into full consideration the diversified characteristics of different regions when driving for its general objective of peace and harmony, and design strategies and policies oriented respectively to its northern, eastern and southwestern neighbors.

3. China's diplomatic strategy on the northern sub-region.

This sub-region is mainly comprised of areas with a comparatively underdeveloped economy but the greatest development potential. Lying along three Eurasia land bridges stretching across Central Asia and Siberia and by the North-Pole Shipping Lane, this is a sub-region of great economic importance to China.

This sub-region can be further divided into the northwest area and the northeast area, each with a particular focus and feature. Lying in the northwest area are countries with a comparatively short history of independence, a unitary economic structure, a slow pace of development, and a

shortage of experiences in national governance. With a possibility to see an eruption of social contradictions in the coming decade, these countries might become the hotbeds of international terrorism, extreme nationalism, and religious extremism. Given the situation, stability and development of this sub-region in the coming ten years will lead to the development of an environment favorable for regional security along China's western border. For this reason, China will devote itself to enhancing political and security cooperation with pertinent countries in this sub-region, join efforts with them to remove all factors and forces jeopardizing regional stability and security, and safeguard regional peace and development. China will also strengthen its economic cooperation with this sub-region to promote its economic prosperity and root out its destabilizing factors.

Situation in the northeast sub-region are Russia's Siberia and Far East areas and Mongolia. With a unique geographical location and development stage, Mongolia constitutes an important part in the sub-region north to China, so China will step up economic and political cooperation with this country and bring it into the Northeast Asia Cooperation Ring involving participation by China, Russia, South and North Korea, Japan and the United States to speed up economic development in this region and safeguard its peace and security.

4. China's diplomatic strategy on the eastern sub-region.

With a similar cultural tradition, China has been enjoying close economic ties and frequent social contacts with the countries in this eastern sub-region (namely, East Asia comprising Northeast and Southeast Asia). For all the problems left over by history and frictions cropping up recently, close cooperation of this sub-region is expectable in the future. Apart from continued efforts to consolidate, improve and upgrade its bilateral relations with these East Asian countries, China will increase its input into development of regional frameworks and systems and join

forces with these countries to push mutually beneficial and win-win economic cooperation and maintain a security environment of peace and stability.

From an economic viewpoint, both China and these East Asian countries are now pressurized for economic transformation and upgrading. East Asia has been rated as an area with the greatest economic vitality in the world today. China and Japan are the world's second and third biggest economies in terms of country-unit. However, Asia has very limited say in the international economic system. A new round of efforts to revamp world economic rules is now under way, including the U.S.-led development of the TPP, the ASEAN-spurred development of RCEP, the on-going negotiation over the China-Japan-South Korea Free Trade Area, and the conclusion of a variety of bilateral free trade agreements. China will beef up discussion with East Asian countries over regional institutional arrangements so as to create, on this basis, an economic cooperation framework that truly fits this sub-region.

From a security viewpoint, East Asia should try to rise above the security structure left over from the Cold War days and facilitate creation of a new regional framework featuring cooperative and common security. China will join other East Asian countries to keep a closer eye on non-traditional security issues, and put into place regional mechanisms for their tackling and disaster warning. It will also discuss with East Asian countries the possibility of collective supply of public security services such as protection of shipping lanes. In addition, China and other East Asian countries will try to properly handle the relationship between the U.S.-led alliance and the regional security mechanism of their own, confine the negative effects of the former, and orient their relations toward the track of peaceful, cooperative and harmonized development.

5. China's diplomatic strategy on the southwestern sub-region. Located to the southwest of China, South Asia is of great strategic importance. Linked to the mountains and rivers in West China, it also plays a vital role in the deep-going development of China's strategy on the development of its western part.

Complying with its strategic arrangement of westward opening-up, China's diplomatic strategy on South Asia will mainly focus on multi-level cooperation with the countries in this sub-region; maintain the sub-regional stability; quicken the pace of institutional arrangement for trade facilitation and liberalization; spur economic, trade and cultural exchanges between its western areas and the South Asian countries; and speed up development of sub-regional economic cooperation mechanisms and the sub-regional economic corridor. Given the new situation that may develop in Afghanistan, in particular, China will cooperate even more closely with its neighbors in South Asia and this sub-region as a whole to properly deal with this global hotspot issue and gradually bring this country back to stability after long years of war. With guarantee of stability in areas along its southwestern border and crackdown upon the terrorist forces there being one of the chief objectives of China's diplomatic strategy on the southwestern sub-region, China will try to achieve a new consensus with its neighbors in South Asia on the fight against terrorism and join efforts with them to safeguard peace and stability in this sub-region.

In the coming decade, China will continue to work with its neighbors in South Asia for common development and prosperity, contribute its utmost to their economic development, pool efforts with them to advance the course of sub-regional economic cooperation, and try to serve as a bigger engine powering the development of South Asia. During this process, China's strategy on South Asia will feature "consolidation of old friends and making of new ones, search for new solutions, and

exploration of new fields". During the course of common development of these South Asian countries represented by India and Pakistan, China will try to push the level of its relations with the neighbors in South Asia to a new high through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

IV. China's Diplomatic Strategy on Developing Countries

1. China's overall strategy on developing countries. Developing countries are the progressive forces in present-day politics and the driving forces behind the development of the world economy, and constitute a component part of growing importance in international culture. For all the continuous growth of its comprehensive national strength, China remains a developing country in terms of its average per-capita GDP and the stage, structure and quality of its economy. Sharing with China similar historical memories and common objectives in their struggle, these developing countries constitute the foundation of China's foreign relations.

The objectives in China's overall strategy on developing countries for the coming decade include maintenance of the current development momentum of the developing countries, agglomeration of their collective power, narrowing their gap with developed countries, increasing their rights of rule making and discourse over international affairs, and orientation of development of international system and international order toward the track of greater fairness and rationality.

China will take the following approaches for boosting its relations with other developing countries: When it comes to matters concerning the development strategies and political and security affairs of developing countries, China will stick to the principled stand of fairness and

rationality, reinforce the political foundation of its relations with other developing countries and strive for greater representation and voice of developing countries in international affairs, thus standing as the reliable friend of other developing countries. When it comes to matters concerning the economic and social development of developing countries, China will shoulder greater responsibilities and share with other developing countries development results and experiences, enlarge common interests through promotion of mutually beneficial cooperation, and safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of developing countries in a more effective way through reform of existing international system and order, thus standing as the honest friend of other developing countries.

The main challenges to China in implementing its diplomatic strategy on other developing countries are as follows: Economically, China will have to continue with the arduous task of self-development, and as a result cannot fully meet, in terms of both ability and readiness, the growing demands of other developing countries in areas such as economic development mode and strategy, market and investment, resource disposition, and benefit sharing. Politically, China's path to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics differs from that followed by most other developing countries in lots of aspects such as political systems and ideologies, coordination and distribution of political rights, and design and achievement of political prospects. In the security field, there need more consultations, greater efforts, and closer and more effective cooperation between China and other developing countries over efforts to handle hotspot issues and safeguard peace and stability. And culturally, there stands the need for China and other developing countries to explore new approaches for co-existence, win-win cooperation, mutual inclusiveness and learning from each other in the context of cultural diversity.

2. China's diplomatic strategy on the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. Since we have already touched upon China's relations with developing powers (or emerging powers), regional powers (mainly from among developing countries) and Asian countries (including mainly developing countries) in the preceding discussions, our study of China's strategies on developing countries herein below will focus mainly on the Middle East, the sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America.

2.1. China's diplomatic strategy on the Middle East. The Middle East holds a unique position in China's global diplomatic strategy. In the coming decade, China will further consolidate the foundation of its traditional friendship with Middle East countries, hold high the banner of development and stability, and keep the scales even and uphold justice when it comes to regional issues. On the basis of its own need for transition and that of Middle East countries, China will work for their sharing of development experiences and achievement of common progress through cooperation. In view of their common aspiration for social order and enduring political stability in this region, China will take an active part in Middle East affairs and contribute its bit to promotion of stability in this region and China's surrounding areas and to world peace.

In the coming decade, China's Middle East strategy will first of all focus on the overall situation and the shift of traditional friendship to a relationship of interdependence. China will step up practical cooperation with Middle East countries, support their smooth transition, and promote its all-round cooperation with them in energy, economic, trade, investment, talent and other fields. Efforts will also be strengthened in their fight against terrorism and drive for security, and creation of a bulwark against all sorts of extremist streams at their sources. Secondly, China will increase consultation and coordination, in line with the win-win principle, with the countries both inside and

outside this region, especially big ones; advocate reforms of the region's multilateral security mechanisms; and pool wisdoms for the solution of the hotspot issues in this region. Lastly, China will increase its non-governmental and cultural exchanges with Middle East countries, enthusiastically push second track and public diplomacy, encourage social interaction at all levels, promote communication between their young generations, and lay a firm conceptual and cultural foundation for their overall cooperation and common development through sharing of reform and transformation experiences.

2.2. China's diplomatic strategy on Africa. Given the fruits reaped in Africa's development and China-Africa cooperation since the start of this new century, China will devote itself to developing a new pattern of China-Africa comprehensive strategic partnership. In the first place, China will continue efforts to deepen its political contacts with Africa, especially swap of governance and administration experiences, political party diplomacy, public diplomacy, and non-governmental exchanges so as to further consolidate the political foundation of their relations, prevent the erosion of their friendly and passionate foundation due to changes of the times, transformation of international system and growing bilateral contacts, and improve and refine China's image in Africa.

Secondly, China will design a forward-looking target system for its cooperation with Africa for the purpose of promoting cooperative and common development. It also needs to step up development of institutional systems for cooperation with Africa, especially efforts to secure the sustainable development of the China-Africa Forum. In addition, efforts will be started at the earliest date possible to fix the overall and periodic objectives of this forum for the coming decade, secure the establishment of the post-2015 renewed global partnership for development, and

work out plans on third-party cooperation.

In the third place, China will strengthen its cooperation with Africa in matters concerning regional peace and stability, fully implement the Sino-Africa Peace and Security Partnership Initiative, and expand its ability to safeguard its legitimate interests in Africa. China will also strengthen its institutional cooperation with African countries in the African Union and other sub-regional bodies, including development of peace and security mechanisms, peacemaking operation in Africa, crisis and human security management, stand for Africa's dominating role in the solution of local hotspot issues (namely, the approach of settlement of African issues by Africans), and promote cooperation in matters relating to African security in the United Nations and its Security Council in particular.

Lastly, China will attach greater importance to its exchange and cooperation with Africa in intellectual, cultural, public opinion and other fields. Given the negative impact imposed by the Western dominance of international discourse power on China and Africa as well as their relations, China and Africa need to strengthen their direct exchange and dialogue and step up media cooperation to create a more favorable opinion environment, accelerate exchanges between their universities and think tanks and development of pertinent mechanisms, set up China and Africa study centers respectively, and joint efforts to increase their voice and influence in international systems.

2.3. China's diplomatic strategy on Latin America and the Caribbean Area. China has achieved so far remarkable progress in its efforts to develop a comprehensive partnership of equality, mutual benefit and common development with Latin America and the Caribbean Area (hereinafter referred to as the Sino-LA relations). With both China and Latin America being important

participants in global governance and emerging economic powers, their trans-regional cooperation will be of a new significance of representing the progress of the times.

China would value and plan its next-decade relations with Latin America from an overall perspective and a strategic highland. First of all, it would extend the comprehensiveness and sustainability of its relations with Latin America in the spirit of equality, mutual benefit and common development and through clearance of all geographical, traditional and cultural barriers; give Latin America a higher position in its overall diplomatic strategy; and make honest efforts to boost their pragmatic cooperation, recognizing each other's core interests, respect for each other's choice of development paths, mutual strategic trust, and development of a new pattern of state relations.

Secondly, China would seize the opportunity of Latin America's shift of attention to the Asia-Pacific Region to increase the momentum of its cooperation with Latin America in fields including economic restructuring, infrastructure development and industrial transformation and upgrading; take into closer consideration the cultural, social and environmental effects of economic cooperation; and try every effort to dispel the adverse impacts of negative and one-sided opinions.

In the third place, China would work for the earliest possible start and best operation of the Sino-Latin America Forum and turn it into a leading platform for their future cooperation. China would also increase consultation and coordination with Latin America over multilateral and international issues, appropriately handle cases of cooperation between this forum and third parties, and learn from the successful experiences of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum and the China-Arab Cooperation Forum, with an eye on Latin America's particularities though.

Lastly, China would increase its strategic input into conceptual, cultural, linguistic and other pertinent fields, step up cultural and intellectual exchanges and dialogues, and initiate economic and cultural contacts with those Latin American countries that have not yet established diplomatic relations with China, thus reinforcing the indigenous foundation and increasing the impetus of Sino-Latin American cooperation.

V. China's Realm-Specific Diplomatic Strategy

1. Global economic governance. Though the world economy could be expected to enter a period of low-speed but steady growth in the coming decade, three major challenges lurk in global economic governance: how to secure effective cooperation between major powers and avert the fragmented and factionalized development of global economic governance; how to balance the interest demands of countries at different development stages and fully answer the interest concerns of the least developed countries and small ones; and how to cope with the negative impacts of economic globalization, balance economic, environmental and social development, and maximize the blessings of mankind. As the world's second largest economy, China will push for a two-pronged global economic governance strategy: opening-up for mutual benefits and win-win results and participation in cooperative governance.

On the track of opening-up for mutual benefits and win-win results, China will drive at three major goals. Firstly, China will maintain the comparatively fast-speed and steady growth of its economy, and start a new course of sustainable and balanced development through overall planning and all-round consideration of all links including economic growth, environmental protection,

industrial transformation, scientific and technological progress, and social stability. Secondly, China will work with the international community to pull the world economy out of the global financial crisis since 2008 and the economic crises in some countries and regions, and to promote world economy for a strong, sustainable and balanced growth. Thirdly, China will strengthen its coordination of macroeconomic policies with the major economies in the world, advance the course of global trade liberalization via the centric platform of the World Trade Organization (WTO), settlement of economic and trade frictions through consultation, and elimination of all sorts of protectionism

In the drive for participation in cooperative governance, China will lay emphasis on three key points: Firstly, increasing its overall economic strength and competitiveness. Apart from promotion of marked quantitative growth of its GDP, China will devote efforts to the substantial improvement of the quality of its economic growth. It will also eye simultaneously for an obvious increase in foreign trade and investment and a higher level of financial performance and supervision, while striving for growing maturity with operation of a socialist market economy and constant innovation of the socialist theory, system and path. Secondly, support to developing countries. As the largest developing country, China will help other developing countries to strengthen their self-development capacity, devote itself to narrowing the South-North gap, take an active part in the BRICS mechanism of cooperation, increase the voice of developing countries in global economic governance, and work for the common development and prosperity of the whole human society. Finally, acceleration of policy coordination and cooperation. Taking the G20 as a major platform for coordinating global economic affairs, China will strengthen policy coordination and cooperation with the leading economies in the world and join efforts with the international community to mastermind and achieve

effective governance of the global economy.

2. Maritime issues. Lying by the Pacific, both maritime and land rights constitute China's core interests and important interests. The coming decade will be a key period for China to map out and implement a maritime strategy that both serves its national interests and benefits world peace, development and win-win cooperation.

As part of its efforts to safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity, protection of maritime rights and interests is a basic bottom line in China's maritime strategy, and improvement of maritime resource development ability and growth into a maritime power will be one of China's main strategic tasks for the coming decade and even years beyond. China's coastal areas are most densely populated and best developed in economy and the waters off them offer it a vital space and a supply of resources for sustainable development. China's maritime strategy will be so designed as to protect its basic rights vested by international law over coastal exclusive economic zones and continental shelves, such as the sovereign right over exploration and development of oil, gas and other maritime resources and the right over maritime space jurisdiction. China's maritime strategy aims at effective safeguard of these rights.

China's maritime strategy will encourage pooling of efforts with pertinent countries to maintain marine security and peace, and drive at the following near and mid-term goals: Promotion of maritime governance through cooperation with the international community and in line with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea and other international laws and rules; Meeting of the new maritime challenges coming from the U.S. strategic rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific Region within the general framework of NMMPR with the United States; Appropriate settlement of sovereign disputes and sea border delimitation in the South China Sea under the guidance of pertinent laws and maritime

codes and in line with the principles set in the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea (DOC) worked out by China and the ASEAN and the Code of Conduct in the South China Sea (COC) in making; Appropriate handling of the disputes over maritime rights and interests in the East China Sea in line with international laws, internationally recognized norms, and under the guidance of China-Japan Mutually Beneficial and Strategic Relations and China-South Korea Strategic and Cooperative Partnership. In the meanwhile, China will also continue performing its part of international duties and obligations in fields including maintenance of sea lane safety, crackdown on pirates and promotion of marine cooperation.

3. Resource issues. The word "resource" here refers to energy and mineral products that are of vital importance to Chinese economy, national defense and basic life. An important power in the world in terms of resource production and consumption, China needs to increase its involvement in international resource politics and join forces with the rest of the world to create a global resource-oriented political ecosystem of good balance and order.

China's resource strategy for the coming decade will mainly target at securing the import of resources on the basis of equal attention to its own interests and the common benefits of the whole international community, balancing the relationship between resource export and environmental protection, increasing its voice in global resource-related matters, and directing the development of the international resource order toward the track of fairness and rationality. In addition, this strategy will give consideration to China's political, economic and development security, and specify its position and role in the country's overall strategies.

Therefore, China will first of all start from a global height by strengthening the UN system for protection of the

political and legal environments for resource investment; promote the reform of pertinent WTO systems; offer more resource-based public goods through integration of trade, financial and diplomatic measures, and gradually increase its discourse and pricing powers matching its rights and responsibilities.

Secondly, China will finalize its resource strategy in surrounding areas on the basis of its traditional relations of friendship with neighboring countries and within the general framework of its global strategy, and spur its resource cooperation with the SCO and the BRICS members, apart from initiation of resource cooperation with Middle East, Latin American and West African countries.

In the third place, China will attach greater importance to the development of NMMPR with the United States. While seeking self-development, it will give equal attention to the interests and concerns of other major powers, strengthen consultation and coordination with them over resource strategies, and strive for the creation of a new type of resource-related political ecosystem of good balance and order that allows equal access by all powers, developed or developing.

Lastly, China will continue its cooperation with resource-rich developing countries. It will try to both raise the level of resource cooperation, and start cooperation in other fields so as to promote interdependence and achieve win-win results in fields such as market system development and industrial division of work.

4. Climatic change. Climatic change is a common challenge for the whole human race. As the world's biggest developing country, China has now come to the stage of fast-speed industrialization and urbanization. Any move by it to slow down climatic change will present it to the world as a responsible major power. From the Rio Summit in 1992 through to the Doha Conference in 2012, China

took an active part in the design of a series of international courses, and promoted common but differentiated responsibilities over climatic change by developed and developing countries. In the coming decade, China will continue to work with the international community, through the Durban Platform, for more substantial progress in greenhouse gas emissions mitigation, the central topic in global climate negotiations.

China's strategy on climatic change is designed to coordinate two targets, one internal and the other external. Internally, it will turn the pressure from the global climate negotiations into a force driving domestic reforms and promote ecological civilization development and low-carbon transformation. Externally, it will share responsibilities and obligations with other countries with an eye on the mankind's common destiny, and work for the common interests of the whole international community in the efforts to deal with climatic change.

To achieve the aforementioned targets, China will first of all uphold the principle of focus on its own development and simultaneous attention to global balance. While safeguarding its own development interests, China will devote efforts to creation of mechanisms for cooperation with the BASIC countries and other developing countries, bring into the play other multilateral mechanisms such as the Major Economies Forum on Energy and Climate (MEF) and the G20, and drive for the ultimate goal of balanced development of the UN climate talks.

Secondly, China will emphasize the principle of fairness and spell out the rights and responsibilities of developing powers when advocating the shared vision of mankind so as to further crystallize and operationalize its proposal for assumption of common but differentiated responsibilities.

In the third place, China will step up coordination with other developing countries in matters concerning climatic change, and emphasize synchronization of reduction,

adaptation, technology and fund input.

Lastly, China will list combating of climatic change as a main content of its cooperation with major powers, step up climate cooperation with the United States and the European Union, and enthusiastically reinforce low-carbon cooperation with other major powers.

5. Security issues. Against the background of economic globalization and fast-speed development of science and technology, China has been constantly upgrading its understanding of the security issue. First of all, it has come to see the great changes in both the connotation and denotation of this issue. Security is not merely a military issue nowadays. It has become an issue involving many other fields such as economy, finance, energy, ecology, information and culture.

Secondly, dealing with security issues is not necessarily a zero-sum game. The efforts devoted by many countries to the solution of global security issues, such as their crackdown on terrorism and fight against proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, will result in either total win or total loss.

In the third place, many global security issues crop up out of a sudden and unpredictably. It is necessary, therefore, not only to develop approaches different from those for dealing with traditional security issues, but also to make preparations in advance, especially systematic preparations.

Lastly, the presence of a growing number of Chinese companies and individuals going abroad has further increased the necessity for their country to participate in the management of international security affairs and exposed it to security issues of even greater diversity and complicity.

China believes that the traditional security concept centering on the contention between major powers for

hegemony has become outdated today. The time calls for all countries to strive for cooperative, collective and common security on the basis of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, and cooperation. At the bilateral level, therefore, China will actively promote the development of a new-type relationship and partnership between major powers and prevent the retreat of their state relations into the old pattern of zero-sum game. China will also take a more active part in all kinds of activities promoting collective security and try to offer the international community a greater number and a higher grade of public goods in security during the course of institutional collaboration at all levels and in all fields. In addition, China will further develop its ability to safeguard peace and maintain security. Bigger ability ensures greater common security and truer cooperative security.

6. Cultural exchanges. China will attach even greater importance to its cultural exchanges with the international community in the coming decade, and try every effort to achieve the organic integration of sinicization of the world culture and internationalization of the Chinese culture. With the constant growth of its economic strength, China has come to see the growing importance and need of cultural exchanges for the achievement of its global strategic objectives. Apart from cultural exchanges and non-governmental communications in their conventional sense, China needs to work out norms, from the strategic height of developing a harmonious world and meeting the practical needs of its own development and the development of the whole world, for cultural interaction and exchange with the rest of the world on the basis of greater equality, openness and fusion.

First of all, China will raise its level of cultural opening-up to the outside world and step up trans-cultural exchanges and references. Now that a major power in the world, China will develop a culture modern in form and open to the outside world. There is still a need today for it to learn

from and absorb all the advanced cultural achievements of other countries, and push onto the world stage its own culture enriched and renovated therewith to serve the international community.

Secondly, China will enthusiastically spur dialogue of civilizations and trans-cultural exchanges, explore ways for the development of mechanisms promoting mutual trust between cultures and religions, highlight the commonality between the concepts and values of the Chinese culture and those of other cultures, encourage inclusiveness of differences under the general precondition of harmonization, and drive for the ultimate goal of full integration of all cultures in the world.

In the third place, China will strengthen communication and exchange with traditional powers, emerging powers, regional powers and developing countries on the revamp of international norms, order and rules during the course of transformation of international system, and offer more intellectual public goods of Chinese origin. Given the fact that the core national values cherished by China are distinctively Chinese and at the same time have much in common and similarity with those favored by other countries, it is possible for China and other countries to jointly develop a new outlook on civilization and a new set of values that conform to the spirit of the time and the interests of all parties.

Lastly, China will make vigorous efforts to promote cultural and public diplomacy. It will increase the contacts and exchanges between all non-governmental circles and at all levels, and create a crisscrossing network of governmental and non-governmental contacts to increase mutual understanding and consolidate the mass foundation of its friendship with other countries.

7. Cyber governance. Benefitting from the vigorous development of information technology, China has, at the same time, fallen into a chief target and victim of

cyber attacks. In the coming decade, China will take the following measures to protect its cyber security, national interests, and the international cyber order.

Firstly, China will keep pace with the tide of scientific and technological development and information socialization and bringing into best play the positive energy of networks in economic and social development. China will give cyber security a higher position in its national agenda, step up trans-departmental coordination, and improve its ability to counter cyber attacks and crack down upon cyber crimes.

Secondly, Maintaining efforts to turn network security challenges into opportunities. China, on the one hand, will try to narrow the digital gap between developed and developing countries and join forces with the disadvantaged developing countries to improve their cyber security. On the other hand, it will actively push for the creation and perfection of a cyber order, and take a more enthusiastic and practical part in promotion of consensus on international cyber security and development of cyber space governance rules and regulations so as to maintain the normal order of cyber space operation and improve the effectiveness of international cyber governance mechanism.

Finally, China will adhere to the principle of no confrontation or conflict when it comes to matters concerning cyber security, and working for win-win achievements by the international community in cyber security maintenance. China stands for orientation of cyber security to serving global development. Together with the international community, it will strive to fence off political and military interference of networks, and, through joint efforts from leading powers to develop mutual-trust measures, it will go all out to prevent the possible outbreak of any cyber space conflicts.

VI. Our Recommendations

1. Staying unswervingly to the path of peaceful development. China committed itself to the world at the very beginning of this century that it would adhere unswervingly to the path of peaceful development. During the coming decade and for quite some time beyond, however, China will meet with more frequent domestic interference from narrow nationalism and populism, and external pressures such as more disputes over interests and even controversies over territorial and marine rights. Given the situation, China would first of all try, during its drive for new development and growth, bring all its people from the top to the bottom to cherish and perfect the thinking and theory about, stick tightly to the consensus on, and faithfully fulfill its historical commitment to peaceful development. Secondly, China would value, when boosting relations with its neighbors, the 'Asian spirit' that exemplifies constant strive for greater strength, incessant pursuit for new progress, readiness to embrace and tolerate, and willingness to share weal and woe so as to foster bilateral and multilateral relations featuring mutual benefit and common security and tackle disputes and conflicts through mutual understanding, reciprocal accommodation, and compromise to and cooperation with each other. Thirdly, when it comes to the design and deployment of new international system and order, China would rid itself of hegemonistic thinking and power politics and embrace and propagate instead the philosophy of peaceful consultation, common development, equality, mutual trust, mutual inclusiveness and learning, and win-win cooperation to benefit its own people and the entire human race.

2. Adhering to and materializing the NMMPR Concept. China put forward the NMMPR Concept in early 2012, which is a great contribution to present international

relations and diplomatic theories. In the coming decade, China's main task in this respect are the following "Three-Transcending": Firstly, China needs to transcend the historic fatalism about the inevitability of conflicts between rising and established powers through efforts to truly avert confrontation and conflict with the United States over major issues and build a relationship of mutual respect and win-win cooperation. Secondly, China needs to transcend the power theory and big-power determinism advocated by Western powers through arduous efforts in theoretical and academic development, establishment of the principle of mutual inclusiveness and learning, illustration of China's diplomatic stand on the relationship between major powers and other state actors, and presentation of China's theory and practice relating to the maintenance of peaceful development in cooperation with the international community. Lastly, China needs to transcend Western prejudice against and distortion of NMMPR Concept, and exploitation of all traditional and emerging media outlets to drive home to all people in the world the connotations and objectives of this new concept so that it will be better understood, more readily accepted, and warmly supported, thus aligning China with other countries in the world to blaze an unprecedented trail in history but will surely be followed by coming generations.

3. Creating a surrounding environment of peace and harmony. China's neighborhood strategy is mainly targeted at increasing opportunities and defusing challenges. First of all, it will continue efforts to develop and secure bilateral relations of good-neighborliness and friendship, maintain peace and stability along its borders, and drive at win-win goals in the spirit of strategic cooperation or partnership. It will also handle whatever territorial and maritime disputes with pertinent countries with a far-sighted view and a spirit of reconciliation. Secondly, it will keep efforts in acceleration of sub-regional cooperation at all levels, such as cooperation

between Chinese and Russian areas along their borders, cooperation between SCO members, cooperation between the Great Mekong Sub-region Cooperation (GMS) members, cooperation with the ASEAN Free Trade Area, cooperation in the China-Japan-South Korea Free Trade Area, and cooperation with Russia, North Korea, South Korea and Mongolia in the Tumen Economic Cooperation. In the third place, China will uplift and integrate its neighborhood cooperation – in the broadest sense – with the spirit of progress and inclusiveness. It will study, for instance, the possibility of the parallel development and integration of the APEC, Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), the East Asia Summit (EAS), the RCEP and the TPP, as well as the constructive interaction between the various security-oriented cooperative mechanisms now working in the Asia-Pacific Region. Lastly, the heating up of some hotspot issues in the surrounding areas in recent years has left some direct and indirect impacts on China's peaceful development. At the same time when marking its bottom line, China will step up cooperation with the international community and its neighboring countries, in particular, to make new contributions to the effective control of these issues.

4. Laying new foundations for cooperation with other developing countries. China has always attached great importance to its relations with other developing countries, taking them as the basis of its foreign relations. With the change of the situation, China would try to create new foundations in the following four fields:

Firstly, a new political foundation serving the transition from national liberation to national progress. Since China shares with other developing countries a similar historical memory and development target, it should strengthen exchange and achieve greater consensus with them in fields including state systems, governance concepts, social constitutions and values.

Secondly, a new economic foundation featuring common development and mutual benefit. Although sharing common interests with other developing countries in market, resource, energy and some other fields, China has been going ahead at a much faster pace than its peers. For this reason, it should shoulder a greater responsibility when it comes to development programs and paths, development mechanisms and regulations, and development funds and technologies.

Thirdly, a new diplomatic foundation featuring mutual support and help. Given the many irrational constitutions masterminded by Western powers for governing world affairs and the frequent cases of their unjustified tackling under Western tutelage, China would step forward to safeguard the interests of developing countries when it comes to formulation of international systems and rules, and dare to take positions, stand for justice and fight for the rights and interests of developing countries when it comes to major issues of principle.

Lastly, a new security foundation rich in connotation and diversified in mechanism. Both China and other developing countries are exposed to the new challenge of the intertwining of traditional and non-traditional security issues and their aggravation of each other. Apart from joining forces to meet it, they should blaze a new trail in fields including innovation of security concepts, formulation of security mechanisms, and safeguarding and promotion of peace so as to make new contributions to the common and cooperative security of the whole globe.

5. Remodeling existent realm-specific mechanisms and creating new realm-specific orders. In an era of globalization and informatization, realm-related issues have come to gain spotlight in international affairs. During the coming ten years, China would take the initiative to participate in the reform of existent realm-

specific systems, offer public goods serving the common interests of mankind, and strive for conditions and environments of greater fairness and rationality and beneficial to the progress of developing countries. By taking part in the development of realm-specific systems, China would manage to spur the interaction between developments at home and abroad, the integration of internal and external strategic resources, and the unity of its two identities: a developing country and an emerging power. The realm-specific systems now in place have resulted from long years of interaction between major powers, emerging economies and developed countries. With the advancement of the times, the international community has frequently assessed their fairness and rationality, and demanded renovation of those rules and codes in the economic, social, cultural and other realms that ignore the legitimate rights and justified demands of developing countries. When it comes to system development for various realms including climate, space, the Polar Regions, cyber and other new domains, China would urge all members in the international community to pursue the goal of universal participation and common benefit and seek common destinies in new realms under the UN-dominated framework and in line with the principle of fairness, consultation and win-win cooperation.

6. Fostering a global view keeping abreast of the times.

The world is both material and spiritual. China is also making new contributions to the spiritual civilization of the world when aggrandizing the material wealth of the world. First of all, China's global view embodies the general trend of growing balance of international strengths and constant progress of the spirit of the age, and its peaceful development and continuous rise in terms of comprehensive national strength signifies the tide of history, feats and fortunes totally missing in some Western countries.

Secondly, China's global view reveals its self-positioning and its relations with the rest part of the world. To remain a developing country for a fairly long period of time, China will focus its energy on internal reforms, opening-up to the outside world, and promotion of sustainable development. But China is inseparable from the world. China needs a peaceful environment for self-development, and will come therefrom to safeguard and promote world peace.

In the third place, China's global view reflects the historic course of development of international relations to global relations. China will not only keep an eye on both state actors and non-state actors, but also attach importance to governmental and non-governmental diplomacy and people-to-people exchanges. Apart from concerning itself with the relationship between economic interests, it will pay close attention to political, security, scientific, technological, cultural, religious, social and many other combined factors.

In one word, China will greet all opportunities and meet all challenges with a brand new global view, and join hands with other countries in the world to welcome more beautiful and progressive future.

Project Team Members

YANG Jiemian	Project Director, Research Professor and Chairman of Academic Council, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS)
(Arranged herein below in the Pinyin order of the surnames of the members)	
CAI Penghong	Research Professor, Institute for Foreign Policy Studies, SIIS
LI Xin	Research Professor and Director, Center for Russian & Central Asian Studies, SIIS
NIU Haibin	Research Associate Professor and Assistant Director, Institute for Global Governance Studies, SIIS
SHAO Yuqun	Research Associate Professor and Director, Center for American Studies, SIIS
WU Chunsi	Research Associate Professor and Executive Director, Institute for International Strategic Studies, SIIS
WU Jinan	Research Professor, Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, SIIS
YE Qing	Research Associate Professor and Director, Center for West Asian & African Studies, SIIS
YU Hongyuan	Research Professor and Deputy Director, Institute for Comparative Politics & Public Policy Studies, SIIS
ZHANG Chun	Research Associate Professor and Deputy Director, Center for West Asian & Africa Studies, SIIS
ZHANG Haibing	Research Professor and Executive Director, Institute for World Economy Studies, SIIS
ZHANG Yinghong	Research Associate Professor and Director, Center for European Studies, SIIS
ZHAO Gancheng	Research Professor and Director, Center for Asia-Pacific Studies, SIIS

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Project Team

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