

创造性介入：中国外交新取向
CREATIVE INVOLVEMENT:
New direction of China diplomacy

北京大学 王逸舟教授
Prof. Wang Yizhou
Peking University

目录

LIST OF CONTENT

引子：三代中国人的外交演进

- × 什么以及为何是“创造性介入”：
- × A，中国的全球兴趣与全球角色
- × B，不干涉内政原则的重新定义
- × C，建设性、预防性以及选择性
- × D，高边疆与公共产品双重追求
- × E，新一代外交的国内社会基础

- × A briefing three generations of China Foreign Affairs
- × *Creative Involvement as new orientation of foreign policy*
- × what, why and how to explain this terminology

引子：历史演进

EVOLUTION OF THREE GENERATIONS IN CHINA' S DIPLOMACY

- ✘ 毛泽东时代（1949-1978）：革命外交旗帜下的独立自主追求；毛泽东政治哲学的浪漫气息；中国与当代国际体系的分庭抗礼。
 - ✘ 邓小平时代（1979-2008）：和平与发展的新口号；国内现代化的重心；“商业共产主义”的国际关系影响（贸易和平？）。
 - ✘ 新一代外交（2008--）：寻求全球利益与角色的新取向；为何起点放在2008年？“49后”中国领导人的精神气质与大国抱负。
- ✘ Mao's era(1949-1978): revolutionary flag and independency aspire; confrontation with international system.
 - ✘ Deng's period(1979-2008): New slogan "*Peace and Development*"; New gravity of nation building (four modernizations); "*Commercial Communism*" and its international influence (*commercial peace*—could be labeled)
 - ✘ New orientation (2008--): Seeking for greater global role; Why choose 2008 as a start? *Post-1949 elites* and their disposition/making.

动因：全球兴趣与全球角色

CAUSES: GLOBAL INTERESTS AND GLOBAL ROLE

- × 中国成长的新阶段：海外利益的扩大。
- × 领事保护的新压力：以游客、劳工和留学生为例。
- × 海外贸易与投资的新形势：全球最大贸易国（129/193）和超过五万亿美元的海外资产。
- × 中国角色的新要求：奋发有为，加大对海外利益的介入；区别邓小平时代的低调与搭便车战略。
- × Oversea interests increasingly —a new stage of China's development
- × Consulting affairs in huge pressure (examples like Chinese tourists, labors and students abroad)
- × New situation in overseas trade and investment: world biggest trader (129/193 UN member states) and more than 5,000bi. assets abroad
- × Need for global protection/partner and so thus Xi's claim on China's new stance, differing from Deng's low profile and *free-ride* strategy.

定义：不干涉内政原则的创新

DEFINITION: INNOVATION OF A TRADITIONAL PRINCIPLE

- × 不干涉内政原则的“名”与“实”——（毛泽东时代的变形与邓小平时代的实践）。
- × 中国奉行的不干涉原则的主要内涵：不干涉他国人民自主选择发展道路与政治模式的基本权利。
- × 不干涉原则在新形势下的丰富与创新：
1) 与国际治理和防止全球性危机的集体努力相结合；
2) 以制止国际不法行为、避免国际社会受害为前提；
3) 要求发挥新兴大国的积极引导力，建设更加公平合理的国际秩序。
- × Original, realistic and updated terms explaining *non-intervention* from Mao to Deng till now
- × Primary meaning of this concept--not determine or interfere other nation(s) right to choose its own development road and political arrangement.
- × Innovation of principle under new circumstances: 1) cope with global governance over global challengers; 2) stop international illegal behavior; 3) promote positive role of emerging powers for more rational order.

特点：建设性、预防性、选择性

FEATURE: CONSTRUCTIVE, PREVENTIVE, SELECTIVE

- × 重视联合国宪章及国际法，确立国际范围的合法性。
- × 继承邓小平时代和平与发展的时代命题，努力实现建设性介入全球与区域事务。
- × 历史智慧：慎用军事，多谋外交（其上攻心、伐谋，其下伐兵、攻城——“孙子兵法”））。
- × 选择性介入：利益优先的原则（以中国在非洲维和行动布局为例）。
- × Legitimate from coping with UN Chapter as base of active approach
- × Continuity inherited from Deng's outlook on *peace and development* as corner stone of foreign policy
- × Acceding Chinese ancient wisdom on usage of military and diplomacy: *cautious to use violence, wise to promote mediation*, for instance.
- × Choose those interests relative, keep from much burden as showed in Chinese PKO composition in Africa

重点：“高边疆”与国际公共产品

FOCAL POINTS: HIGH BOUNDARY AND PUBLIC GOODS

- × 高边疆的含义及价值（海洋，极地，外空，金融与电子安全等领域）。
- × 国际公共产品的概念及意义（如联合国会费，海洋灯塔，冲突解决提案等；启示自经济学理论，IR则侧重于大国的担当及亲和力）。
- × 中国特色：
 - × 1) 确立未来中国大国外交的着力点；
 - × 2) 海洋强国目标及亲诚惠容方针；
 - × 3) 不可分的一体两面。
- × *High boundary* such as seas and oceans, south and northern poles, out-space, electrical/financial securities as pioneer fields
- × *International public goods* such as UN fees, ocean beacon and draft resolutions for peace and stability, important particularly to powers
- × Chinese items:
 - × 1, touchstones of emerging pioneer
 - × 2, two-sides of one coin--- maritime power and good-neighborhood

推进中的案例

ESTABLISHED CASES

- ✘ 朝鲜半岛无核化的六方会谈机制。
- ✘ 中亚方向与俄罗斯等共同建立的上海合作组织（S C O）。
- ✘ “一路一带”新丝绸之路。
- ✘ 中国近年来对缅甸国内事务的建设性斡旋（亚洲事务特使的角色）。
- ✘ 中国与苏丹在维和与石油开发方面的成效，以及由此代表的中国特使数量增多与积极调解工作（体现在诸如中东，北非，东南亚，世界贸易组织，气候变化谈判组等进程中）。
- ✘ *Six-party talks* on denuclearization in Korean Peninsular
- ✘ Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) founded by China and Russia
- ✘ “*New Silk Road Zone*” with Central Asia and “*Maritime Silk Road*” with South East Asia countries
- ✘ Constructive mediation over Burma internal affairs by China’s efforts
- ✘ More and more diplomatic envoys showing in different continents and crisis sites crossing the world (Sudan and African countries, Iran and Middle East, WTO and Climate negotiation processes)

SOME CONTROVERCIAL DEBATES 若干问题的探讨

- ✘ non aliy issue in world politics （中国的不结盟政策）
- ✘ China policy towards UN PKO （中国参与联合国维和的底线）
- ✘ Maritime disbutes and sollutions （海洋争端的态度与方案）
- ✘ Korea Pennisular Nuke problem （朝鲜核问题的前景）
- ✘ Sino-US new type of relations （中美新型大国关系建构）
- ✘ feathery of China's foreign affairs （中国外交的基本特色，如“不树敌”、“四条边”、“商业和平”战略等）

新外交的国内前提

DOMESTIC PRESUPPOSITION

- × 中国国内改革、发展与稳定的优先。
- × 中共十八大及三中全会的改革壮志及对外交的影响：例如反腐与政治体制改革，户口制度与城乡一体化改革，反垄断与金融体系改革，高管限酬与收入分配制度。
- × 外交更大作用与内政更加进步的正相关性——“内圣外王”政治思想的传承；打铁还须自身硬”（习近平语）。
- × Priority of domestic agenda: reform, development and stability
- × Ambitious measures by Xi announced in CCPC like anti-corruption and political reform, register system reform, anti-monopoly reform and relocation of salaries, all for “fair and better society” to be called
- × Larger international role depends much on better internal progress (*saint holy as base of king empire*)

结语

CONCLUSION

- × 新世纪第十个十年之际，中国已经站在全球大国的关口。
 - × 中国不仅需要更大的全球利益与角色，向世界各个角落派遣更多的舰队、能源合同与劳工，谋求国内发展与国际开发的更多对接，也准备承担更多的国际责任，提供更多的国际安排、公共产品与解决方案。
 - × 这是一个生机勃勃的、充满进取意识的新兴大国，是一个充满善意、乐意把自身需求与国际治理结合的全球新角色。不管存在哪些困难与挑战，这个方向是不可阻挡的。
- × China as a new global partner is caring out some new style foreign policy, *creative involvement*
 - × Not only demanding more global interests for today's China but also like to take larger global responsibilities supplying more international arrangements, collective goods and solutions.
 - × International community, too, must be ready to accept such a diverse but new role in global arenas. This could be a historical process of construction within contradiction.

演示结束。 **END**

欢迎提问。 **Q&A**

谢谢！ **THANKS!**
