

新中国外交 60 年：实践特点和理念演变

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【内容提要】60 年的新中国外交实践在捍卫和扩展国家利益、顺应时代潮流和伸张国际正义、积聚和善用国家软实力、转变外交模式等方面形成了鲜明的中国特色，新中国的外交理念也在历史进程中形成了与时俱进的世界观、时代观、利益观、和平观、统筹观等。中国外交的丰富实践和先进理念相辅相成，正在为中国继续发展为世界强国奠定基础。在今后 40 年（即共和国百年庆典时）的历史进程中，中国外交将在构建和巩固新的国际多极格局和国际体系、推动亚洲共同体建设、引领战略思维、承担大国责任、预见世界变化和提升实践艺术等方面发挥更加重要和富有成效的作用。

【关键词】中国外交 外交理念 外交实践 外交模式

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中华人民共和国自 1949 年成立迄今已经走过了整整 60 年，新中国外交实践在捍卫和扩展国家利益、顺应时代潮流和伸张国际正义、积聚和善用国家软实力、转变外交模式等方面形成了鲜明的中国特色，新中国的外交理念也在历史进程中形成了与时俱进的世界观、时代观、利益观、和平观、统筹观等。中国外交的丰富实践和先进理念相辅相成，正在为中国继续发展为世界强国奠定基础。展望今后 40 年（即共和国百年庆典时），在国际社会的共同努力下，新的国际多极格局和国际体系将从成型趋向成熟，中国外交也将在这一历史进程中发挥更加重要和富有成效的作用。

一、特点鲜明的中国外交实践

(一) 新中国外交始终捍卫和扩展国家利益。在维护国家利益方面，新中国外交在各个时期形成了重点不同的特点。1949-1978年间，中国外交在维护以“一个中国”为核心的国家政治利益方面取得重大成果。鉴于中国在近现代长期遭受列强的压迫，新中国坚决捍卫国家主权和领土完整这一核心国家利益。1949年9月21日，毛泽东在中国人民政治协商会议第一届全体会议的开幕词中指出：“我们团结起来，以人民解放战争和人民大革命打倒了内外压迫者，宣布中华人民共和国的成立了。……我们的民族将再也不是一个被人侮辱的民族了，我们已经站起来了。”^① 中国在建国之初就同苏联签订了友好合作同盟条约。在当时的环境下，新生共和国通过同苏联结盟和抗美援朝，巩固了政权并挫败了退居台湾的国民党当局反攻大陆的图谋。此后，中国在上世纪50年代、60年代和70年代进行了数轮外交拓展，推进了同广大发展中国家的关系，实现了同美国、日本和主要欧洲大国关系的正常化，恢复了在联合国的合法席位。到1978年底同中国建交的国家已超过100个。此后，中国提出“一国两制”的创造性构想，成功地实现了香港和澳门的回归。中国还加强了反对“台独”的国际合作，有力地推动了两岸关系的和平发展。总之，在当今世界上，“一个中国”原则已成为国际主流社会的共识，中国的国家主权和统一得到国际社会的普遍尊重。

1979-2000年间，中国外交在推进经济发展这一国家重大利益方面成绩显著。在此期间，中国外交在1989年风波、1995年李登辉访美、1999年“炸馆事件”等涉及国家主权和统一等问题上旗帜鲜明，立场坚定。不仅如此，中国外交明确提出了服务于国家改革开放和经济建设两个大局的目标。加强经济外交是中国现代化建设的需要，也是经济全球化发展的要求。邓小平曾明确指出要把经济建设当作中心，其他一切任务都要服从这个中心，围绕这个中心。^② 中国外交为中国现代化建设创造了良好的环境，形成了全方位对外开放的格局。首先，中国在稳定同发达国家关系的基础上，积极开展同这些国家的经济合作，取得了显著进步。特别是在20世纪90年代，中国在美国对华最惠国待遇问题上进行了有理有利有节的斗争，以政治和经济互动维护了中美的正常

^① 中华人民共和国外交部、中共中央文献研究室编：《毛泽东外交文选》，中央文献出版社、世界知识出版社，1994年，第113-114页。

^② 邓小平：“目前的形势和任务”，《邓小平文选》第2卷，人民出版社，1994年，第250页。

经济关系。其次，中国加强同发展中国家的互利合作，加强政治和经济的良性互动。最为重要的是，中国积极参与多边经济组织和机制。1986 年中国正式提出恢复在关贸总协定地位的申请，并最终于 2001 年加入了后来的“世贸组织”。1991 年中国加入亚太经合组织，全面开展同亚太经济体的合作。同年，中国正式同东南亚国家联盟（东盟）接触，并于 1997 年启动了东盟+中国（10+1）和东盟+中国、日本、韩国（10+3）机制。1997 年，亚洲爆发金融危机，中国信守国际承诺，坚持人民币不贬值，维护了中国、亚洲和世界的经济稳定。

进入新世纪后，中国抓住历史机遇期，充分发挥了外交在国家核心和重大利益方面的维护和推进功能。中共十六大认为：“综观全局，二十一世纪头二十年，对我国来说，是一个必须紧紧抓住并且可以大有作为的重要战略机遇期。”^① 在维护国家安全的核心利益方面，中国在“9·11”事件发生后，加强同国际社会的反恐合作，有力地打击了宗教极端势力、民族分裂势力和国际恐怖势力，维护了国内稳定。与此同时，中国加强了同国际社会的合作，成功地挫败了陈水扁之流“台独”势力的猖狂挑衅，维护了国家的主权和领土完整。此外，中国外交在维护国家重大海外利益、非传统利益和形象利益等方面也发挥了重要作用。进入新世纪以来，中国在海外经贸、投资、人员迅速增长，在金融、食品、产品、气候、环保等方面与全球互动日益密切，在发展过程中也面临着外部抹黑和对外推介的挑战。在新形势下，中国更新外交战略思维和政策，增加责任意识和大国意识，拓宽对外渠道，通过国际机制实现国家利益和人类利益的共同目标。

（二）顺应时代潮流和伸张国际正义。新中国的诞生延伸了世界反法西斯斗争的胜利成果，扩展了全球性民族解放运动，促进了以后的南南合作和南北合作。中华人民共和国的成立，使这个人口占当时 1/4 和具有悠久历史及灿烂文化的国家以崭新的姿态出现在世界的东方，其本身就具有重要的历史和现实意义。从第二次世界大战结束至 20 世纪 70 年代初，民族解放和独立运动风起云涌，给予旧殖民主义和老牌帝国主义以致命的打击。相似的历史遭遇和

^① 江泽民：《全面建设小康社会 开创中国特色社会主义事业新局面——在中国共产党第十六次全国代表大会上的报告》，人民出版社，2002 年，第 19 页。

共同的奋斗目标把中国同世界民族解放和独立运动紧密地连结在一起。1955年的亚非会议启动了中国同广大发展中国家的合作关系，1971年中国在广大发展中国家支持下恢复了在联合国的合法席位。广大发展中国家一直是中国外交的基础，在以后的不同时期里对中国的改革开放、独立自主的和平外交、反对“台独”和“藏独”等始终给予坚决的支持。

中国同广大发展中国家心心相印，在外交上共同努力，维护国家独立、促进经济发展和推动社会进步。60年来，中国外交基于但又不囿于本国，坚持同广大发展中国家共同提倡建立公正合理的国际经济和政治秩序。早在20世纪50年代中期，中国和印度、缅甸提出了和平共处五项原则。60-70年代之间，中国坚决反对苏联的大国沙文主义和美国的帝国主义行径。在80年代，中国强调南南合作和主张南北对话，并积极参与热点问题的解决或降温。在90年代，中国沉着应对冷战后国际力量对比严重失衡的形势，提出以合作为基础的新思维应对过时的冷战思维。进入新世纪后，中国高举“和平、发展、合作”旗帜，坚持走和平发展道路，坚持互利共赢的相互依存关系。此外，中国还同其他新兴发展中大国协调合作，逐步形成了目标驱动和机制支撑的新兴大国群体。

中国外交努力推动国际体系和国际秩序朝着更加公正合理的方向发展。从新中国成立到1971年恢复在联合国的合法席位，中国基本上是一个国际体系之外的国家。中国重返联合国至改革开放初期，陆续参加了一些国际组织，但参与程度和发挥的作用相当有限。中国与国际体系关系的根本转变是在冷战结束以后，中国日益成为国际体系的“维护者”和“建设者”，乃至国际分体系中积极的“推动者”和“主导者”。

从全球层面看，中国在发挥联合国的主导作用，推动联合国机构改革，实现联合国千年发展目标，参与联合国授权的国际维和行动，解决全球性和国际热点等问题上，都发挥了积极的和建设性的作用。中国还倡导“和谐世界”的理念，为国际体系未来的发展方向提供了新的愿景。从地区和领域性分体系层面看，中国倡议建立上海合作组织，积极支持和参加东盟地区论坛、亚信会议、亚欧会议等，推进朝核六方会谈，推动建立国际金融和贸易新体系等，充分发挥了建设性的构建作用。

2008 年源于美国次贷危机的国际金融危机爆发后，中国成为推动国际金融体系改革的巨大动力。中国和新兴大国在与国际社会风雨同舟共同应对危机的同时，严正指出当前由西方主导的国际体系的严重缺陷，强烈要求改变西方垄断的国际机制，提出具体整改方案。出于应对现实危机的需要，西方大国事实上淡化了七国集团的作用，开始在包括新兴大国群体在内的二十国集团范围内审视和架构新的国际金融体系。而当前的金融体系改革很可能导致整个国际体系和国际秩序的改革和重建。

（三）中国三代领导集体和以胡锦涛为总书记的党中央不断丰富新中国外交理论、理念、战略和政策，具有中国特色的丰富外交实践已成为国家软实力的重要组成部分。在第一代领导集体中，毛泽东恢宏的外交战略思维和周恩来高超的外交艺术形成了新中国外交的基本特点，即坚持独立自主，维护国家安全，服务国家利益，争取国际尊重。在毛泽东和周恩来的晚年，尽管有文革的干扰，中国仍以乒乓外交打开了中美关系的大门，以中美和解的形势推动了中日建交。在 1970-1976 年间，中国新建交国家多达 57 个。^① 在中国第二代领导集体中，邓小平的外交思想内容丰富，洋溢着鲜明的时代气息和民族精神，是中国制定外交政策和指导外交实践的指南。^② 在邓小平外交思想的指引下，中国开启了改革开放的航程，调整了内外重大政策，有效地应对了当时国际环境的剧变，并分别于 1984 和 1987 年完成了关于香港和澳门回归祖国的谈判。江泽民是中国第三代领导的核心，他的外交思想是“三个代表”重要思想科学体系的有机组成部分，是中国外交事业的宝贵精神财富。^③ 在第三代领导集体运筹帷幄下，中国紧紧抓住战略机遇期，善用日益增长的综合国力，提升了中国的国际地位和影响，开创了在政治多极化和经济全球化时代中国外交的新局面。

进入新世纪后，在以胡锦涛为总书记的党中央的领导下，在科学发展观的指导下，中国外交在实践和理论方面都有新的发展。其一，中国既坚持韬光养

^① 中华人民共和国外交部政策研究司编：《中国外交（2007 年）》，世界知识出版社，2007 年，第 415-418 页。

^② 钱其琛：“深入学习邓小平外交思想，进一步做好新时期外交工作”，《邓小平外交思想学习纲要》编写组：《邓小平外交思想学习纲要》，世界知识出版社，2000 年，第 7 页。

^③ “外交部长李肇星谈学习江泽民同志外交思想的体会”，《人民日报》，2006 年 9 月 30 日。

晦又争取更大作为，参与国际维和行动，构建周边合作框架，倡导关于朝核问题的六方会谈，沟通印巴相互理解，任命中东和非洲事务特使。其二，中国深化总体外交，统筹内外两个大局，兼顾地域和领域外交，重视人本、人文、公共、民间和学术外交等。其三，应对当前的国际金融危机，善用新兴大国的群体力量，推动国际格局的多极化进程，构建更加公正合理的国际体系。其四，推动建设持久和平与共同繁荣的和谐世界，探索多种发展模式，寻求各类文明共处发展，达成更多的价值观共识。具有中国特色的外交不仅已成为国家软实力的重要组织部分，而且还同日益积聚的硬实力相互作用，提升了中国在世界事务中的地位和作用。

（四）中国外交模式逐步从单一趋向复合型，决策更加科学合理和制度化。中国同世界的关系是在不断调整外交模式的过程中，实现了从单一政府外交到多元总体外交，从传统高级政治议题到低级政治领域，从被动反应到主动塑造的根本转变。

新中国建立后，中国外交以传统外交为主，偏重于政治和安全领域，外交决策权高度集中。改革开放以来，中国外交适应全球化、区域化和信息化深入发展的形势，逐步形成了多层次、全方位、宽领域和整体性外交的模式，除传统的政治和安全外交外，政党外交、议会外交、经济外交、军事外交、文化外交、环境外交、人文外交、公共外交、民间外交等成为外交新的领域和增长点。

积极开展经济外交是中国自改革开放以来外交模式变化的一个最大亮点。随着中国对外经济交往活动的日益增加和经济实力的日益提升，中国经济外交在双边和多边领域中显得异常活跃，成为促进全球贸易、投资自由化和便利化，应对全球金融危机，推动国际经济体系改革与调整的主要力量和引擎之一。中国的军事外交正在逐步展开。随着中国军事力量的不断扩展和能力的不断提高，中国积极参与了维和、联合军演、军舰互访、打击海盗、人道主义救援、灾害救助等和平使命。中国军事透明度也在不断加强，定期发表《国防白皮书》，设立国防部新闻事务办公室和新闻发言人，有效应对了“中国军事威胁论”。人文外交在中国外交中崭露头角，中国通过主办“文化年”、“文化节”，建立“孔子学院”和海外文化中心，以及举办北京奥运会，筹办上海世博会等重大活动，推动了中国与世界的文化交往和人文交流。

中国的外交决策机制也有了根本性的变化，更加趋向整体化、多元化、分权化、制度化和专业化，更加强调外交统筹和相互间的协调，更加注意倾听专家学者、智库的声音，更加重视开展公众外交，更加关注外交中的全球性问题和“人本性”议题，力求为国际社会提供更多的国际公共产品和价值观共识。同时中国通过定期新闻发布会、“公众开放日”、网络等多种途径不断扩大人民对外交的知情权和参与权，努力使人民真正成为外交的基石和后盾。

二、理念更新和外交建树

（一）新中国在曲折中形成了正确的世界观和顺应历史发展的时代观，指导着对国际形势的判断和自身的定位，有力地保障了国家外交战略和政策的落实。

科学判断国际形势和自身定位是正确处理中国与世界关系的重要基础和前提。在判断国际形势问题上，中国在 60 年中积累了许多经验教训。1949 年以来，中国始终把国家主权和安全利益放在首位，不断对国际形势进行分析和评估，先后提出两大阵营、两个中间地带、三个世界等战略思想，对外战略也经历了“一边倒”、“两条线”、“一条线”等相应变化，尽可能地营造有利的国际环境。但在上世纪 50-70 年代，中国在战争和革命时代观的影响下，在“左”的思潮干扰下，过分强调“革命”与“反霸”，过于重视意识形态，强调以苏（美）划线，限制了自己在国际舞台上的灵活性。尤其是在 20 世纪 60 年代中国“反帝反修”，采取“两面开弓”、“四面出击”的战略，一度处境被动。

1971 年中国重返联合国以及中美关系的改善，孕育着中国对外战略的重大调整，但真正的调整则始于 20 世纪 70 年代末。邓小平在 1977 年就认为，“国际形势也是好的。我们有可能争取多一点时间不打仗”。^① 邓小平在 80 年代进一步认为世界大战有可能避免以及和平与发展是当代两大主题等，为改革开放事业的启动奠定了基础。江泽民在 90 年代指出：“在今后一个较长时期

^① 邓小平：“在中央军委全体会议上的讲话”，《邓小平文选》第 2 卷，人民出版社，1994 年，第 77 页。

国内争取和平的国际环境，避免新的世界大战，是有可能的。这是一个非常重要的战略判断，是我们集中精力进行经济建设的大前提。”^① 江泽民还提出中国同西方垄断资本主义大国之间不存在“根本的利害冲突”。中国已不再以划分敌、我、友这种简单的方法来处理国家之间的关系，特别是处理大国之间的关系。进入21世纪以来，胡锦涛提出“和平与发展仍然是时代主题，求和平、谋发展、促合作已经成为不可阻挡的时代潮流”。^②

在这些科学判断的指导下，中国同世界的关系发生了历史性变化，将自己的前途命运紧密地同世界的前途命运联系在一起。中国顺应这一历史变化，高举和平、发展、合作旗帜，提出“新安全观”，出台“战略对话”机制，倡导建设持久和平、共同繁荣的“和谐世界”。中国的国际角色随之发生了重大变化，争取到了战略机遇期，赢得了国际关系中的主动权，成为在全球和地区范围内的建设性力量，联合各行为体共同构建和平、发展、合作的新世界。

(二) 新中国在对外关系的出发点和落脚点(即国家利益)问题上，经过艰苦探索和反复比较，最终确立了把中国人民的利益同各国人民的共同利益结合起来的“大利益”观，从而拓展了中国外交的空间，提升了中国外交的道义力量。

维护国家利益是每个国家外交的出发点，中国也不例外。但是新中国外交在60年的发展历程中，在维护国家利益方面也在不断调整和完善，从最初强调无产阶级国际主义到一度主张国家利益最大化，再到十七大正式提出“把中国人民的利益同各国人民的共同利益结合起来”。^③

但是，在相当长的时期内，中国在国家利益这一根本问题上既缺乏理论支撑，也没有在外交实践上完全落实。新中国成立之初，采取“一边倒”的战略，站在社会主义阵营一边，以后又强调中国永远属于第三世界。这样，中国只是将自己的利益与部分国家人民的利益结合在一起，即主要在社会主义国家或第三世界国家寻找利益交汇点。当时，中国还强调国际主义义务，如抗美援朝、

^① 江泽民：“国际形势和军事战略方针”，《江泽民文选》第2卷，人民出版社，2006年，第278页。

^② 胡锦涛：《高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗——在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告》，人民出版社，2007年，第46页。

^③ 胡锦涛：《高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗——在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告》，人民出版社，2007年，第47页。

抗美援朝、支持亚非拉人民的革命等。当然，在很多情况下国际主义与国家利益并不矛盾，支持了亚非拉人民的革命，削弱了帝国主义和殖民主义的力量，符合当时中国的政治利益，也就等于支持了中国自己。

改革开放之后，中国首次提出在处理国与国关系时需从战略利益出发，彼此考虑对方的关切。胡锦涛在党的十七大报告中指出：“我们将继续以自己的发展促进地区和世界共同发展，扩大同各方利益的汇合点，在实现本国发展的同时兼顾对方特别是发展中国家的正当关切。”^①在这些思想的指导下，中国与主要大国和力量建立了不同类型的战略伙伴关系，同发达国家关系全面发展；坚持“与邻为善、以邻为伴”，采取“搁置争议，共同开发”的方针，处理领土、领海的争端，同周边国家睦邻友好不断深化；开创中非合作论坛、中阿合作论坛等新机制，同发展中国家传统友谊更加巩固。

今天的中国日益向世界展示出自信、负责任的形象。从参加联合国维和行动到推进朝核问题六方会谈，从加强东盟与中日韩（10+3）的合作到构建上海合作组织，从减免发展中国家债务到中非发展基金，从中俄、中越边界谈判进展到提出“睦邻、安邻、富邻”的合作政策，从 1997 年亚洲金融危机后坚持人民币不贬值到与全球携手应对全球金融危机，中国在国际事务中越来越将自己的利益与各国人民的利益结合起来。同时，中国在坚持和平共处五项原则的基础上同所有国家开展交流合作，积极促进世界多极化、推进国际关系民主化，尊重世界多样性，反对霸权主义和强权政治。

（三）坚持走和平发展道路，既是中国现代化建设的基础，也是营造良好周边和全球环境的主要途径，还是中国在迅速崛起时争取世界各国认可和支持的重要保证。

新中国成立的前 30 年里，中国尽管以革命者的姿态出现在世界舞台上，但是一直主张世界和平。以毛泽东为核心的第一代领导强调“和平为上”，提出和平共处五项原则，并要求“把五项原则推广到所有国家的关系中去”。^②中国还采取互谅互让、睦邻友好的方式解决中国与缅甸等国的边界问题，释放中

^① 胡锦涛：《高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗——在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告》，人民出版社，2007 年，第 48 页。

^② 中华人民共和国外交部、中共中央文献研究室编：《毛泽东外交文选》，中央文献出版社、世界知识出版社，1994 年，第 163 页。

国的和平诚意。此外，中国通过参加 1954 年的日内瓦会议、1955 年的亚非会议以及中美大使级会谈等推动地区和世界的和平。只不过在特定的历史条件下，中国不惜以武力保卫和平、以输出革命的形式来牵制帝国主义，通过国际统一战线营造世界和平，从而为当时中国的政治利益和安全利益服务。

改革开放以后，随着多极化和全球化趋势的发展，中国开始确立独立自主的和平外交政策，并将这一政策写入 1982 年我党的十二大报告之中。2002 年中国针对“9·11”事件以后国际安全环境的新变化，提出了以互信、互利、平等、协作为核心的新安全观。2005 年，中国第一次提出建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界的理念，将中国近年来在国际上所倡导的新秩序观、新安全观、新发展观、新文明观等有机联系在一起，强调国与国之间的和平、人与人之间的和睦以及人与自然的和谐，阐明了中国对世界发展前途的构想和主张，既为国际社会提供了国际公共产品，也是对所谓“中国威胁论”的积极回应。同年，中国发表《中国的和平发展道路》白皮书，强调和平发展是中国现代化建设的必由之路，以自身的和平与发展促进世界的和平与发展，实现与各国的互利共赢和共同发展等理念。

(四) 中国在日益扩大的与世界互动中逐步形成了更加宏观和总体性的外交思路，实现了重要的思想飞跃和战略转型，提出和实施国内和国际两个大局、国别/地区和领域两大方面、双边和多边两类对外关系的“三统筹”理念。

在过去的 60 年里，中国逐步认识到国内发展和国际环境互为因果的联系，经过了从被动应对到主动塑造的历史性阶段。如果说，在前 30 年里，中国主要是通过维护和巩固政局来应对多种不利的国际环境，那么在后 30 年中，中国逐步学会了利用各种有利的国际因素来推动自己的改革开放。在 60 年的实践中，中国基本完成了从对国内国际的平行认识到内外一体的认识飞跃，充分发挥中外关系互为因果、相辅相成的作用。

进入新世纪后，随着全球化和信息化的深入发展以及中国同世界关系的日益密切，中国在处理内外关系中及时提出了统筹国内和国际两个大局的战略思想，把中国的总体外交推上了新的台阶。统筹内外两个大局的最重要意义在于，中国在开展对外关系时已经不再局限于一时一事简单的国家间关系，而是充分认识到内外的互动关系，特别强调国内公共政策中的国际因素和国内各部

门及地方的相互协调的重要性，丰富了国内体制和机制改革的内涵。

中国对外战略思维完成了从偏重国家（地区）到同时兼顾国别/地区和领域两大方面的过渡，它反映了中国对外关系及海外利益的飞速发展，体现了中国外交的日臻完善和成熟，揭示了新兴大国对外关系的必由之路。中国在全球性国际体系、地区和领域性分体系等方面进行了不断的探索和努力，把国与国的关系上升到体系建设的高度，为 10+3、亚欧会议、二十国集团等注入了时代的新元素，为各种伙伴关系和战略对话注入了历史性新意义。统筹国别/地区和领域两大方面需要中国从更宏观和系统的角度去统筹中国的对外关系。

中国外交同时并重双边和多边关系表明，中国在处理同各类大国、周边国家和发展中国家关系时开拓了新的交叉点、发展线、重合面。作为具有 13 亿人口的文明古国，作为正在成长中的重要世界大国，作为发展中国家的核心国家（即新兴大国），中国既要发展同世界各国的双边关系，也需要发展日益增多的多边关系。双边外交正在成为中国同东盟、欧盟、非盟、南共体、南盟等地区组织的重要内容，三边关系正在成为中俄印、中美俄、中美日等重要大国之间的互动常态，四边或四边以上的关系也在展现着它的重要性和必要性，如金砖四国关系、对话五国（中俄印巴南）、朝鲜和伊朗核问题六方会谈等。

与此相对应的是，中国正在加强国内及对外体制和机制建设。国内大部制的改制从某种意义上正是同国际对接的重要措施，十七大关于加强人大、政协、军队、地方、民间团体对外交往的号召也正在从机制上予以落实。在对外关系上，由国家主席特别代表领衔的中美战略和经济对话则是从体制上对中国外交的补充和发展。此外，中国在处理台湾地区对外活动、港澳特区外事、内地地方外事等方面也取得了实质性的进展。

三、今后 40 年的展望

从现在起到中华人民共和国 100 周年大庆还有 40 年。展望未来 40 年，届时中国将实现邓小平的预言，达到中等发达国家的水平。今后 40 年大致可以分为前 20 年和后 20 年。前 20 年（2009-2029）是国际多极格局最终形成的年代，后 20 年则是国际多极格局巩固和成熟的年代。

中国外交在今后40年的首要任务是坚持和平发展,推动共处型多极格局,实现和巩固新的国际体系。因此,中国需要创造性地参与国际格局转换和国际体系的重构,建设性地同主要大国和主要国际组织进行全面互动,积极推行睦邻友好的周边外交以及推动亚洲共同体的早日建立,多层次、全方位、宽领域地发展同各行为体的关系。

其次是作为推动国际格局和国际体系转换的一个主要国家,中国外交理念既要与自身国家利益、传统文化相一致,也需适应乃至引领国际潮流。特别是在世界未来发展模式和文明建设上,中国坚持公平正义的立场,倡导和而不同的发展道路,推动实现不同文明的共处与互补。未来40年,中国在提供公共物品、承担国际责任方面有四个努力方向:一是基于人道主义和关注人类命运的责任感向国际社会提供各种援助,抗击自然灾害和疾病,维护世界自然环境和生态平衡。二是与周边国家开展经济和政治安全合作,逐步解决周边热点问题,建设一个繁荣稳定的“和谐亚洲”。三是逐步改革和创新国际机制,在现有体系的基础上循序渐进,构建和巩固新的国际体系。四是中国需要在强大后保持其在国际上的进步性、正义性和责任性,并坚持“不称霸”的基本国策。

第三,中国外交要有足够的历史预见性,主动筹划在全球化、公民社会化、科技高速发展条件下的外交理念和模式。全球化始于经济但绝不会止于经济,其实当前这一轮国际金融体系改革中包含着极大的政治和安全成分。展望今后40年,全球化的继续深化和泛化、中国公民社会的迅速发展、新一轮科技革命的突破等必将改变国际关系的理念和实践。为此,今后中国外交的基本任务包括全面地筹划中国内外互动,主动地同国际社会探索相关战略和政策,前瞻地界定中国总体外交的任务、机制和模式,超前地培养各种人才等。

最后,提升中国外交实践的艺术和实效。从某种意义上讲,外交是国际关系实践的技巧和艺术,新中国外交已在优良传统和丰富实践的基础上形成鲜明的特色。今后随着国际地位和作用的提高,中国将同国际社会的各行为体,特别是主要行为体在更加纷繁复杂的议题上加强互动。中国作为上升期的新兴大国,今后更需要继承优秀传统,提高全民素质;发扬民族智慧,借鉴他人经验;重视理论创新,加强调查研究;善用各种矛盾,综合平衡关系,争取在和平发展为世界强国的道路上谱写出更加波澜壮阔的21世纪史诗。

60 Years of New China's Diplomacy: Characteristics of Practice and Evolution in Thinking

YANG Jiemian

The People's Republic of China has journeyed across the entire span of 60 years since its foundation in 1949, during which China has come to develop a set of remarkable Chinese characteristics in its diplomatic practice, which include safeguarding and expanding national interests, following the trend of times and upholding international justice, building the country's soft power and applying it to worthy use, and revamping the country's model of diplomacy, among the other things. At the same time, China has also evolved with history in diplomatic theory and kept pace with the times in its thinking of the world, epochs, interests, peace, and overall planning. The abundant practice and advanced theory of China's diplomacy complement and complete each other, laying down the foundation for China's continuing march towards becoming a strong world power. Looking 40 years ahead into the future (which will happen to be the time of the centennial celebration of P.R.C.'s foundation), we foresee a more significant and effective role of China's diplomacy in the context of a new multipolar international pattern and system that will graduate from its initial stage of formation to a phase of maturity under the concerted efforts of the international community.

China's Diplomatic Practice with Distinctive Features

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(1) New China's diplomacy has followed the unswerving path of safeguarding and expanding national interests. As a safeguard of national interests, New China's diplomacy is marked by different emphases in different periods. Between 1949 and 1978, China's diplomacy made critical achievements protecting the nation's political interests on the core issue of "one China." Emerged from a lengthy period of oppression by a number of imperial powers in its modern history, New China was resolute in safeguarding its state sovereignty and territorial integrity as its core national interests. At the opening speech of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference on September 21, 1949, Mao Zedong remarked, "We have closed our ranks and defeated both domestic and foreign oppressors through the People's War of Liberation and the great people's revolution, and now we are proclaiming the founding of the People's Republic of China.....Ours will no longer be a nation subject to insult and humiliation. We have stood up." ^① After foundation, New China signed the Friendship and Cooperation Alliance Treaty with the Soviet Union. Under the circumstances of that time, making the alliance treaty with the Soviet Union and fighting the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea enabled the new born People's Republic to consolidate its political power and to frustrate retaliation attacks schemed against the mainland by the Nationalist Party who already retreated to Taiwan. Since then, China's diplomatic circle has experienced several waves of expansion through the 50s, the 60s and the 70s in the last century, which promoted China's relationships with many developing countries, brought the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and the U.S., Japan, and major European countries, and restored China's lawful seat in the United Nations. By the end of 1978, China has established formal diplomatic ties with more than one hundred countries. After that, China proposed the innovative concept of "one country two systems" and successfully brought Hong Kong and Macau back to the arms of the

^① Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China, the Party Literature Research Centre of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (comp.): *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Diplomacy*, Party Literature Press of the CPC, World Affairs Press, 1994, pp.113-114.

motherland. China also enhanced international cooperation to oppose "Taiwan Independence," propelling the cross-straits relations forcefully toward a trajectory of peaceful development. In sum, the "one China" principle has been established as an international consensus, and China's national sovereign and integrity has also gained the universal respect from the international society in today's world.

Between 1979 and 2000, China's diplomacy has produced remarkable results in promoting the country's vital interest in economic development. During this period, China maintained a clear and firm position in diplomacy on a series of national sovereignty- and integrity-related issues in the 1989 incident, the 1995 incident of Li Denghui's visit to the U.S., and the 1999 "Incident of Embassy Bombing". Moreover, China's diplomacy also made service for the opening-up reform and the economic building, the country's two major projects, its pronounced objective. Stronger efforts in economic diplomacy were not only required by China's modernization project, but were also called for by economic globalization. Deng Xiaoping pointed out unequivocally that economic development should be made the pivotal task and that all other tasks were to be dictated by and to revolve around this central goal.⁹¹ China's diplomacy created a conducive environment for China's modernization by fostering a pattern of opening-up on all levels. First of all, on the basis of maintaining stable relations with developed countries, China engaged in active economic cooperation with these countries and achieved noteworthy progress. Particularly in the 1990s, China had battled with reason and dignity with the United States on its Most Favored Nation Treatment to China, obtaining favorable results for China and also managing to maintain a normal economic relationship between the two countries via political and economic interactions. Secondly, China boosted cooperation with developing countries for mutual benefits and engaged actively with these countries on both the political and economic levels. Most importantly, China took up a dynamic presence in

¹ Deng Xiaoping, "The Current Situation and Tasks", *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 2, People's Press, 1994, p. 250.

multilateral economic organizations and mechanisms. In 1986, China submitted a formal petition to claim back its seat at the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade (GATT), and was able to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001 that later replaced the treaty. In 1991, China joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and began comprehensive collaboration with Asian Pacific economies. The same year, China established formal contact with the Association of the Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and launched in 1997 ASEAN Plus China (10+1) and ASEAN Plus China, Japan, Korea (10+3). Also in 1997, the year of the Asia-wide financial crisis, China kept to its promise of not depreciating the RMB to the international community, and protected the economic stability of China, Asia, and the world.

After the turn of the millennium, China took hold of the new epoch of historical opportunities and put its diplomacy to full exercise in the defense and promotion of core and vital national interests. The 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) pointed out that, "An overview of the situation shows that for our country, the first two decades of the 21st century are a period of important strategic opportunities, which we must seize tightly and which offers bright prospects."¹ With regard to defending the key interest of national security, China bolstered international anti-terrorist cooperation after September 11, cracked down on religious extremist, national splitist, and international terrorist forces, and secured domestic stability. Concurrently, China also strengthened collaboration with the international society in the defeat of the likes of Chen Shuibian, who championed "Taiwan Independence" to agitate reckless provocation, successfully defending our national sovereignty and territorial integrity. In addition, China's diplomacy also played an instrumental role in safeguarding the nation's important overseas, non-traditional and reputational interests. As China entered into the new century, it has witnessed rapid growth in overseas trade, investment and migrants, saw increasing global interactions in the areas of finance, food, product, climate, environmental protection,

¹ Jiang Zemin, *Build a Well-off Society in an All-around Way and Create a New Situation in Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics—Report at the 16th Party Congress of the CPC*, People's Press, 2002, p.19.

and so on, and also faced the rising challenges of image stigmatizing and mounting responsibilities from the outside in the process of development. In response to the new circumstances, China renovated its diplomatic strategy on both the conceptual and policy level, took on a greater sense of responsibility and big power consciousness, opened more venues to the outside, and strived to harness international institutions to realizing our national interests and the common goals shared by human interests.

(2) Keeping with the pace of the times and exercising international justice. The birth of New China was an extension of the world's victory over fascism, an expansion of the global national liberation movements, and a catalyst for the South-South and South-North cooperation in the years to come. With the declaration of the People's Republic of China, a country with one quarter of the world's entire population at the time and boasting an ancient history as well as a splendid civilization, we debuted in the East corner of the world stage with a brand new posture, an event of outstanding historical and realistic significance in and of itself. From the end of World War II to the early 1970s, national liberation and independence movements kept rising up and delivered fatal blows to the traditional colonialist powers and imperialist strongholds. Similar histories and common goals of struggle led to the close intertwining of China's and the worldwide national liberation and independence movements. The 1955 Asian-African Conference initiated the collaborative relationship between China and numerous developing countries, whose support helped China regain its lawful seat in the U.N. in 1971. The many developing countries in the world have always formed the cornerstone of China's diplomacy, as they have displayed unwavering support for China's reform and opening-up, for China's peace diplomacy based in independence and autonomy, and for China's opposition to Taiwan Independence, Tibet Independence and other separatist movements.

China and numerous developing countries are attached to each other in the heart, as we work alongside each other in diplomatic efforts and make endeavors toward the common goal

of defending national independence, stimulating economic development, and promoting social progress. Over 60 years, China's diplomacy has been founded on but not confined to self-consideration only, instead, China has insisted on its advocacy of a just and fair international economic and political order at the side of many developing countries. As early as the middle of the 1950s, China had put forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence to India and Burma. In the 60s and the 70s, China took a firm stance against the Soviet's big-nation chauvinism and the U.S. imperialist actions. In the 80s, China stressed the importance of South-South cooperation, advocated South-North dialogue, and took an active role in resolving or mitigating hot-spot issues. In the 90s, China dealt with the stark imbalance of international powers in the post-cold war context with calm and composure, and switched to a new, cooperation-oriented way of thinking to overcome the outdated cold war mindset. In the new century, China upheld the banner of "peace, development and cooperation," insisted on following the path of peaceful development, and maintained interdependent relations of common wins. Besides, China has also engaged in both coordination and collaboration with other emerging developing powers, which gradually has helped put into place a goal-driven, mechanism-reliant community of growing powers.

China's diplomatic efforts have moved the international system and the international order toward a more just and rational direction. Since New China's foundation and until China regained its lawful seat in the U.N. in 1971, China had basically remained an exiled nation outside the international system. Between China's return to the U.N. and the beginning years of China's reform and opening up, China had taken part in some international organizations, albeit with very limited involvement and impact. Fundamental changes to the relationship between China and the international system happened after the Cold War, as China became more and more visible as a "safeguard" and "builder", and at times, a dynamic "promoter" and "agenda-setter" of the international system.

At the global level, China has exercised positive and constructive influence in supporting UN's agenda-setting power,

promoting UN institutional reform, bringing about the U.N. Millennium Development Goals, participating in U.N.-authorized international peacekeeping missions, resolving global and international high-profile issues, and so on. Also, the concept of "harmonious world" advocated by China provides a new blue print for the future development of the international system. At the different regional and issue levels, China has displayed a fully constructive and constitutive presence in its championship of the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), its devotion of support to and participation in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Conference on Interactions and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), etc., its facilitation of progress on the Six-Party Talks on North Korea's nuclear program, and its promotion of building a new international financial and trade system, and so on.

China has also become a powerful driving force of the international financial system reform after the outbreak of a sweeping international financial crisis triggered by the U.S.-originated submortgage crisis. United with the international society in the same boat against the stormy crisis, China and other emerging powers raised justifiable criticism of the serious flaws in the current West-dominated international system, articulated a strong demand for the transformation of the current West-monopolized international institutions, and brought forth a concrete set of reform plans. Driven by the need to respond to the real-life crisis, the Western powers have indeed downplayed the role of the G-7 and began to examine and to set up a new international financial system within a G-20 framework that started to include new emerging powers. This reform-in-process of the international financial system taking shaping at the current moment might lead to a remodeling and reconstruction of the entire international system and order.

(3) China's third-generation leadership group and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Hu Jintao have supplied New China's diplomacy with constantly refreshing theories, concepts, strategies and policies, making China's rich diplomatic practice with Chinese

characteristics an important component of the nation's soft power profile. In the first-generation leadership group, Mao Zedong's grandiose strategic diplomatic vision and Zhou Enlai's virtuoso diplomatic craftsmanship gave shape to the basic outlines of New China's diplomacy, which included insistence on independence and autonomy, protection of national security, service for national interests, and endeavor for international respect as its fundamental features. In the late years of Mao Zedong's and Zhou Enlai's life, despite the upheavals caused by the Cultural Revolution, China's ping-pong diplomacy opened the door for Sino-U.S. relationship, the reconciliation represented by which between China and the U.S. also facilitated the establishment of Sino-Japan diplomatic relationship. Between 1970 and 1976, China has formed diplomatic ties with as many as 57 countries.¹ Of China's second-generation leadership, Deng Xiaoping's remarkably resourceful, distinctly contemporaneous, and spiritually nationalist diplomatic thinking provided a compass for the guidance of China's diplomatic policy-making and exercises.² With Deng Xiaoping's diplomatic thinking as the guiding lighthouse, China launched reforms and opening-up, made adjustment to important domestic and international policies, came up with an effective response to the drastically changing international context of that time, and accomplished negotiations over the return of Hong Kong and Macau to the motherland in 1984 and 1987 respectively. Jiang Zemin, the core figure of China's third-generation leadership, contributed his thoughts on diplomacy as an organic component of the important scientific concept of the "Three Represents," handing a precious intellectual legacy to China's diplomatic enterprise.³ Under the orchestration and planning of the third generation leadership collective, China seized the period of strategic opportunities, applied growing comprehensive national power to good use, elevated China's

¹ Department of Policy Planning, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People's Republic of China (comp.), *Chinese Diplomacy 2007*, World Affairs Press, 2007, p. 415-418.

² Qian Qichen, "Study about Deng Xiaoping's Diplomatic Thoughts in Greater Depth, and Make Further Improvements on Diplomatic Work in the New Period," *Study Outlines on Deng Xiaoping's Diplomatic Thoughts*, World Affairs Press, 2000, p. 7.

³ Foreign Minister Li Zhaoxing Gave Talks about His Reflections from the Study of Comrade Jiang Zemin's Diplomatic Thoughts", *People's Daily*, Sep. 30, 2006.

international status and influence, and created a new world environment for China's diplomacy in an age of political multipolarization and economic globalization.

Merging into the new century, China's diplomacy has witnessed new developments in both practice and theory under the leadership of CPC General Secretary Hu Jintao and with the guidance of the Scientific Outlook on Development theory. First, China insists on the *deux pas* of keeping a low profile on the one hand and striving for greater accomplishments on the other, participates in international peacekeeping missions, sets up collaborative framework with neighboring countries, advocates six-party talks to address the North Korea nuclear issue, facilitates communication between India and Pakistan, and assigns special envoys for affairs in the Middle East and Africa. Second, China deepens efforts of all-around diplomacy, oversees the simultaneous planning of both the domestic and foreign projects, engages in regional and issue diplomacy on the side, and pays significant attention to people-oriented, humanistic, public, nongovernmental, and academic diplomacies. Third, in response to the current international financial crisis, China engages the collective strength of emerging powers to good use, promotes the multipolarization of the international pattern, and contributes to the construction of a more just and reasonable international system. Fourth, China is invested in building a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity, experimenting with different models of development, seeking to bring coexistence to a variety of civilizations, and striving for more consensus in the value system. The diplomatic approach with Chinese characteristics not only has come to form an important part of the nation's soft power, it also constitutes an interactive influence on China's rising hard power, elevating China's rank and impact in international affairs.

(4) China's diplomatic paradigm has gradually transformed from a singular model to a versatile one with a more scientific and institutional approach to policy making. China's relationship to the world has experienced fundamental changes as China made constant adjustment to its model of diplomacy, transitioning from a singular, government-dominated model to a plural, all-around

model, shifting its attention from traditional issues areas of high politics to those of low politics, and changing its behavior from a passive, reactive style to a proactive, initiative-taking style.

After its foundation, China's diplomacy went along a traditional route that prioritized political and security issues and took a highly centralized approach to diplomatic policy making. Since the reform and opening up, in sync with the ever-growing trend of globalization, regionalization and informationalization, China adjusted its approach and gradually formed a multivariate, inclusive, interdisciplinary, and integral model of diplomacy. In addition to traditional political and security diplomacies, political party diplomacy, parliamentary diplomacy, economic diplomacy, military diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, environment diplomacy, humanistic diplomacy, public diplomacy, nongovernmental diplomacy have emerged to be new areas of growth in this field.

The most significant highlight that showcases China's paradigmatic change in diplomacy since the reform and opening up is China's energetic economic diplomacy. With China's increasing volume of outward economic exchanges and ever growing economic power, China has built an extremely dynamic profile in both bilateral and multilateral economic diplomacies, becoming a major contributor and engineering force to the facilitation of the liberalization and unscrambling of global trade, in the fight against the global financial crisis, and in the promotion of reform and restructuring of the international economic system. China is also taking small steps in military diplomacy. With steadily expanding military power and increasing military capacities, China counters the "China Military Threat Argument" effectively by actively undertaking peacemaking missions, joint military exercises, two-way port calls by naval vessels, anti-piracy action, humanitarian aid, disaster relief, and many other peace-related activities. China's military institution is also becoming more transparent, as China issues regular White Papers on National Defense, sets up the Information Office of the Ministry of National Defense, and assigns a public spokesperson for the office. Humanistic diplomacy is a new face on China's diplomatic stage. The organizing of culture years and cultural festivals, the opening of Confucius institutes and overseas cultural

centers, and the hosting of the Beijing Olympics, Shanghai World Expo, and other major events, have promoted cultural and people exchanges between China and the rest of the world.

China's diplomatic policy-making also displays fundamental shifts towards integration, pluralization, de-centralization of power, institutionalization, and professionalization. With more emphasis on overall diplomatic planning and coordination between different areas, attention to experts, scholars and think tanks, investment in public diplomacy, and concern for global and "people" issues, China is seeking to provide more international public goods and to bring forth more value consensus to the international society. At the same time, to make people the genuine cornerstone and bulwark of diplomacy, China is also stepping up efforts to expand the public's diplomatic information and participation rights by issuing regular news conferences, designating "open day for the public," and drawing on the internet technology.

Conceptual Renovation and Diplomatic Achievements

(1) Through many twists and turns, New China has formed a proper perspective on the world and a befitting outlook on the times in keeping with historical developments, which have provided China not only guidance in assessing the international situation and finding a self-identity, but also guarantee for the implementation of the nation's diplomatic strategies and policies.

Scientific assessment of the international situation and self-positioning constitute the important foundation and prerequisite for an appropriate handling of China's relationship to the world. With regard to its assessment of the international situation, China has accrued lots of experience and absorbed many lessons over 60 years. Since 1949, China has made national sovereignty and security interests its top priorities, constantly updated its analysis and evaluation of the international situation, and put forward a series of strategic concepts such as the Two Camps, Two Intermediate Zones, Three Worlds, graduated from "leaning to one side" through "two lines" to "one line" in foreign strategies, and undertaken supreme efforts to create a favorable

international environment. However, in the 50s, 60s and 70s of the last century, under the influence of a wartime, revolutionary outlook on time and of the wave of “leftist” thoughts, China placed undue emphasis on “revolution,” “anti-hegemonism,” and ideology, and followed the Soviet Union/(United States) -defined international division of camp too rigidly, which resulted in China’s loss of flexibility in the international arena. In particular, the “fire on both sides” and “hit out in all directions” strategies adopted by China in the “anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism” campaign in the 1960s reduced China to a status of passive inaction.

China’s return to the UN in 1971 and the improvement of Sino-U.S. relations set the stage for a significant structural adjustment of China’s foreign strategy, but the real change was not set in motion until the end of the 1970s. In 1977, Deng Xiaoping remarked, “the international environment is also quite favorable. We might be able to stay away from war for a little longer”.^① In the 80s, Deng Xiaoping ventured further in pointing out that world wars were not inevitable and that peaceful development should become the two main themes for the time. These thoughts laid the foundation for China’s reform and opening up. In the 90s, Jiang Zemin pointed out, “For a fairly long time into the future, the prospect of having a peaceful international environment and of avoiding a new world war has become plausible. This is an extremely important strategic call, it is the major cornerstone on which our all-out focus on economic building is predicated.”^② Jiang Zemin also pointed out that there was no “fundamental conflict of interests” between China and major monopoly capitalist powers in the West. China no longer approaches inter-national relations within the simplistic framework that divides the world into camps of the enemy, the self and the friend, especially when it comes to relations among major powers. In the 21th century, Hu Jintao stated that, “peace and development remain the main themes of the present era, and

^① Deng Xiaoping, “Speech at a Plenary Meeting of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the CPC,” *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, vol. 2, People’s Press, 1994, p. 77.

^② Jiang Zemin, “International Situation and Principles of Military Strategies”, *Selected Works of Jiang Zeming*, vol. 2, People’s Press, 2006, p. 278.

pursuit of peace, development, and cooperation has become an irresistible trend of the times.”^①

Led by these scientific judgments, China has made historic changes to its international relations, binding its future and destiny to those of the world. Going with this historical change, China upholds the banner of peace, development and cooperation, proposes the “new security concept,” sets up the “strategic dialogue” mechanism, and advocates the building of a “harmonious world” of lasting peace and common prosperity. With these changes, China's international role has also changed in significant ways, as China takes hold of the period of strategic opportunities, gains a leading momentum in international relations, emerges as a constructive force at the global and the regional levels, and joins hands with different actors in the construction of a peaceful, developing, and collaborative new world.

(2) New China's conception of what make appropriate departing and stay points (i.e. national interests) from which to build our foreign relations has come along an arduous journey of explorative efforts and constant comparisons. Finally, China has arrived at a “big interests” perspective that takes Chinese people's interests into conjoint consideration with those of the people of all countries. This approach has not only enabled the expansion of China's diplomatic space, but also boosted China's diplomatic moral strength.

Defense of national interests is the starting point of every country's diplomacy, and China is no exception. However, New China has been making constant changes and improvements to defend national interests during the 60-year journey of its development, shifting from the initial emphasis on proletarian internationalism, to the assertion of national interests maximization at one point in time, and finally to the proposal by the 17th National Congress of the CPC of “combining the interests of the Chinese people with the common interests of the people of

^① Hu Jintao, *Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects—Report to the 17th National People's Congress of the CPC*, People's Press, 2007, p. 46.

other countries.”^①

However, for a considerable period of time, China was not equipped with theoretical insight on the fundamental question of national interests, nor was the issue enforced completely in diplomatic practice.. Upon its foundation, New China adopted the strategy of “leaning to one side,” taking side with the socialist camp and declaring China as a permanent Third World country. With this gesture, China connected its interests merely to a number of countries’ and peoples’ interests, settling at a convergence of interests between socialist and third world countries. At that moment, China also underscored internationalist obligations, such as in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, the war to resist U.S. invasion and aid Vietnam, the movement to support people’s revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Of course, internationalist commitments were not at odds with national interests, which, by providing succor to people’s revolutions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America and by weakening imperialist and colonialist powers, accorded with China’s political interests at that time and equaled an act of self-help on the part of China.

After the reform and opening up, for the first time in its history, China articulated the idea that the dealing of inter-national relations needed to depart from the perspective of strategic interests and be sensitive to our counterparts’ concerns. In the Report to the 17th National Congress of the CPC, Hu Jintao related that, “We will continue to contribute to regional and global development through our own development, and expand the areas where our interests meet with those of various sides. While securing our own development, we will accommodate the legitimate concerns of other countries, especially other developing countries.”^② With the guidance of these insights, China inaugurated various types of strategic partnerships with major

^① Hu Jintao, *Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects—Report to the 17th National People’s Congress of the CPC*, People’s Press, 2007, p. 47.

^② Hu Jintao, *Hold High the Great Banner of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics and Strive for New Victories in Building a Moderately Prosperous Society in All Respects—Report to the 17th National People’s Congress of the CPC*, people’s press, 2007, p. 48.

countries and powers, and carried out full-fledged rapport-building activities with developed countries; upheld the foreign policy of "friendship and partnership," adopted the tenet of "shelving differences and seeking joint development" in addressing territorial and maritime disputes, and fostered deepening friendships with neighboring countries; created the Forum on Sino-Africa Cooperation, Forum on Sino-Arabia Cooperation, and a couple of other new mechanisms, carrying on the tradition of friendship with developing countries.

Today's China has demonstrated an increasingly confident and responsible image to the world. From participating in U.N. peace missions to promoting six-party talks on the North Korea nuclear program, from strengthening the cooperation between ASEAN and the China-Japan-Korea (10+3) group to putting together the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, from offering debt relief to developing countries to setting up the China-Africa Development Fund, from making headway on border negotiations with Russia and Vietnam to putting forward the cooperation policy of "an amicable, secure and prosperous neighborhood", from holding RBM against currency depreciation to fighting against the global financial crisis shoulder-to-shoulder with the world, China has attached its own interests to those of the people of all countries to an ever increasing degree. Concurrently, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, China has carried out exchanges and collaborations with all countries, played an active role in advancing the multipolarization of the international pattern and promoting the democratization of international relations, showed respect for diversity in the world, and continued to fight against hegemony and power politics.

(3) Maintaining the path of peaceful development is not only the foundation of China's modernization and the key means for building a favorable peripheral as well as global environment for the country, it is also an important guarantee to gain world's acknowledgement to and support for China during China's rapid rise.

In the 30 years since New China's foundation, China has always been a champion of world peace, even though the country emerged onto the global stage as a revolutionary. The first

-generation leaders, with Mao Zedong at the center, accentuated the idea that “peace is the primary goal,” brought forth the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and requested that “the Five Principles be applied to relations with all countries.”¹ China also followed the policy of mutual understanding, mutual accommodation and good-neighborly relations in the management of border issues with Vietnam and other countries, giving full expression to its sincere wish for peace. In addition, China also promoted regional and world peace through its participation in the 1945 Geneva Conference, the 1955 Asian-African Conference, and Ambassador-Level Talks between China and the U.S. The situation was merely that the particular historical context of that time forced China to defend peace with violence, check imperialism by export of revolution, and build world peace through the international united front for the sake of the country’s political and security interests at the time.

Since the reform and opening up and with a deepening trend toward multipolarization and globalization, China began to adopt an independent foreign policy of peace and wrote this policy into the 1982 report to the 12th National Congress of the CPC. In response to new changes to the international security environment after the September 11 tragedy in 2001, China put forward a new security concept espousing mutual trust, mutual benefits, equality, and collaboration. In 2005, China, for the first time, proposed the idea of building a harmonious world of lasting peace and common prosperity, which represents a graceful blend of the new order, security, development, and civilization perspectives advocated by China internationally in recent years. This idea of “harmonious world” highlights the features of inter-national peace, inter-personal affinity, and human-nature harmony. It also articulates China’s vision and position on the future of world development, contributing a public good to the international society and delivering an effective counter response to the so-called “China threat” theory. The same year, China published a white paper on “China’s Path of Peaceful Development”, stressing

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of People’s Republic of China, the Party Literature Research Centre of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (comp.), *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on Diplomacy*. Party Literature Press of the CPC, World Affairs Press, 1994, p. 163.

the ideas that peaceful development is the destined path for China's modernization, that China will contribute to world's peaceful development by becoming its exemplification, and that China also seeks to bring about mutual benefits, common wins, and universal development in its relations to other countries, among other things.

(4) China has developed a more macropolitical and overall approach of diplomacy in increasing interactions with the world, effected a strategic transition and a significant leap forward in diplomatic thinking, propounded and implemented the "three overall plans" covering the domestic and international situations, the national/regional situations and issue areas, and bilateral and multilateral relations.

In the past 60 years, China has gradually come to recognize the mutually causal relationship between domestic development and international environment, passing through the historical phases from being a passive reactor to an agent of active influence. If it could be said that in the first 30 years China had depended on defending and fortifying its political rule in dealing with a number of unfavorable international environments, however, in the second 30 years, China has learned, step by step, to draw on a variety of favorable international factors to advance its reform and opening up agenda. During 60 years of practice, China has essentially completed a great leap forward on the cognizant level from a parallel to an integrated view on the domestic-international relations, and has given full play to the mutual causality and complementarity between the two contexts.

With the advent of the new era which brings continuing globalization, growing informationalization, and closer interconnections between China and the rest of the world, China brought forth, at a rather opportune time, the strategic concept of overall planning for both the domestic and international situations, pushing China's diplomacy as a whole to a higher stage. The most critical significance of the overall planning approach to domestic and international contexts lies in the fact that China's international efforts have stepped out of the simplistic mode oriented primarily towards a particular period of time or event between two countries. Instead, China has become fully aware of the interactive

nature of the domestic-foreign relations and placed particular emphasis on the importance of coordinating the international factors in domestic public policy with domestic sectors and regions, giving rich substance to the systemic and institutional domestic reforms.

China's foreign strategic thinking has accomplished a transition from a nation (region)-oriented approach to one that balances attention on both the national/regional situations and issue areas, which represents the fast expansion of China's foreign relations and overseas interests, signals growing sophistication and maturity of China's diplomacy, and reveals a destined trajectory for emerging powers' foreign relations. China has devoted persistent exploration and endeavors at the global level of the international system and the sub-levels of regional and issue areas to uplifting the nation-to-nation relations to the height of system building, to injecting fresh elements of the time into 10+3, Asian-Europe Conference, and G-20, and to giving new historical meaning to a broad range of partnerships and strategic dialogues. At the same time, overall plans for both national/regional situations and various issue areas require China to orchestrate the country's foreign relations from a more macro and systemic perspectives.

The simultaneous focus on bilateral and multilateral relations of China's diplomacy shows that China has discovered new joints for intersection, new lines for development, and new aspects for convergence while addressing foreign relations with different types of major powers, neighboring countries, and developing countries. As an ancient civilization with a population of 1.3 billion, an important developing world power, and a core nation (i.e. emerging power) in the community of developing countries, China not only needs to cultivate bilateral relations with different countries, it also needs to establish more multilateral relations. Bilateral diplomacy is on its way to becoming an important agenda in China's interactions with the ASEAN, EU, African Union, Southern African Development Community (SADC), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), and other regional organizations. Trilateral relations are becoming the standard mode of interaction among the major powers, such as in

the China-Russian-India, China-U.S.-Russian, and China-U.S.-Japan triangles. Quadrilateral or multilateral relations are also increasing in importance and necessity, good examples of which including the quadrilateral relations of the BRIC countries, the Five-Country-dialogue (among China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Vietnam), and the Six-Party Talks regarding the North Korea and Iran nuclear issue.

Correspondingly, China is stepping up its institutional and mechanism building efforts in both domestic and diplomatic areas. Major institutional reforms, to some degree, are undertaken as important measures to connect with international norms. The 17th CPC National Congress's calls are being implemented to strengthen the National People's Congress, People's Political Consultative Conference, the army, the local government, and civil society groups. In terms of foreign relations, the China-U.S. strategic and economic dialogue, led by the special representatives on behalf of the heads of both states, is an institutional extension and further development of China's diplomacy. Besides, China has also made substantial progress on the status of foreign affairs within Taiwan, across the special zones of Hong Kong and Macao, and at the level of the local mainland government.

Looking ahead: 40 Years from Now

We have 40 years to go between now and the centennial celebration of the People's Republic of China. Looking ahead to the next 40 years, we will see Deng Xiaoping's foresight become reality as China will have emerged as a moderately developed country by that time. The next 40 years can be roughly divided into the first 20 years and the second 20 years. The first 20 years (2009-2029) will see the international system settle into a multipolar pattern, and the second 20 years will see the multipolar international pattern become a reified reality and mature system.

In the next 40 years to come, the paramount task facing Chinese diplomacy is to insist on peaceful development, promote a multipolar pattern of coexistence, and bring to fruition and strengthen the new international system. Therefore, China needs to participate productively in the transitioning of the international

pattern and the restructuring of the international system, to interact constructively with the major powers and international organizations on all levels, to promote actively peripheral diplomacy with neighboring countries as well as the prompt establishment of the Asian Community, and to cultivate relations with different actors across multiple levels, perspectives and issue areas.

Secondly, as a leading force driving the transformation of the international pattern and international system, China has to adopt a way of diplomatic thinking that is not only consistent with our national interests and traditional culture, but is also adaptable to and even influential in the setting of international trends. In particular regard to the issue of the world's future development model and the engineering of civilization, China should stick to a fair and just position, champion harmonious but different paths for development, and promote the coexistence of and balance between different civilizations. For the next 40 years, China also faces four goals to endeavor toward in terms of providing public goods and sharing international responsibilities: first, to provide varied aids to the international society in the spirit of humanitarian concern and a sense of obligation to the welfare of the humanity, fight natural disasters and diseases, and defend environmental and ecological equilibrium of the world; second, to carry out economic and political collaboration with neighbor countries, take incremental steps to addressing hotspot issues on our peripheries, and build a prosperous and stable "harmonious Asia"; third, reform and renovate international institutions in a gradually progressive manner, follow the order of the existing system and make steady progress by degrees, and construct and buttress the new international system; fourth, China has to stay progressive, just and responsible to the world after it becomes an international power and continue to hold up "non-hegemony" as its fundamental state policy.

Thirdly, China needs to be equipped with an adequate historical foresight and to take initiatives to formulate diplomatic thinking and paradigm in a context defined by globalization, NGOization, and acceleration of technological development. Globalization originates from economic processes but is by no

means confined to them only, and, as a matter of fact, the current round of international financial system reform contains significant political and security components. Looking ahead into the next 40 years, the continuing development and universalization of globalization, the fast growth of civil society in China, and the breakthroughs generated by a fresh cycle of technology revolution will ultimately result in changes at both the conceptual and practical level in international relations. Therefore, the basic tasks of China's diplomacy in the future include overall planning of China's domestic/foreign dynamics, inquiring into relevant strategies and policies through engaging dialogues with the international society, defining China's diplomatic tasks, mechanisms and paradigm as a whole package from a forward-looking perspective, and nurturing different talents ahead of the times, and so on.

Finally, China needs to improve the artfulness of skills and pragmatic effects of China's diplomatic practice. To a certain degree, diplomacy is a skill and an art of practice in international relations, and New China has already formed remarkable features in its model on the foundation of fine traditions and rich experience. With the rise of China's international status and role in the future, China will bolster its interactions with a variety of international actors, especially the major actors, on a broader and more complex range of issues. As an emerging power on the rise, it is necessary for China to carry on the fine tradition, bring up the quality of the population, spread national wisdom, learn from others' experience, commit to theoretical innovation, enhance research and study, make smart use of conflicts, strike balance in relations all around, and strive to unfold a more epic and magnificent chapter as China marches toward the identity of a world power along the path of peaceful development in the 21st century.

Abstracts

60 Years of New China's Diplomacy: Characteristics of Practice and Evolution in Thinking **1**

YANG Jiemian

During the 60 years since its foundation, the People's Republic of China has come to define its diplomatic practice with a set of remarkable Chinese characteristics which include safeguarding and expanding national interests, following the trend of times and upholding international justice, building the country's soft power and applying it in appropriate ways, revamping the country's model of diplomacy, among the other things. At the same time, New China's diplomatic theory has also evolved with history and kept pace with the times in its thinking of the world, epochs, interests, peace, and overall planning. The abundant practice and advanced theory of China's diplomacy complement and complete each other, laying down the foundation for China's continuing growth into a strong power on the world stage. In the next forty years (upon the centennial celebration of the P.R.C.), Chinese diplomacy will assume a more significant and effective role in building and augmenting the international system's new multipolar pattern, promoting the construction of the Asian Community, setting trends in strategic thinking, sharing responsibilities as a great power, forecasting changes to the world, and uplifting the art of practice, among the other things.

China's Grand Diplomacy: Change of Configuration, Interest and Environment **13**

YE Zicheng

China's diplomacy has changed greatly over the last 60 years in terms of the connotation and system of the diplomacy, the perspective of national interests and international environment. The small diplomacy has given way to the big diplomacy or grand diplomacy. The politico-military interest as a diplomatic priority has been replaced by the system of interests, consist of broader, global interests. The international environment that used to be passive and disadvantageous has been continuously improving.