

中印对话

Chennai Connect:  
The Second Xi-Modi  
Summit Meeting

# CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

Spirited Vision:  
Booming China-  
India Relations

Vol.17 No.5 | September - October 2019



## Chennai Connect

ISSN 2096-2614



国内零售价: 10 元 / India ₹ 100

[www.chinaindiadialogue.com](http://www.chinaindiadialogue.com)

# 塞罕坝

牢记使命 艰苦创业 绿色发展

半个多世纪，三代人耕耘。

沙地变林海，荒原成绿洲。

寒来暑往，

塞罕坝机械林场的森林覆盖率

已达80%。

栽种树木按二米株距排开，

可绕地球赤道二圈。

Saihanba is a cold alpine area in northern Hebei Province bordering the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region. It was once a barren land but is now home to 75,000 hectares of forest, thanks to the efforts made by generations of forestry workers in the past 55 years. Every year the forest purifies 137 million cubic meters of water and absorbs 747,000 tons of carbon dioxide. The forest produces 12 billion yuan (around US\$1.8 billion) of ecological value annually, according to the Chinese Academy of Forestry.



# CONTENTS

**CHINDIA NEWS / p.02**

## OPENING ESSAY

Chennai Meeting: Blending Chinese & Indian Dreams / p.04

Chennai Connect: The Second Xi-Modi Summit Meeting / p.06

## COMMENT

Revisiting the 2nd Xi-Modi Informal Summit / p.08

Spirited Vision: Booming China-India Relations / p.10



## STRATEGY

Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation to Benefit the World / p.12

## TREND

Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy: Transcending Realpolitik of Hegemony and Alliances / p.18

## CASE STUDY

Wang Yusheng: Friends Weren't Built in a Day / p.22

Yang Chengxu: Making Friends and Winning Hearts / p.26

Liu Deyou: People-to-People Diplomacy in China-Japan Relations / p.29

An Huihou: Half-century Attachment to the Middle East / p.32

Chas Freeman: Shared Interests Will Bring China and the U.S. Together Again / p.36

Gao Yusheng: Making Friends,

Not Enemies / p.40

## DISCUSSION

Cooperation Plus: Winning on Equal Footing / p.44

China-India Plus: Paving New Lanes for Cooperation / p.47

## DATA

China National Image Global Survey / p.50

## YOUNG VOICES

Chinese and Indian Youth Call for Mutual Learning / p.56

## COLUMN

Connecting India and China through Cinema / p.60

## BOOKS

Prof. Xu Fancheng: Sino-Indian Cultural Exchanges and the Perspective of World Unity / p.64

## CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

**ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCY:** 主管: China International Publishing Group (中国国际出版集团)

**PUBLISHER:** 主办、出版: China Pictorial

**ADDRESS:** 地址: 33 Chegongzhuang Xilu, Haidian, Beijing 100048, China

**PRESIDENT:** 社长: Yu Tao

**EDITORIAL BOARD:** 编委会: Yu Tao, Li Xia, He Peng, Bao Linfu, Yu Jia, Yan Ying

**EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:** 总编辑: Li Xia

**EDITORIAL DIRECTOR:** 编辑部主任: Qiao Zhenqi

**ENGLISH EDITORS:** 英文定稿: Xu Mingqiang, Lui Haile

**EDITORIAL CONSULTANTS:** 语言顾问: Scott Huntsman, Nathan Bennett

**EDITORS AND TRANSLATORS:** 编辑、翻译: Gong Haiying, Hu Zhoumeng, Liu Haile, Li Zhuoxi, Li Yiqi, Wang Shuya, Xu Shuyuan, Yin Xing, Zhao Yue, Zhou Xin

**EDITOR-VISUALS & PHOTOGRAPHS:** 视觉编辑: Li Zhuoxi

**DESIGNED BY:** Alinea Productions

**REMITTANCE TO:** 设计: Alinea Productions

**DISTRIBUTION DEPARTMENT:** 印刷: 人民画报社

**TELEPHONE:** 电话: +86-10-68413849, +86-10-68412166

**POSTAL CODE:** 邮编: 100048

**LEGAL ADVISER:** 法律顾问: Yue Cheng

**PRINTING:** 印刷: Toppan Leefung Changcheng

**PRINTING (BEIJING) CO., LTD.** 印刷有限公司

## OVERSEAS DISTRIBUTION:

China International Book Trading Corporation (Guoji Shudian),

35 Chegongzhuang Xilu, P.O. Box 399, Beijing 100048, China

In China, subscriptions are available at any post office.

Subscription and distribution agency in Hong Kong, Macao,

and Taiwan:

Hong Kong Peace Book Company, Ltd.

17/F., Paramount Building, 12 Ka Yip Street,

Chai Wan, Hong Kong

## CHINA STANDARD PERIODICAL NUMBER:

ISSN 2096-2592

CN10-1433/D

## ADVERTISING BUSINESS LICENSE:

J.H.G.S. Advertising Business Registration No.20170199

## PRICING:

¥10 / India ₹ 100

# CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE

VOL.17 NO.5 | SEPTEMBER - OCTOBER 2019

Visit *China-India Dialogue* on the Internet:

[www.chinaindiadialogue.com](http://www.chinaindiadialogue.com)

Follow us on:



## CONSULTANTS OF THE CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE ADVISORY BOARD

**Alka Acharya** Professor and director of the Institute of Chinese Studies, Delhi

**Hu Shisheng** Director of the Institute of South and Southeast Asian and Oceanian Studies under China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations

**Li Daokui** Economics professor and director of the Center for China in the World Economy at Tsinghua University

**Lin Minwang** Research fellow and Deputy Chief of the Center of South Asian Studies, the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University, and a research fellow with the Collaborative Innovation Center of South China Sea Studies at Nanjing University

**Ma Jiali** Deputy Director of the Center for

International Strategic Studies of China Reform Forum

**Ma Weigong** Consultant of the National Institute of Strategic Communication at Peking University and former deputy editor-in-chief of China Radio International

**Mukul Sanwal** Former Policy Adviser to the Executive Director of United Nations Environment Programme

**Pravin Sawhney** Editor of *Force* Newsmagazine

**Sun Shihai** Former director of the Chinese Association for South Asian Studies and former deputy director of the National Institute of International Strategy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

**Sun Yuxi** Former Special Envoy of the Chinese Foreign Ministry on Afghan Affairs and former Chinese ambassador to India

**Tarun Vijay** Former member of Parliament and president of Parliamentary Group on India China Friendship.

**T. C. A. Rangachari** Former Indian Ambassador to France and Germany, dealt with India's relations with China for over 15 years in the Ministry of External Affairs

**Yang Yifeng** Director of India Broadcast of South Asia Center, China Radio International

**Zhang Wenmu** Professor of the Center for Strategic Studies at Beihang University

## **Xi Jinping Meets with Modi in Chennai**

Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi held an informal meeting in the southern Indian city of Chennai from October 11 to 12.

The two leaders, in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere, held a candid and in-depth exchange of views on bilateral relations and major international and regional issues of common concern.

Xi said China-India relations have entered a new phase of sound and stable development since his first informal meeting with Modi in the central Chinese city of Wuhan last year.

As important neighbors to each other, China and India are the only two countries with populations of more than 1 billion each, Xi said, noting that maintaining and developing good relations between the two countries is China's unwavering policy.

Under the current international circumstances, the two countries shoulder increasingly important responsibilities in safeguarding global stability and promoting development, he said, adding that the next few years will be a crucial period for China and India to realize national rejuvenation and also will be a crucial period for the development of China-India relations.

Modi, for his part, said that in the current international situation filled with uncertainties, the efforts of India and China, two major ancient civilizations and developing countries, to strengthen communication, coordination and cooperation and to maintain steady development of bilateral ties bear positive and important significance to both countries and the world.

He called on the two countries to take account of each other's major concerns, properly manage, control and address differences to prevent them from evolving into disputes, develop a closer partnership and usher in a new era of India-China relationship.

## **Sixth China-India Strategic Economic Dialogue Held in New Delhi**

The Sixth China-India Strategic Economic Dialogue and the China-India Economic Cooperation Forum were held in New Delhi on September 9, with both sides exchanging views on macroeconomic policies and reaching consensus on pragmatic cooperation.

During the dialogue, China and India reviewed the progress of the working groups and exchanged views on the macroeconomic situation and pragmatic cooperation between the two countries, reaching broad consensus. The working groups of both countries have strengthened communication and exchange of views in the areas of policy coordination, infrastructure, environmental protection, technology, energy, and medicine, and reached a new consensus on cooperation.

## **Wang Yi Meets with Subrahmanyam Jaishankar**

On September 25, 2019, Chinese State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi met with Indian External Affairs Minister Subrahmanyam Jaishankar on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly in New York.

Wang said that the Chinese side is willing to work together with the Indian side to consolidate the momentum of the development in bilateral relations, prepare well for important high-level exchanges in the next stage, and constantly reinforce China-India relations for more stable and better development. The two sides should work together to safeguard peace and stability in the border areas, in a bid

to create conditions for the sustained and healthy development of bilateral relations.

Jaishankar said that India attaches great importance to high-level exchanges between the two countries in the next stage and is ready to increase frequency of communication with China to ensure the complete success of relevant activities and provide guarantee for the future development of India-China relations.

### 9th India-China Financial Dialogue Held in New Delhi

On September 25, the 9th India-China Financial Dialogue was held in New Delhi. Co-chaired by Zou Jiayi, China's Vice Finance Minister, and Atanu Chakraborty, secretary of the Department of Economic Affairs of India's Ministry of Finance, the event was attended by high-level officials from ministries of finance, ministries of foreign and external affairs and financial regulating bodies from both countries. The two sides conducted in-depth discussions on issues including macroeconomic situations and policies, cooperation under multilateral frameworks, bilateral investment, and financial cooperation and made major consensus.

### Signing Ceremony of India-China Trade Cooperation Projects Held in Delhi

On the afternoon of October 10, the discussion and signing ceremony of India-China trade cooperation projects, co-organized by China's Ministry of Commerce and India's Ministry of Commerce and Industry, was held in Delhi, India. Over 150 representatives

from government departments, industrial associations, and enterprises of both countries attended the event.

A total of 128 trade agreements were signed by enterprises from the two countries, with a total volume of over US\$3 billion, involving featured products from India such as mineral products, chemical products, agricultural products, and medical products. A dialogue of Chinese and Indian sugar industries was also held. Contracts for the purchase of five tons of raw sugar were signed. After the signing ceremony, Chinese enterprises held in-depth dialogues with over 90 Indian enterprises. Both sides showed great enthusiasm and confidence on closer trade cooperation.

### China-India University Presidents Forum Held at Sichuan University

On October 21, the China-India University Presidents Forum, sponsored by the Department of Education of Sichuan Province, was held at Sichuan University. Presidents of over 20 universities from India and China attended the forum. Pankaj Mittal, secretary general of the Association of Indian Universities, Zhang Lantao, deputy director general of the Department of Education of Sichuan Province, Hu Ge, a counsel of the Foreign Affairs Office of the provincial government of Sichuan, Sun Meixing, head of the education group of the Chinese embassy in India, also appeared at the forum.

Attendees discussed cooperation and development of universities under the theme of "strengthening cooperation of higher education institutions for better people-to-people communication." Presidents of Indian universities also visited Chinese institutions of higher education including Southwest Jiaotong University and Sichuan University. 📷

# Chennai Meeting: Blending Chinese & Indian Dreams

By Sun Weidong



The two sides should take the leaders' consensus as guidance and ensure the accurate transmission and solid implementation.

**I**t's a time for setting our sights high and weaving new dreams for China-India relations. The scenario of the "dragon and the elephant dancing together" has acquired a fresh resonance after the second informal summit between the leaders of China and India in Chennai on October 11-12. The Chennai summit has not only reaffirmed the Wuhan Consensus, but also opened new pathways of cooperation between the two Asian giants.

It was immensely gratifying

and energising to see President Xi Jinping and Prime Minister Narendra Modi spending hours in one-on-one talks against the backdrop of magnificent rock-cut sculptures and monuments at the World Heritage site of Mahabalipuram. The two leaders took a stroll together, discussed world affairs, and had an in-depth communication on the development of bilateral relations as well as global and regional issues.

Based on the discussions at the Chennai summit and

the Wuhan Consensus, let me briefly encapsulate the future trajectory of China-India relations. First, in-depth strategic communication must be continuously strengthened. In Chennai, President Xi and Prime Minister Modi talked about how China and India can join hands in realizing the "Chinese Dream" and "Indian Dream". As the two most populous developing countries and major emerging economies, China and India should have timely communication on major issues, respect each



October 12, 2019: Chinese President Xi Jinping meets with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi during an informal meeting in the southern Indian city of Chennai. by Xie Huanchi/Xinhua

other's core interests, properly manage, control and address differences and prevent them from evolving into disputes.

Second, the two sides should promote win-win cooperation. In this regard, the decision by the two leaders to establish a high-level economic and trade dialogue mechanism and to forge a "manufacturing partnership" will be a game changer in promoting balanced and sustainable growth of bilateral trade.

Third, the global character of China-India partnership should be strengthened to counter rising unilateralism and protectionism in multi-lateral groupings such as the G20, BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and

China-Russia-India trilateral cooperation mechanism.

Fourth, the two sides should enhance people-to-people contacts and cultural exchanges to broaden the base of the relationship. President Xi has deeply appreciated the gesture of Prime Minister Modi taking him on a guided tour of the ancient monuments of Mahabalipuram and explaining their historical significance. Going forward, as important contemporary civilizations, China and India should enhance understanding about each other's culture and promote a dialogue to usher in a new chapter of glory for Eastern civilizations.

Indeed, the journey from Wuhan to Chennai has been

exhilarating, and the future is even brighter. Going forward, the two sides should take the leaders' consensus as guidance and ensure the accurate transmission and solid implementation of the consensus. We should enhance exchanges and cooperation, promote convergence of interests and open up new prospects for China-India cooperation. Let's jointly work together to make the "Year of China-India Cultural and People-to-People Exchange" in 2020 and the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two great nations a success. ■

—  
*The author is China's Ambassador to India.*

---

# Chennai Connect: The Second Xi-Modi Summit Meeting

---

By Srikanth Kondapalli



The discussions at Chennai were forward looking and “developmental partnership” oriented.

Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi met at Mahabalipuram, close to Chennai, in the southern part of India on October 11-12, 2019 for a second informal summit meeting. The first one was held at Wuhan in April 2018 and its result has been since then called as the “Wuhan Spirit” for its significance in reordering bilateral relations between the two rising Asian countries. The Chennai meeting went down well in terms of optics, frank discussion on issues of concern and overall outcome.

The first day was dedicated to larger strategic issues,

civilizational connection, national developmental trajectories, trade and national security concerns on terrorism. The second day had more substantial discussions related to bilateral issues and focused more on bilateral relations such as on how to maintain border stability, address issues of terrorism, and expand trade, investments and people-to-people contacts.

Firstly, on the optics, the visit to the Mahabalipuram temple complex and Prime Minister Modi’s explanation of its civilizational importance since the Pallava Dynasty went well with the Chinese leader. Beijing recently organized

the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations. While India did not participate in this meeting – nor the Belt and Road Initiative summits in 2017 and 2019 – there are some positive outcomes in this regard. As civilizations with long continuity, China and India are drawing lessons from history and trying to reorient their societies in the light of ancient wisdom and culture.

Secondly, there was frank discussion of each other’s positions on a number of issues of concern. In the light of the global uncertainties in trade value chain and weakening economic growth rates and investment flows, both sides



suggested collaboration on these issues for mutual benefit. Traditionally, India and China have come forward on issues of multilateralism and recently on promoting globalization. Both coordinate in the G20 process and also welcome the changes in voting rights in favor of developing countries in the International Monetary Fund.

Thirdly, the overall agenda at the Chennai meeting was influenced by the previous meeting. At the Wuhan meeting, five issues came up for discussion including “strategic communication”, maintaining border stability by introducing new confidence building measures, bridging trade deficits, undertaking joint projects in Afghanistan and expanding people-to-people contacts. Many of these five points were reiterated at the Chennai meeting.

Both also emphasized expanding people-to-people contacts. Last December during Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi’s visit to Delhi a “ten-pillar” agreement was signed, including promotion of tourism, youth exchanges, media and think-tank forums, museum management, Chinese language teachers, and more. Indian External Affairs Minister S. Jaishankar visited Beijing in August this year to promote the same. Recently, India further liberalized e-visas to Chinese to boost tourism.

In addition, the Chennai meeting proposed sister-state/province relations between Tamil Nadu and Fujian



October 12, 2019: Chinese President Xi Jinping meets with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi during an informal meeting in the southern Indian city of Chennai. by Wang Ye/Xinhua

Province as with expansion of maritime contacts. An academy is also to be instituted for the purpose of exploring the historical maritime connections between India and China.

Fourthly, both decided that terrorism is a “common threat” and that they intend to make “joint efforts” on a “non-discriminatory basis”. Over the years, the national security strategies of both China and India are concerned with the spread of terrorism and the loss of innocent lives that entails. As developing countries, both have been emphasizing measures to tackle such issues and actively participate in the United Nations Security Council resolutions on counter-terrorism.

Fifthly, both reiterated the need to implement the Millennial Development Goals set by the United Nations on sustainable development and also emphasized climate

change issues. They also marked the early resolution of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) agreement with Southeast Asian and East Asian economies. This would serve for easing trade restrictions and resurrect economic growth rates in the future.

Overall, the discussions at Chennai were forward looking and “developmental partnership” oriented. With further exploration of the maritime dimensions, the second informal summit meeting is nicknamed “Chennai Connect”. The deliberations are expected to further cement ties of these two large Asian countries in the future. 📌

The author is a professor in Chinese Studies and chairman of the Centre for East Asian Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

# Revisiting the 2nd Xi-Modi Informal Summit

By Swaran Singh and Zhong Ai

Informal summits give the two leaders space and flexibility to better recalibrate the direction of bilateral relations.

**W**ith much of the immediate media coverage of the second China-India informal summit subsiding, Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi met once again at the 11th summit of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) in Brazil's capital city Brasilia on November 14, 2019.

It is important to note that given the nature of the informal summits – that are neither driven by any fixed agenda nor geared towards any specific outcomes – it is usually several months after their meeting that experts begin to decipher various “understandings” that the two leaders may have clinched in their casual, open-ended talks on providing strategic direction for their mutual policies and joint initiatives.



October 11, 2019: Banwarilal Purohit, governor of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, and the state's Chief Minister Edappadi K. Palaniswami wait beside the gangway and present flowers to Chinese President Xi Jinping upon his arrival in Chennai. At the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, Chinese President Xi Jinping arrived in the southern Indian city of Chennai for the second informal meeting with Modi. by Ju Peng/Xinhua

The two important decisions – providing strategic direction for their armed forces to maintain peace in border regions and

launching the “two-plus-one” model of joint initiatives in third countries – were not known for several months after their

first informal summit in Wuhan. So two months after the Mamallapuram summit can be an appropriate time to review the implications of adding the “Chennai Connect” to their “Wuhan Spirit” that is believed to have reset China-India ties. Moreover, it is time to elucidate the unique style and efficacy of this informal summit in addressing their emerging new challenges.

To begin with, the Mamallapuram summit has come to be known for setting up a High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue. This was seen as an upgrade to their existing Strategic Economic Dialogue. This upgrade was considered an attempt to bring in a political perspective in addressing India’s concerns about a large continued trade deficit. Since then two events have injected energy into their efforts in addressing their trade imbalance.

In tune with China’s Belt and Road Initiative to build cultural and civilizational connectivity, the second informal summit between the two leaders at India’s ancient town of Mamallapuram saw them agreeing to rejuvenate spiritual, historical, cultural and ecological linkages. Archeological evidence shows that 2,000 years ago there were links between Mamallapuram and China. Recognizing their ancient trade links, the two sides decided to establish sister-state/province relations between India’s state Tamil Nadu and China’s Fujian

Province.


The two sides also plan to set up an academy to study these ancient linkages and promote their contemporary maritime partnership. So, in addition to holding parliamentary exchanges at the apex, the two sides will conduct various activities to promote civilizational links including China holding an International Xuanzang Forum to promote studies related to eminent Chinese monk Xuanzang who traveled across India during the 7th century.

At their informal meeting at Mamallapuram, the two leaders agreed on the final list of 70 events to be held during 2020-2021 to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the establishment of their diplomatic ties. For instance, both sides agreed on holding joint cultural performances at border posts, visits of Indian naval ships to China, and Indian mid-level tri-service delegation to China to strengthen their mutual trust and understanding.

This shows how an informal summit can be a potent way to elucidate respective intentions, offer proposals, and recalibrate overall direction for both countries. For instance, just as the “two-plus-one” model of the “Wuhan Spirit” had created a model of China-India economic partnership without India joining the Belt and Road Initiative, the “Chennai Connect” can open avenues for their maritime cooperation without India joining the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. Informal

summits give the two leaders space and flexibility to better recalibrate the direction of bilateral relations.

This increasing pragmatism has, of course, also brought some new challenges. India, for instance, chose not to join the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) and explained it in the name of protecting its domestic industries, alluding to an enormous trade deficit with most RCEP member countries.

But, without doubt, both sides have learned how to control damage in managing their differences. In the spirit of building consultative mechanisms and confidence building initiatives, this innovative genre of informal summits carries deeper connotations far beyond the glare of immediate headlines celebrating their perceptions and event management skills in projecting bonhomie. This has implications far beyond their own territorial boundaries. Xi and Modi have already held two informal summits and announced their third one next year, indicating that such informal summits are becoming a new normal way of frequent interactions at the very apex to provide strategic direction for the two upwardly mobile large societies. 

—  
*Professor Swaran Singh is chairman of the Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi. Ms. Zhong Ai, author of Role of Second Strike in No-First Use Doctrine: A Study of China and India, is currently pursuing her doctoral degree at the same university.*

# Spirited Vision: Booming China-India Relations

By Lin Minwang

Harnessing the “Wuhan Spirit,” the second Xi-Modi informal meeting in Chennai strengthened China-India ties and engineered the “Chennai Vision.”

Chinese President Xi Jinping visited India from October 11 to 12, 2019, as had long been planned. During his first informal meeting with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in Wuhan in April 2018, a mechanism for an annual informal meeting between the two leaders was quietly arranged. As early as June 2018 during the Qingdao summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), India had already revealed plans for Xi’s visit to India.

The Wuhan summit was considered a “major milestone” in the development of China-India relations. The “Wuhan Spirit” forged at the informal meeting will guide the development of bilateral ties for some time. In 2017, the Indian prime minister first proposed Chinese and Indian leaders meeting informally. The two

sides didn’t realize the great necessity and importance of such high-level summits until the abrupt outbreak of the Dong Lang (Doklam) standoff.

The Xi-Modi informal meeting in Wuhan in April 2018 marked a “reboot” of China-India ties after the 2017 border standoff in the Dong Lang area. From that point on, a series of bilateral communication mechanisms were arranged and both sides began to monitor the other’s concern on sensitive core issues. For instance, although India is participating in the United States’ Indo-Pacific Strategy, Prime Minister Modi particularly stressed India’s strategic independence in his speech at the Shangri-La Dialogue in June 2018, declaring that India would adhere to a policy of independent diplomacy and does not see the Indo-Pacific Region as a “club of limited members”—indicating that

the country’s strategy in the region involves more than just the United States, Japan, India and Australia.

Harnessing the “Wuhan Spirit,” the second Xi-Modi informal meeting in Chennai in October 2019 strengthened China-India ties and engineered the “Chennai Vision.” “The Wuhan summit instilled a new momentum and trust in our relations, and today’s ‘Chennai Vision’ is the start of a new era in India-China relations,” Prime Minister Modi declared. During the Chennai summit, progress was made on multiple fronts in terms of building cooperation mechanisms and promoting cultural exchange between the two countries.

First, the two countries established a High-Level Economic and Trade Dialogue mechanism to strengthen alignment of their respective development strategies.



The mechanism will help increase Chinese investment in India and design specific measures to reduce the bilateral trade imbalance. The two sides also agreed to explore the possibility of building a Manufacturing Partnership, which would clearly bolster the Modi government's "Make in India" initiative.

Second, the Chennai summit lifted cultural and people-to-people exchanges between the two countries to a new level. India chose to host the informal summit in Chennai so the two leaders could visit temples in Mamallapuram to promote mutual learning and communication between civilizations. Historically, Chennai and the state of Tamil Nadu maintained tight maritime trade connections with China. Even today, the city of Quanzhou in the southeastern Chinese province of Fujian has preserved considerable historical relics left by Tamil people who lived there as well as some Hindu relics. Exploring long-standing civilizational connections between the two countries and then engaging in communication on broad fronts will inject stronger spiritual momentum into the development of bilateral relations.

Inspired by their civilizational connections, the two sides decided to establish "sister-province/state relations" between Fujian and Tamil Nadu and "sister-city relations" between Quanzhou and Chennai. The year 2020 marks the 70th anniversary



June 1, 2019: Foreign visitors in front of a selection of ceramics shown at the second Shanxi Yangcheng Ceramics Expo. The expo held in Yangcheng County, a center for ceramics production in Shanxi Province, attracted over 10,000 experts, exhibitors, dealers and visitors from more than 40 countries and regions including India, Russia and Uzbekistan. CNS

of the establishment of China-India diplomatic ties and has been designated as the "Year of India-China Cultural and People to People Exchanges," for which the two countries will organize a series of celebration activities.

Third, the two sides reached important consensus on strengthening coordination and cooperation in international and regional affairs. Since the Wuhan summit, both the international and regional situations have seen profound changes. Seeing the risk of the international order being sabotaged, India hopes to work together with China to promote an open, inclusive global trade arrangement. India's economic development also requires an open, inclusive, prosperous and stable external environment. In this context, both China and India aspire to maintain regional prosperity and stability as they

lay an early foundation for the establishment of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP).

During the summit, the two sides also discussed the possibility of gradually expanding "China-India Plus" cooperation throughout South Asia, Southeast Asia and Africa to further facilitate regional connectivity. Such a move would mark a major boost to the "China-India Plus" cooperation mechanism. The two countries will also explore new measures to consolidate mutual trust for negotiations on the boundary question. The "Wuhan Spirit" and the "Chennai Vision" are expected to play greater role in guiding future work on improving bilateral relations. 

*The author is a research fellow at the Institute of International Studies at Fudan University.*

# Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation to Benefit the World

## Diplomacy of the People's Republic of China over Seven Decades

By Gao Fei

Through the diplomatic efforts of the past 70 years, China has created a favorable international environment for its own development.

### **"THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP"**

At the founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China in 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong solemnly declared to the world that the Chinese people had stood up. The central tasks of New China's diplomatic work in the early days were to strike off the shackles of imperialism and colonialism, to safeguard the country's sovereignty and security and to restore China's presence on the international stage with a brand new look.

In this period, imperialists responded the founding of New China with political isolation, economic blockades and military threats against the country.

With extraordinary courage and insight, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, the top Chinese leaders of the generation, formed three principles for the diplomatic work of that period, namely "leaning-to-one-side" with the Soviet Union, "making a fresh start," and "cleaning the house before hosting guests." Guided by these principles, the country established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and some friendly non-socialist countries, supported the Vietnamese people's Anti-French Resistance War, sent the Chinese People's Volunteer Army to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

(DPRK) to aid its people in resisting U.S. aggression, and waged a resolute struggle against the restrictions, blockades, and embargos of imperialism.

With deeper involvement in regional affairs, China began to play a role in the world's multi-lateral arena. The principles of "peaceful coexistence" and "independence and self-reliance" in China's diplomacy contributed greatly to the establishment of a new international order after World War II. To help settle the problem in the Korean Peninsula and restore peace in Indochina, China participated in the Geneva Conference from April



October 1, 1949: Chairman Mao Zedong solemnly declares to the world the founding of the People's Republic of China on Tian'anmen Rostrum, opening a new page of China's diplomacy. Xinhua

26 to July 21, 1954, and facilitated the final conclusion of the *Geneva Agreement* and the *Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in Vietnam*. In 1955, China attended the Asian-African Conference held in Indonesia's Bandung. At the conference, China proposed the principles of seeking common ground while shelving differences for peaceful coexistence, which resonated among Asian and African countries, deepened understanding and trust between China and other Asian and African countries and ushered in China's first climax of establishing diplomatic relations with other countries.

From the late 1950s to the end of the 1960s, the international situation underwent drastic changes. Although the Cold War between the United

States and the Soviet Union continued, both sides were confronted with the problem of adjusting internal and external relations. In the early 1960s, Chairman Mao proposed the theory of "two intermediate zones." He asked China to get tighter with the majority of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in the "first intermediate zone," to strive to win over developed capitalist countries represented by European countries in the "second intermediate zone," to steadfastly oppose the hegemony of both the United States and the Soviet Union, and to support people's fights against imperialism and colonization as well as struggles for national independence in Asia, Africa and Latin America. China resolved border issues with

neighbors including Myanmar, Nepal, Mongolia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Following the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and France in 1964, China's relations with European countries, such as Italy, Austria, and the United Kingdom, made substantial progress. By 1969, China had established diplomatic ties with 50 countries.

In October 1971, China resumed its lawful seat in the United Nations, which marked complete failure of the imperialist policy of isolating China. In 1972, U.S. President Richard Nixon paid a visit to China, and the two countries signed the historic *Shanghai Communiqué*, which brought China-U.S. relations into a new era. In February 1974, Chairman Mao proposed the "Three Worlds" theory for the first time when he met with Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda. The First World consisted of the two superpowers, namely the United States and the Soviet Union. The Second World was made up of developed countries, such as European countries, Japan and Canada. The Third World referred to developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and China belongs to the Third World. At that point, China began to look beyond ideology and returned to the track of pragmatic diplomacy based on national interests, which created good conditions for shifting the focus of the Party's work. By 1979, the number of countries that established diplomatic relations with China had increased to 122. As a permanent member of the



January 30, 1979: Deng Xiaoping, then vice premier of China's State Council, shakes hands with American guests at a reception in Washington D.C. during his historic visit to the United States. Xinhua

UN Security Council, China began to play an increasingly important role in the multilateral arena.

### **"DEVELOPMENT IS THE TOP PRIORITY"**

As a developing country, the only way for China to avoid being bullied and settle domestic problems is through development. After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1978, China began its historic reform and opening up. It successfully found a road of peaceful development suited to its own national conditions and created an economic miracle in human development history.

As the focus of the Party's work shifted to economic development, China adjusted its domestic and foreign policies. Domestically, Deng Xiaoping emphasized that "poverty is not socialism"

and "development is the key of keys." Internationally, he pointed out that China would continue to pursue an independent foreign policy of peace. In the late 1970s, Deng reassessed the previous assertion that "the world war is inevitable and impending." In 1987, he delivered a report at the 13th CPC National Congress, stating that "peace and development are the theme of the times." The main goal of China's diplomacy changed from "supporting world revolutions" to "building a favorable international environment for domestic development." Opening up to the outside world has become a basic national policy for China's socialist modernization drive.

At the same time, China's strategy for handling foreign relations has transformed from "alignment and confrontation" to "non-alignment." When dealing with foreign relations, China made policies based on national interests,

looked beyond social systems and ideology, followed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and expressed willingness to establish and develop friendly relations with all countries. Under such guiding principles, China and the United States established diplomatic relations on January 1, 1979. In the spirit of "ending the past and opening the future," China and the Soviet Union realized the normalization of diplomatic relations in May 1989. On the issues of Hong Kong and Macao, China signed agreements with the United Kingdom and Portugal, which advanced the great cause of reunification.

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, China's diplomacy experienced severe tests of the drastic changes in Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the collapse of the bipolar world order. Based on the judgment that peace and development remained the main themes of the times, China considered economic globalization and multipolarity as the main trends in the development of international relations. The country actively participated in economic globalization and embraced multipolarity. In difficult circumstances, China persisted in "keeping a low profile and making a difference." It broke through unjustified sanctions from the West, properly managed the crisis and safeguarded China's national interests. In accordance with the principle of respecting the choices of the people of each country,





September 7, 2000: A summit meeting initiated by China among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council is held in New York. Then-Chinese President Jiang Zemin (center), French President Jacques Chirac (second right), Russian President Vladimir Putin (first right), British Prime Minister Tony Blair (first left), and U.S. President Bill Clinton pose for a group photo. Xinhua

China realized a smooth transition from Sino-Soviet relations to China-Russia relations, established and developed friendly relations with former Soviet republics and Eastern European countries, and overcame the adverse effects of the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Hong Kong and Macao returned to the motherland smoothly. Friendship between China and its neighbors was strengthened. As of November 1998, China had established diplomatic ties with 163 countries.

By the turn of the 21st century, China's comprehensive national strength was greatly enhanced and its connections with the world became closer. The country was fully embracing its role as a major responsible player with increasing influence in global and regional affairs. In this process, it successfully grasped strategic opportunities

for national development. China has unswervingly followed the road of peaceful development as it has taken the overall international and domestic situations into consideration. It actively created a peaceful and stable international environment, a friendly neighborhood, a cooperative environment of equality and mutual benefits, a safe environment of mutual trust and collaboration, and an objective and friendly public opinion environment. When dealing with relations with other countries, China adhered to an open strategy of seeking mutual benefits and win-win results, achieving peace through cooperation, promoting development through collaboration, and resolving disputes through consultation. In practice, China has improved its diplomatic layout with "big countries as the key, neighboring countries as the priority, developing countries as the foundation,

and multilateral diplomacy as the stage." China carried out frequent strategic dialogue with major countries during the period. Its "multilateral diplomacy" and "summit diplomacy" became increasingly active. As of December 28, 2007, a total of 172 countries had established diplomatic relations with China.

### **"REALIZING THE CHINESE DREAM"**

After the 18th CPC National Congress, China's diplomacy entered a new era. As the world is undergoing profound changes unseen for a century, China advocates working with other countries to build a community with a shared future for humanity, striving to build a new type of international relations and making all-out efforts to pursue major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics. China has advanced its diplomatic agenda in a comprehensive, multidimensional, and multifaceted way and created a favorable external environment for its development.

First, China is actively working to build a framework for major-country relations featuring overall stability and balanced development. China is committed to building "coordinated, cooperative and stable" China-U.S. relations. It has been handling China-U.S. trade friction with reason and self-restraint. The China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership has entered a new era. The two sides have achieved a high degree of political and strategic mutual trust and established sound



July 16, 2006: Then-Chinese President Hu Jintao (third right) attends a meeting of leaders of six developing countries including China, India, Brazil, South Africa, Mexico and the Republic of Congo in St. Petersburg, Russia. by Ma Zhancheng/Xinhua

high-level exchange and cooperation mechanisms across various fields. The development strategies of the two countries are connected, and cooperation between the two countries has become an important engine for regional cooperation. In the process of China-EU cooperation, the two sides are committed to building a partnership that fosters peace, growth, reform and civilization. The “16+1 Cooperation” between China and Central and Eastern European countries, represented by China-Europe freight trains, has been upgraded and accelerated.

Second, China has deepened relations with its neighboring countries in accordance with the policy of forging friendship and partnership with its neighbors. Guided by the principle of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, China is sparing no efforts to meet the aims of the *Joint*

*Declaration on China-ASEAN Strategic Partnership for Peace and Prosperity (2016-2020)* and push for the consultations on a Code of Conduct (COC) in the South China Sea. New progress has been made in mutually beneficial cooperation between China and ASEAN. With in-depth dialogue carried out between China and India and deepened infrastructure construction cooperation between China and Pakistan, China’s “circle of friends” in South Asia has expanded. In Central Asia, China has established strategic partnerships with every country, and the connectivity advocated by the China-proposed Belt and Road Initiative has been implemented. Chinese President Xi Jinping noted that China welcomes its neighbors to board the fast train of China’s development so that they can share in China’s development.

Third, while upholding

justice and pursuing shared interests, China works to strengthen solidarity and cooperation with other developing countries. Under the principle of sincerity, honesty, affinity, and good faith guiding China’s relations with Africa, China has provided US\$60 billion to support China-Africa cooperation plans in 10 fields. China-Africa relations have been upgraded from a new type of strategic partnership to a “comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership.” China-Africa cooperation has reached new heights. The Forum of China and the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) has been established. Through various means, a new pattern for China-CELAC relations has been constructed. China and the Arab countries have established a strategic cooperative relationship of comprehensive cooperation and common development, and China-Arab cooperation has entered a new stage.

Fourth, following the principles of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits, China is committed to expanding global governance platforms. Thanks in large part to the continuous improvement of its overall national strength, China is moving closer to the center of the world stage, and the world expects China to play a greater role in global governance. Today, China is the second-largest contributor to the UN regular budget. It is also the biggest troop contributor and the second-largest



June 7, 2019: Chinese President Xi Jinping addresses the plenary session of the 23rd St. Petersburg International Economic Forum held in St. Petersburg, Russia. by Wang Ye/Xinhua

fund contributor to the UN peacekeeping missions among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. The Belt and Road Initiative proposed by China has become an important international public goods, which is the showcase of not only China's new round of reform and opening up, but also a new round of globalization driven by China. China has hosted a number of major international conferences such as the First and Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation, the 22nd APEC Summit, the 2016 G20 Hangzhou Summit, the BRICS Xiamen Summit and the Fourth Summit of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia. Through these activities, China has provided its

solutions to the problems plaguing the world and made its voice heard. A further rise in China's international influence, ability to inspire and power to shape has been apparent.

Fifth, China has actively developed multi-level global partnerships. As of March 2019, China had established diplomatic relations with 178 countries. It has established different forms of partnership with more than 100 countries and international organizations, concluded more than 20,000 bilateral treaties with related countries, and joined more than 100 inter-governmental organizations and more than 500 international conventions. The CPC maintains regular contact with more than 400 political parties and political organizations

in more than 160 countries around the world. China's National People's Congress has carried out active foreign exchanges, and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has been making friends all over the world. The influence of China's military diplomacy has also expanded. Local and non-governmental exchanges have become increasingly active, and China has become more connected to the outside world.

Over the past 70 years, China's diplomacy has always regarded the country's sovereignty, security, and development interests as top priorities, and made efforts to contribute to world peace and development. Against a backdrop of drastic changes in the international situation, China has constantly forged ahead in diplomacy, creating a favorable external environment for the country's development and winning the respect of other countries in the world. Today, China has become the world's second-largest economy and largest trader of goods, as well as the country with the largest foreign exchange reserves in the world. At this historic new starting point, China, as a major country, will usher its diplomacy into a new journey and continue to contribute to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and the peaceful development of the world. <sup>[6]</sup>

*The author is vice president of China Foreign Affairs University, where he also serves as a professor and doctoral tutor.*

# Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy: Transcending Realpolitik of Hegemony and Alliances

By Swaran Singh

Xi's vision of building a community with a shared future for humanity seeks to debunk false notions of peace as nothing but an imposition by force.

Chinese President Xi Jinping's second informal summit with Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi showed relaxed body language, long walks together and five-hour-long one-on-one talks, setting new trends for summit diplomacy amongst major countries. The fact that President Xi Jinping described this as his "memorable experience" of having "heart-to-heart" and "candid discussions like friends" has reignited debates on Xi's thought on diplomacy especially in terms of its

likely implications for his ambitious vision of building a community with a shared future for humanity.

Debates on Xi Jinping's thought on diplomacy have been running since early 2016 and the Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs last year formally announced the guiding status of Xi Jinping Thought on Diplomacy in setting the fundamentals for China's diplomatic work. Given that Xi has been the central figure in China's domestic politics and that China has moved to the center stage of global decision-making,

Xi's thought on diplomacy has surely become the key for understanding China's future trajectories as well as its regional and global contributions. For this, President Xi has already set various benchmarks including the Two Centenary Goals of national rejuvenation. These will see China celebrating the elimination of poverty and becoming a "moderately prosperous society in all respects" next year and then begin working towards a "prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced, harmonious and beautiful" China by 2049.





September 28, 2015: Chinese President Xi Jinping attends the general debate of the 70th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York. He delivered the speech entitled “Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind.” by Pang Xinglei/Xinhua

The unprecedented rise of China and its step-by-step overtaking of the U.S. in various parameters of global leadership have come to be widely recognized. This is what keeps both practitioners and experts of international relations (IR) preoccupied with deciphering what’s unique about Xi’s thought on diplomacy and fathoming its implications and trajectories.

#### **DIFFERENT FROM WESTERN PARADIGMS**

The most direct hit of the rise of China remains on the prestige of mainstream

Western IR theories that have dominated IR scholarship since the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. These theories have been both the cause and the consequence of global dominance by Western powers. China’s unprecedented rise in last four decades has now catapulted President Xi’s civilizational wisdom into global IR paradigms. This has seen him promoting a new type of economic globalization and democratization of international relations while launching several alternative ideas and institutions. As outlined in his successive

speeches, President Xi stands firmly in opposing power politics of military alliances and unilateralism, and vows that China will never aim to challenge the existing international order and never seek hegemony. This surely looks “utopian” to Western observers as it defies deeply entrenched power-driven IR theories that continue to be propagated by their universities and think tanks.

Xi’s thought on diplomacy emphasizes building networks of developmental partnerships instead of military alliances. This has seen

Xi prioritizing the Belt and Road Initiative over military modernization which has also benefited from China's economic success. A deeper challenge that this recalibration puts forward is that it seeks to transcend notions of the international system as nothing but anarchy; ordained to take refuge in self-help resulting in zero-sum equations and pursuit of relative gains. Paradigms like "security dilemma" and "stability-instability" paradox that once unleashed arms races are challenged by Xi's propositions for building win-win possibilities of equal and mutual security through shared development. Xi's vision of building a community with a shared future for humanity seeks to debunk false notions of peace as nothing but an imposition by force.

Xi's successful building of various global economic

engagements and independent initiatives, as well as expanded Chinese participation in global forums, embodies Xi's thought on diplomacy. China's central role in climate change mitigation is a case in point where U.S. leadership has clearly vacated space for Beijing. Since 2017, China has become the world's largest trading nation, making it the largest trading partner for most countries including some U.S. friends and allies. China is now emerging as the world's fastest-growing donor and investor, which again defies Western models of diplomacy. Under the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative, China has established infrastructure building partnerships with over 75 nations and counting.

### "GLOBALIST" LEADER

China's economic engagements have been both the

cause and the consequence of Xi emerging as a China's "globalist" leader. Next to New York—which hosts UN Headquarters—Beijing has hosted the largest gathering of world leaders with the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation becoming the flagship of China's mega-style summitry. Given China's initial decades of nation building, most Chinese leaders in the past had traditionally tended to assign lower priority to international relations. But Xi has since recast this delineation by integrating rule-based global governance with China's domestic aspirations. Xi's buzzwords like the "great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation" and the "Chinese Dream" had already emerged as two focal issues at the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China that had identified Xi as the core of Party leadership.

Xi's thought on diplomacy nevertheless remains deeply grounded in tradition. This makes it incumbent upon China to ensure, for example, free and fair global trade which makes it publicize norm-based multilateralism and democratization of international relations and even combat Western protectionist policies. For this China lately has focused on developing closer links with medium-sized countries and especially with rapidly emerging economies which largely share Xi's global vision and strategies.



May 31, 2018: The Cuddalore coal-fired power plant in Tamil Nadu, India. The power station was built by the SEPCOIII Electric Power Construction Corporation from China. by Zhang Naijie/Xinhua

## RECASTING MAJOR-COUNTRY RELATIONSHIP

Major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics has been the core of Xi's thought on diplomacy. This implies focusing especially on China's relations with powers like the U.S. or Russia, and identifying China as a major country that plays a leadership role in international affairs. China's dealings with major powers have seen Xi promoting economic interdependence with one and all. Last year, Italy became the first G7 nation to sign up for the Belt and Road Initiative. Others are inching toward varying levels of engagement, as well. China has helped forge new middle-power partnerships like BRICS, BASIC, RIC and SCO and launch new international financial institutions such as the New Development Bank, SCO Development Bank, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and Silk Road Fund. It is from these platforms that Xi's major-country diplomacy theory defines China's self-identification with world affairs taking it to the very center stage of global decision-making structures and processes.

Global structural changes have also catapulted Xi to this leadership role. Starting from the Asian financial crisis of 1997 that came as a great opportunity for Beijing to strengthen cooperation with Southeast Asian economies, major external episodes have further

accelerated to this tectonic shift under Xi's watch. The September 11 terror attacks had forced the U.S. to forge a strategic partnership with Beijing and then the global economic slowdown since 2007 has encouraged China to use its economic leverage in redirecting the global economy. The slow growth and deceleration of Russia has brought it closer to China. All this has seen Xi move beyond the traditional "*tao guang yang hui*" (literally "keeping a low profile") diplomatic policy and assert China's core national interests and territorial sovereignty.

## CONNECTIVITY AS THE BUZZWORD

President Xi's diplomatic narratives remain premised on building physical, digital and cultural connectivity to underline the community of shared future for mankind. The power of his vision lies in his vision being a constant work-in-progress accommodating geopolitical changes.

Xi's discourses have been built around the axis of ancient China's "Silk Road" network which has deeper connotations underlining China's historic resurgence. It was in a late September 2013 speech during his visit to Kazakhstan that Xi first underlined his idea of building the Silk Road Economic Belt by promoting policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration, and closer

people-to-people ties. This was further expanded during his October 2013 speech in Jakarta, Indonesia where Xi talked of the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road. In late October 2013, China held a seminar on diplomacy with neighboring countries that had begun delineating contours of regional economic integration through the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road (collectively known as the Belt and Road Initiative).

The last six years have seen the Belt and Road Initiative go full steam ahead and emerge as a major engine of Xi's thought on diplomacy. Experts now measure its potential by categorizing Xi's connectivity vision as one of building physical, digital, and cultural connectivity at scale never before seen. This is making Xi's thought on diplomacy gain increasing traction in global discourse on IR which alludes to its potential to become the world's most powerful driver of change in the conduct of international relations. The fact that Xi continues to enrich the content and style of China's diplomatic vision and footwork holds great promise for making Xi's thought on diplomacy increasingly acceptable to an ever-growing number of China's partner countries. ■

—  
The author is a professor with the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

# Wang Yusheng: Friends Weren't Built in a Day

By Gong Haiying

Photographs courtesy of Wang Yusheng unless otherwise credited

“Although the work often exhausted me to the point where I couldn’t eat or sleep well, I was always grateful for the chance to share in the fate of my motherland.”

In April 1996, Wang Yusheng, a high-ranking official with the multilateral economic and trade organization Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), got a call from China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs while in Anhui Province for an activity. He was told that President of Sri Lanka (called Ceylon before 1972) Chandrika Kumaratunga, who was making a state visit in China, wanted to meet him. Two days later, Wang rushed back to Beijing to meet her. He was even invited to visit the South Asian country as a personal friend of President Kumaratunga.

## PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE COMES FIRST

Wang Yusheng was among the first Chinese diplomats to work in Ceylon. In May 1957, Wang ventured to the South Asian country with then-Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon Zhang Canming soon after the two countries established diplomatic ties. By 1974, he had worked in Sri Lanka twice in different diplomatic positions. “I witnessed friendship between the two countries blossom during that period, based in part on my contributions,” Wang recalled emotionally.

The bond between Chinese diplomat Wang Yusheng and President



Wang Yusheng

Wang Yusheng graduated from Beijing Foreign Studies University and joined China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1954. He consecutively served as director of the Information Department, Ambassador to Nigeria (1985-1988), Ambassador to Colombia (1988-1993) and a senior official at APEC (1993-1998). He authored *Unforgettable Days as a Diplomat: Love for Diplomacy and Observation and APEC and the Changes of the Era: A Participant*.





Wang Yusheng (right) and Chandrika Kumaratunga. In early September 1996, Wang Yusheng visited Sri Lanka at the invitation of Kumaratunga, then president of the South Asian country.

Kumaratunga is an example of the positive influence of China's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence in the international community, especially among developing countries, during the early years after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC). "As soon as we stood on the soil of Ceylon, we were surrounded by friendship, therefore many things were easy to handle." Even during the turbulent times in Sri Lanka, they could pass through checkpoints and even escape danger just because they were diplomats from China.

In Wang's view, the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence conformed to the development of the international community

and met the demands of the PRC at that time. He also noted that although the five principles were introduced as a basic foundation for the diplomacy of the PRC, they continue to serve as a solid cornerstone to this day.

Wang served as a diplomat for half a century. He took positions in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the Republic of Korea, Ceylon, Kuwait, Nigeria and Colombia. Despite drastically different diplomatic situations in each country, Chinese diplomats like Wang won support and protection from governments of those countries across the board, which ensured they could perform diplomatic work smoothly. "Although the work often exhausted me to the point where I couldn't

eat or sleep well, I was always grateful for the chance to share in the fate of my motherland," Wang asserted.

Nigeria has been developing fast since the 1960s, when petroleum was discovered in this country. It is now the largest economy in Africa. "My first experience as an ambassador was in Nigeria," Wang recalled. "When I was sent to the African country with a population of over 100 million, I was anxious and knew I had a lot of work to do there." During Wang's tenure as Chinese ambassador to Nigeria, leaders of the two countries conducted frequent exchanges and both sides maintained amicable relations. Enterprises from



■ A Nigerian table tennis player talking with Chinese players during a trip to China in the early 1970s. CFB



■ October 26, 1995: Chinese football player Li Bing (left) and a Colombian player face off in the midfield at a football game held in Beijing. by Zhang Yanhui/Xinhua

China completed many infrastructure projects in Nigeria that helped boost the local economy.

Later, Wang became Chinese ambassador to Colombia. He was greatly intrigued by the South American country known for flowers, coffee and cocaine. He made frequent contact with local people from all walks of life and promoted mutual understanding between the two countries. He established a profound friendship with then-Colombian Foreign Minister Noemí Sanín. A local magazine published a photo of them with the caption “Symbol of China-Colombia Friendship.” Just before Wang left that position in 1993, the President and Senate of Colombia awarded him a medal for his outstanding contributions to strengthening China-Colombia ties.

“Our work relies on China’s adherence to an independent foreign policy of peace,” remarked Wang. “And nothing can be achieved in a day.”

### **“THE MOST HANDSOME APEC OFFICIAL”**

From 1993 to 1998, Wang Yusheng was deeply involved in six APEC summits as a high-ranking official of the mechanism. Wang regards APEC as one of the most important multilateral organizations for regional cooperation. Its fundamental purpose is to promote cooperation and development by liberalizing and



September 1, 2011: A railway bridge in Nigeria. The Nigerian railway modernization project was taken on by the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation, making it a symbol of friendship between China and Africa. CFB

facilitating trade and investment. He believes China has played an active role in strengthening the cooperative spirit in the big APEC family over the past 28 years since it joined the organization. Meanwhile, China adheres to the principles of pragmatism and mutual benefit, which have consistently driven the

liberalization of trade and investment under the framework of APEC.

In 1993, on the eve of the first informal meeting of APEC leaders, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping pointed out that global peace and development were facing new and severe challenges. Deng pointedly raised the question, “What kind of world should

we bring to the 21st century?” Wang argues that this showed Deng cared not only about the destiny of China, but also the future of the whole world and mankind.

“This was a magnificent banner of Chinese diplomacy leading the world into the 21st century, pushing forward the changes of the times and the shifts in the mosaic of power around the globe,” Wang commented. “Since the turn of the century, Chinese leaders have called for building ‘a world of harmony’ and ‘a new type of major-country relationship’ and advocated peaceful development and win-win cooperation, which aligns with China’s steadfast pursuit of peace and development as much as it does with the needs of the times and China’s responsibilities.”

Surprisingly, Wang considers the day he resigned from APEC in 1998 the best. It was shortly after the Asian financial crisis. Representatives from many APEC members had gathered in Malaysia for a banquet, during which the host suddenly raised a question that required an immediate answer: “Who’s the most handsome APEC official?” “Wang Yusheng!” The crowd replied with applause. Wang’s tone shifted when recalling the moment: “I don’t think ‘handsome’ was about my appearance. It was a manifestation of their good feelings about China’s diplomacy and the image of the country. That was my happiest night at APEC.”



# Yang Chengxu: Making Friends and Winning Hearts

By Hu Zhoumeng

Photographs courtesy of Yang Chengxu unless otherwise credited

“Diplomats should serve national interests by actively introducing China’s foreign policy and economic development with an eye on local conditions.”

In the spring of 1988, the popular Austrian radio program *Turnier auf der Schallaburg* (Tournament at the Scallaburg) featured its first Chinese guest in Schallaburg Castle about 100 miles west to Vienna. He was a diplomat. On the live program, then-Chinese Ambassador to Austria Yang Chengxu had a vivid dialogue with host Rosemarie Isopp. Their back-and-forth drew applause and laughter from some 300 spectators in attendance.

After the show, people across Austria knew of “Chinese Yang.” To Yang’s surprise, he received a letter from Einzi Stolz, wife of the late composer Robert Stolz, which read: “Congratulations on the show. Your performance was the best episode I’ve ever heard. You must have won many hearts.”

“Due to ideological differences, some Westerners had prejudices about China,” Yang remarked. “I considered it a good chance for them to see what a Chinese was really like.”

## EXTENSIVE CONTACT AND EQUAL-FOOTING EXCHANGE

Yang accepted the post of Chinese Ambassador to Austria in September 1985. At that time, as a move to further implement the reform and opening-up policy, Chinese diplomats were encouraged to meet people from all walks of life and introduce China’s policies and stances.

Before then, Chinese diplomats rarely made contact with local media in the countries where they were stationed. Yang became an exception. He accepted every interview invitation whether for TV, radio, newspaper or magazine. In



Yang Chengxu

*Graduated from Fudan University with a bachelor’s degree in German language and literature, Yang Chengxu worked for the All-China Journalists’ Association and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1973. He consecutively worked as Minister-Counselor in the Chinese embassy in the German Democratic Republic, Chinese Ambassador to Austria, deputy director-general of the Department of Western European Affairs and director-general of the Policy Research Office in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He served as director of the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) from 1993 to 2001. Yang also chaired the China National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation (CNCPEC) from 1994 to 2005. His published books including International Order: An Observation of the World from 1992 to 2006 and U.S. and Post-WWII World Order: Where the U.S. Is Going in the New Era.*



an interview with *Kapital* magazine, Yang thoroughly explained China's progress in reform and opening up and remarked that "China also needs to learn from capitalist countries" in terms of enterprise management and economic development.

"After China launched its reform and opening up, people in the West had a lot of questions about China," Yang recalled. "Diplomats should serve national interests by actively introducing China's foreign policy and economic development with an eye on local conditions. But it's not easy."

During his tenure in Austria, Yang regularly visited leaders of political parties including the Social Democratic Party of Austria, the Austrian People's Party, the Austrian Green Party and the Freedom Party of Austria. Yang established intimate relations with them, whether from the governing or opposition parties.

"Sandwiched between Eastern and Western Europe, Austria is a fairly neutral country, which is less impacted by major powers," Yang added. "I found it easier for the Austrian government to understand and support China's stances in international affairs. China always defends justice in international society and opposes power politics and hegemony, which has won it support from most countries. Such philosophies matter for China's diplomacy."



Yang Chengxu posing for a photo with Austrian radio host Rosemarie Isopp at Schallaburg Castle in the spring of 1988.

#### 42-YEAR-OLD "ROOKIE"

Yang reached a major turning point in his life at the age of 42 when he became a diplomat.

In 1972, the People's Republic of China established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs suddenly needed more diplomatic professionals who could speak fluent German and

understand German culture. The same year, drastic changes happened to international situations. After U.S. President Richard Nixon's visit to China, China-U.S. relations became normalized and an increasing number of European countries established diplomatic relations with China.

Becoming a diplomat sounded attractive to Yang. "I had studied Germany



In May 1988, Zhang Wenjin, then president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC), visited Austria. The photo shows Zhang Wenjin, former Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlager, Yang Chengxu and his wife taking a photo with Chinese and Austrian art performers after a celebration activity in Vienna, Austria.



February 3, 2003: The Shanghai Chinese Orchestra performs traditional Chinese music for some 2,000 spectators in the Golden Hall in Vienna, capital of Austria. by Lin Chuan/Xinhua




On July 13, 2013, a group of 20 Austrian secondary-school students learned how to do traditional Chinese dough modeling and paper-cutting at Jiangsu University in eastern China's Jiangsu Province. The photo shows three Austrian students with the paper-cuts they made. IC

and its language, literature, history and philosophy in college, and I wanted to learn more about the country. Also, serving my country as a diplomat is an honorable job."

Yang's first stop as a diplomat was the Chinese embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany. Yang found everything fresh. "Advertisements for Volkswagen Beetles were everywhere, but back in China people still used ration stamps to buy food and other commodities. I could easily see an enormous difference between China and abroad before the country launched its reform and opening up."

Back then, one of Yang's duties was reading news for the members of the embassy's Party committee every morning, including local news, developments on China's relations with the host country and the general international situation. Every day he stayed up late researching a broad range of local newspapers, radio and TV reports to prepare for the next day's news reading. He still keeps a dozen thick notebooks recording his research from those years.

"I conducted extensive research during my stay at the Chinese embassy. It is quite fascinating and valuable to study the politics, economics, culture and diplomacy of the country where you are stationed. It helps the diplomatic work tremendously." 

# Liu Deyou: People-to-People Diplomacy in China-Japan Relations

By Liu Deyou

“Not only has people-to-people communication helped normalize China-Japan relations, but friendship between peoples of the two countries has grown and flourished during its everlasting role in deepening China-Japan relations.”

**T**he People's Republic of China, a country with a key role in the international community, was founded seven decades ago, on October 1, 1949.

Despite its tremendous significance in world history, the founding of the People's Republic of China was marginalized in Western and Japanese media due to the Cold War at that time. Suganuma Fujio was my colleague at *People's China* in 1953, when the Beijing-based magazine was founded. He wrote:

“The day after the People's Republic of China was founded, Japanese newspapers either ignored the important news or

buried a tiny story deep in their pages. This says a lot. Japan was then still occupied by Allied troops, mostly American. It would have caused problems for the Japanese media to print substantial coverage of a nearby major event that the United States opposed. It was also possible that the Japanese media at that time failed to recognize the historical importance of the event.”

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the country has continued to adhere to a policy of independent diplomacy. Today, it has become the second largest economy in the world. Due to the influence of the strategic arrangement of the



Liu Deyou

*An expert on Japanese culture, former vice minister of China's Ministry of Culture and a renowned translator, Liu Deyou was an interpreter for late Chinese leaders Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi. He worked as a correspondent for Guangming Daily and Xinhua News Agency in Japan for 15 years from 1964 to 1978. He served as vice minister of China's Ministry of Culture from 1986 to 1996. He penned the book China-Japan Relations That I Witnessed: A Journey and translated the books Pray and Sweet Potato Porridge.*





July 12, 2005: Liu Deyou (right), head of the delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, talks with famous Japanese writer Yamazaki Tomoko, at a reception held by Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association based in Japan. by Wu Gufeng/Xinhua

United States after World War II, diplomatic relations between China and Japan weren't normalized until 1972 when then-Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei visited China. During the suspension of diplomatic relations, China promoted people-to-people exchange to improve overall relations, an extremely rare strategy around the world. But it worked very well.

I witnessed several times that the first-generation Chinese leaders including Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai invested genuine efforts to promote China-Japan relations. In 1955, I interpreted for Chairman Mao when he welcomed a delegation of members of the Japanese Parliament. "I want to visit Japan and send them the friendship of the Chinese people," Chairman Mao declared. He also urged people in both countries to

"help each other, maintain peace and friendship, carry out cultural exchanges and establish a formal diplomatic relationship." I really

**The friendship between the two countries is rooted in the people, and the future of the friendship between the two peoples is already in the hands of the young people.**

felt his desire to visit Japan. His words left a deep impression on me.

Premier Zhou Enlai studied in Japan when he was young. He also hoped to visit Japan again. In October 1962, Zhou hosted a banquet for Japanese entrepreneur Tatsunosuke Takasaki, who visited China to discuss trade. "Please visit Japan someday," requested Tatsunosuke. Zhou expressed gratitude for the invitation but replied with a sigh: "Diplomatic relations

between our two countries have not yet been normalized, so this isn't possible. However, I'm quite eager to visit Japan. There is a legal term called 'conditional release.' If I could temporarily resign as Premier, I could go to Japan."

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Zhou made relentless efforts to normalize China-Japan relations through long-term people-to-people exchanges. Thanks to continuous people-to-people communication, China-Japan relations were eventually normalized and friendship between peoples of the two countries has flourished and played an everlasting role in China-Japan relations.

Some have postulated

that because China-Japan relations have entered a new era, the mission of people-to-people exchange is complete, but I disagree. In fact, people-to-people exchange has become more vigorous and wide-ranging. It has played a crucial role in eliminating instability and problems as well as in promoting mutual understanding and friendship between people of the two countries across generations.

Exchange between the youth of the two countries





■ August 25, 1992: An event celebrating friendship between the peoples of China and Japan is held in Beijing to honor the 20th anniversary of normalization of the two countries' diplomatic relations. by Lan Hongguang/Xinhua



■ November 1, 2015: During the first calligraphy exchange event between Chinese and Japanese youths, a Japanese girl writes characters translated as "Friendship between China and Japan." by An Xiya/Xinhua

has become a priority among priorities. Fostering more exchanges among young people is now considered an urgent task that will inject fresh energy into the friendship between the two countries and be conducive to sound development of long-term relations. In other words, we should ensure that the next generation can enhance friendship and cultural exchanges and overcome the difficulties like the last generation. We need farsighted youth to ensure a future of friendship between the two countries.

Chinese President Xi Jinping has high expectations for the youth of Japan. He wrote a reply to Daichi Nakashima, a prize-winner of the Panda Cup Japan Youth Essay Contest, who wrote to the Chinese leader ahead of Xi's trip to Japan for the G20 summit in Osaka. "China and Japan are close neighbors separated by only a narrow strip of water," Xi declared in the letter. "The friendship between the two countries is rooted in the people, and the future of the friendship between the two peoples is already in the hands of the young people. I hope that the youth of China and Japan strengthen exchanges and mutual learning, enhance mutual understanding, develop long-lasting friendship, and contribute to the creation of an even brighter future for bilateral relations. I also hope you continue to promote China-Japan friendship." 📷

# An Huihou: Half-century Attachment to the Middle East

By Li Zhuoxi

“China’s international prestige has helped us overcome many dangers and difficulties. Some colleagues joked that our Chinese faces were passports.”

In January 1965, An Huihou, who then worked at the Chinese embassy in Burundi, faced the first severe test of his diplomatic career. Seeing the five-star red flag slowly being lowered from the flagpole in front of the embassy made his heart heavy.

A year before, he and three other staff members left for Burundi with the mission to establish a Chinese embassy in the country. It was the first time he had ever left China, marking the beginning of his diplomatic career. However, he never expected that soon after the embassy opened its doors, Burundi, under pressure from some Western countries, announced that it was breaking off diplomatic relations with China and asked embassy staff to leave the country as soon as possible.

Before leaving, the Chinese

ambassador to Burundi held a solemn flag lowering ceremony with other staff members in the embassy and took the five-star red flag back to the motherland. Such a breaking-off of diplomatic relations had never before happened in the diplomacy history of the People’s Republic of China.

“This incident was a great test for me as I was just starting my diplomatic career, but it reminded me that New China’s diplomacy has a long way to go and that we just needed to keep moving,” An surmised.

## “CHINESE FACE AS A PASSPORT”

The Middle East region mainly refers to Southwest Asia and part of North Africa. An Huihou had been dealing with the region’s affairs for



An Huihou

An Huihou graduated from the French Translation Class of Beijing Foreign Languages Institute (today’s Beijing Foreign Studies University) in 1963 and was dispatched to Africa as a diplomat in 1964. He consecutively served as Chinese Ambassador to Algeria (1988-1991), Chinese Ambassador to Tunisia and Palestine (1991-1993), Director-General of the Department of West Asian and North African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chinese Ambassador to Lebanon (1996-1998), Chinese Ambassador to Egypt (1998-2001) and other posts. In July 2012, he became an honorary research fellow of the China Institute of International Studies, director of the China Foundation for International Studies and Academic Exchange and a council member of the China-Arab Friendship Association.



September 1988: Then-Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid (right) meets with then-Chinese Ambassador to Algeria An Huihou. courtesy of An Huihou

half a century across diplomatic posts in Chinese embassies in eight countries including Algeria, Egypt, Palestine and Mauritania. The situation in the Middle East has been unstable for a long time, and diplomatic work there has been tricky and faced enormous challenges.

In September 1988, An Huihou assumed the office of Chinese ambassador to Algeria, the first time he was appointed an ambassador. Only 20 days later, however, major riots broke out in the capital Algiers that almost paralyzed the city, severely affecting traffic and spreading to other areas.

One day, Ambassador An had to leave the embassy for work. On the way back, he encountered a group of

young men holding big sticks and wearing black scarves, charging at his car.

"I told the other staff in the car not to panic, because we had the five-star red flag on the car," An recounted. He asked the driver to slow down and roll down the car windows at the same time. "They looked at me, recognized the vehicle of the Chinese embassy, and let us pass," he grinned. "China's international prestige has helped us overcome many dangers and difficulties, which is very important for the smooth operation of our diplomatic work. Some colleagues joked that our Chinese faces were passports."

In the 1960s, An Huihou witnessed the construction of Friendship Port as he was working at the Chinese

embassy in Mauritania.

"Mauritania's economy was relatively undeveloped at that time," he said. "After establishing diplomatic relations, we provided a lot of support and assistance to Mauritania including dispatching medical teams." The first medical team was from Harbin in north-eastern China's Heilongjiang Province, where the winter temperature could reach minus 30 degrees Celsius, but it was 40 degrees Celsius when they arrived in Mauritania, a 70-degree difference. However, the medical team overcame many difficulties and enjoyed a good reputation among the local people.

Before it established diplomatic relations with China, Mauritania lacked a port, and all imports and exports were



transported through Senegal. After the establishment of China-Mauritania diplomatic ties, the Chinese government decided to aid Mauritania to construct Friendship Port despite the extreme difficulties with its own economy.

Friendship Port has been handling 90 percent of Mauritania's imports and exports since completion. It has been tremendously significant to the country's economic independence and development. To this day, people in Mauritania are still grateful for China's aid in building the port.

The People's Republic of China has established diplomatic relations with 22 Arab countries, from Egypt in 1956 to Saudi Arabia in

1990. In Ambassador An's view, the development of China's relations with Middle Eastern countries over the past more than 60 years clearly reflects that China's foreign policy has cautiously observed the international situation and kept pace with the times. The origin of contemporary relations between China and Arab countries should be attributed to innovations in diplomatic concepts in the early days of New China.

In the 1960s, during his tour of African and Arab countries, then-Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai announced the five principles guiding China's relations with those countries, based on the Five Principles of

Peaceful Coexistence. The principles exerted far-reaching influence, not only creating a new situation for China's diplomacy, but also playing a major role in restoring China's lawful seat in the United Nations.

### HIGHLIGHTED MOMENTS

Egypt was an important stop of An's diplomatic career. In 1956, Egypt became the first Arab and African state to establish diplomatic relations with China. In December 1998, An arrived in Egypt as Chinese ambassador to the country. He considers the signing of a joint communiqué on establishing a strategic cooperative relationship between the two countries one of the greatest



November 15, 1988: The founding of the State of Palestine is announced at the 19th Special Session of the Palestinian National Council in Algiers, Algeria. An Huihou was the second Chinese ambassador to Palestine. Xinhua





■ August 21, 1995: In the international training class on hybrid rice technology held by the Hunan Academy of Agricultural Sciences, Chinese teachers Wang Xiusong (second left) and Zhao Zhenghong (second right) explain seed selection methods to foreign students from Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Xinhua

highlights in his entire diplomatic career.

In January 1999, then-Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan visited Egypt. During his visit, he proposed that China-Egypt relations be further strengthened and developed in the coming century, after review from a strategic perspective by leaders of the two countries. Minister Tang's idea was applauded by the Egyptian side. Then, both countries discussed this issue on many occasions. Ultimately, China drafted a joint communiqué based on the talks.

The text of the joint communiqué was first checked and discussed by the Department of West Asian and North African Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China and the Egyptian embassy in China. Later, Ambassador An was appointed to finalize the text with the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in

Cairo. "The Egyptians were happy with the draft of the joint communiqué and hardly made any changes to it," An revealed. "After two or three consultations with then-Egyptian Assistant Foreign Minister for Asian Affairs Nagi Al-Ghadrfi, we successfully finalized the text."

On April 5, 1999, then-Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak visited China for the seventh time. An Huihou, as China's ambassador to Egypt, returned to China early to meet the Egyptian president when he arrived. The most important outcome of Mubarak's visit was the signing of a joint communiqué announcing that China and Egypt would establish a strategic cooperative relationship oriented to the 21st century.

President Mubarak made his first visit to China in 1976 as Egypt's vice president. Over the following three decades,

he visited China a total of nine times and met with several generations of Chinese leaders, including Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao. "During his time in China, President Mubarak said he felt cordial and relaxed compared to his time spent visiting other major countries," recalled An.

"Egypt is one of the most important countries in the Arab world and maintains great influence in the Middle East," An stressed. "The establishment of the 21st century-oriented strategic cooperative relationship between China and Egypt has not only promoted political and economic cooperation between the two countries, but also improved the development of relations between China and the Arab world."

Looking back at his decades-long diplomatic career, An Huihou gets emotional. "When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, I was only 11 years old," he explained. "I'm 81 now and have been engaged in diplomacy for most of my life. From the hard and struggling early days after its founding to today with the country's unprecedented access to the center of the world stage, China's diplomacy has completed a magnificent journey over the past 70 years. I firmly believe that in the future, China will make greater contributions to building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for humanity." 📷

# Chas Freeman: Shared Interests Will Bring China and the U.S. Together Again

By Qiao Zhenqi

China's current role in international affairs is creating institutions and harmonizing standards of international behavior to benefit not just itself but also other countries.

Few living figures of U.S.-China relations are as legendary as Chas W. Freeman, Jr., principal interpreter for President Richard Nixon's world-changing 1972 visit to China. After more than 40 years, he still vividly remembers the details of the ice-breaking journey during the Cold War era. His first job as the president's interpreter happened to be the historic moment.

On the cold winter morning of February 21, 1972, President Nixon and other members of the U.S. delegation arrived at Shanghai Hongqiao Airport. After a short layover in Shanghai, Air Force One continued to Beijing to open a seven-day visit to China.

Freeman had never set foot on China's mainland either. He clearly remembers that a large flock of birds hovered above the Hongqiao airport, but few planes took off or landed. He concluded that few in China traveled by air.

After landing at Beijing Capital Airport, President Nixon walked off the plane with his wife and reached out a hand to Premier Zhou Enlai. Zhou said to Nixon: "Your handshake comes across the vastest ocean in the world—25 years of no communication."

"I was enormously impressed by Premier Zhou himself," recalls Freeman. "He was a thoroughly civilized man and a great diplomat. But what struck me most about China at that



Chas W. Freeman, Jr.

*A retired American diplomat who served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs from 1993 to 1994, Freeman worked as Deputy Chief of Mission and Chargé d'Affaires in the American embassies in both Bangkok (1984-1986) and Beijing (1981-1984). He was Director for Chinese Affairs at the U.S. Department of State from 1979 to 1981. He was the principal American interpreter during Nixon's historic visit to China in 1972. In addition to his diplomatic experience in the Middle East, Africa, East Asia and Europe, he accepted a tour of duty in India.*

time was how isolated and poor it was. Today, China has transformed into one that is open to foreign people and ideas and fully engaged and connected with every corner of the world.”

During the visit, both sides signed the *Shanghai Communiqué*, which led to the normalization of bilateral relations and paved the way for the establishment of formal diplomatic ties.

### FORECASTING CHINA'S CHANGES

On January 1, 1979, China and the U.S. formally established diplomatic relations. A month earlier, at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), Deng Xiaoping called on the whole Party to shift work focus to socialist modernization. That moment effectively launched China's journey to reform and opening up.

At the time, the

Washington Beltway considered the big decision an empty promise and largely ignored it. But when Freeman encountered a street vendor in Beijing, he realized China was already making a tectonic shift.

In the early fall of 1979, Freeman visited Beijing again. He was then country director for China, in charge of directing and coordinating U.S. relations with China for the U.S. Department of State. He stayed at Beijing Hotel, which—in his memory—was the only hotel in the capital of China that came close to internationally acceptable standards. One weekend, Freeman walked to the northeast corner of Tian'anmen, where he discovered the noodle vendor with a pushcart.

“For anyone familiar with 1970s China, this was startling,” he explains. “China's service sector, especially its culinary element, which had been

one of the great adornments of Chinese civilization, had been swamped in a tidal wave of collectivization.”

He bought a bowl of noodles. “As I enjoyed my snack, I asked the vendor what ‘work unit’ or commune he belonged to. He replied, ‘I am my own work unit.’ Puzzled, I asked him what that meant. He said he was a *getihu*, an individually registered enterprise. It struck me that if individuals could now start and operate their own businesses in China, something momentous might be in progress. I began to watch for signs that the Third Plenum really had kicked off a revolution in China—and found more and more evidence that it had.”

A few months later, members of the U.S. intelligence community convened in Washington D.C. to discuss how China might look in a decade or two. “Most who spoke were clearly working off the unsaid assumption for decades that China would remain poor, weak, unstable, xenophobic and politically radical.”

Upon hearing such opinions, Freeman returned to his office at the Department of State and spent the night writing a memorandum titled *Forecasting Change in China: Where China Seemed to Be Going in 1980*.

But his perceptions were not well received. “My suggestion to take a serious step back and a hard look at what was happening in China was pretty much ignored,” he sighs. “I was the only one



■ A foreign customer shopping in a small commodity market at Jimo Road, Qingdao, eastern China's Shandong Province. After the reform and opening up, more and more foreigners have chosen to come to China. CFB



April 13, 1992: A recruiter from a foreign enterprise inquiring job seekers at Shanghai's first large-scale employment fair held at the People's Square. CFB

who thought China might be changing fundamentally. Over time, I proved to be more right than wrong. Ironically, my estimates of how far China could and would travel over the decades to come turned out to be gross underestimates, rather than exaggerations, of China's potential progress. I got the direction and nature of China's changes largely right—but neither the pace nor the magnitude.”

The changes brought by China by reform and opening up over 40 years have impressed Freeman. “The changes have been immense, almost immeasurable,” he exclaims. “Living standards have risen greatly. Hundreds of millions of Chinese now travel, study and work abroad. China is no longer

dependent on imported technology and equipment. It remains open to both but is itself now an innovator and a producer of intellectual property.”

Looking back at his experience, Freeman jokes that his encounter with the noodle vendor was a rare moment of “satori.” Freeman notes that many cases were forecast incorrectly by analysts in the U.S. and other countries, including the end of the bipolar world order dominated by the contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. “Our analysts were over-specialized, each with a tendency to project the realities of the times as they looked into the future,” he recalls. “They tended to see the waves but not the sea that was driving them. China’s

development reflected the synergy of many policy changes. Together, they present perhaps the clearest evidence that over time, policy can change reality in radical ways.”

### **“TRADE WAR A MISTAKE”**

In Freeman’s opinion, China’s diplomats today are more professional in terms of “conducting outreach, reporting and analysis activities” than they were in the past. “Like Chinese culture, they are much more familiar and comfortable with foreign ideas and habits,” he illustrates. “This makes them much more effective as diplomats.”

Over the past seven decades, China’s flexible foreign policy has helped the country survive the Cold War as it created



a peaceful environment for further development. “At first China was excluded from active participation in the world order, then a mainstay of it, now a defender of its institutions against an increasingly erratic U.S.,” says Freeman. “China’s current role in international affairs is no longer passive. It is creating institutions and harmonizing standards of international behavior to benefit not just itself but also other countries.”

However, China’s rapid return to wealth and strength has made some in the White House panic. They claim that the rise of China has weakened the international system and that China is determined to become the dominant power of the world.

In an article published on June 13, 2019, Freeman refuted this assertion. “When you take the time to listen to what Chinese say among themselves about their aspirations, it appears they

only want respect and a bit of courteous consideration from formerly scornful foreigners. Like their ancestors, they demand dignity and the freedom to prosper in domestic tranquility.”

“China’s rise has added new prosperity to the world economy and strengthened the international system rather than weakened it,” he says. “In many ways, China remains committed to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which are consistent with the Westphalian world order and seek to resolve problems through consultation rather than by force—in other words, within the United Nations Charter and other standards of international law.”

“However, China’s rise inevitably affects the balance of power and prestige in ways that are disturbing to those whose influence is relatively diminished by China’s growing

wealth and strength. Both they and China will have to exercise caution and display mutual consideration as they adjust to changing relationships.”

Handling China-U.S. relations is a big challenge for both sides. The Trump administration has chosen to get tough on China. By waging a trade war against China and blacklisting China’s high-tech companies, the U.S. is attempting to hobble China and smother its high-tech industry.

Freeman believes that attempts to hurt China are more likely to weaken and impoverish America than to halt China’s progress. In the process, “China will become more open, but America itself will become more closed.”

“The trade war is a mistake that hurts both China and the U.S. in the long run as well as the short term,” Freeman insists. “It threatens to topple the world order originally arranged by the U.S. This order is what made China’s rise possible. China has every reason to exercise restraint and focus on bolstering the elements of that order against disruption by the deterioration in relations with the U.S. that the trade war has catalyzed. The U.S. needs to focus on rebuilding its own competitiveness, not on impairing China’s.”

However, Freeman remains optimistic about the future. “The two countries are deep into a bad period that is likely to last for some time but, ultimately, common sense and shared interests will bring us together again.”



November 26, 1984: Technicians from China and the U.S. test the soil quality of the co-constructed Antaibao No. 1 open-cut coal mine in Pingshuo City, Shanxi Province. Xinhua

# Gao Yusheng: Making Friends, Not Enemies

By Yin Xing

*Photographs courtesy of Gao Yusheng unless otherwise credited*

“It is even more important that diplomats make friends rather than enemies, keep their heads down to complete their work and be ready to respond to changes anytime.”

**D**ecades ago, an East German-made train set off from Beijing and stopped in Ulan Bator in Mongolia before making its way to Moscow, capital of the Soviet Union, with the entire trip taking five and a half days. At the age of 35 at the time, Gao Yusheng was on the train. Upon seeing dotted green of Beijing’s winter transform into the snowy scenery of Moscow, Gao was flush with excitement for his impending job at the Chinese embassy in Moscow. With it, his nearly three-decade career as a diplomat was launched.

## NORMALIZATION OF SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

Gao witnessed the adjustment and development of China’s diplomatic policies in the 1980s. He considers it the start of a new chapter for China’s diplomacy.

“This ‘new’ chapter had a very important characteristic—we started adjusting our diplomatic policies to create favorable international conditions for China’s reform and opening up and its modernization,” says Gao.

In 1979, China and the United States established diplomatic ties, bringing their relations into a new phase. At the same time, China began a plan to improve its relations with the Soviet Union step by step. In terms of the resumption of Sino-Soviet relations, the “three funerals diplomacy” introduced by Deng Xiaoping gained great acclaim. In 1982, Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev passed away. China sent Huang Hua, then vice premier and foreign minister, to attend the funeral. Because Huang was the highest-ranking Chinese



Gao Yusheng

*From 1984 to 1988, Gao Yusheng consecutively served as a Third Secretary and a Second Secretary at the Chinese embassy in the Soviet Union. He later worked in the Policy Research Office of China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1992 to 1996, he consecutively worked as a First Secretary and a counselor at the Chinese embassy in Russia. Between 1996 and 2000, he was a counselor at the Department of European-Central Asian Affairs under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 2000 to 2007, he consecutively served as the Special and Plenipotentiary Ambassador of China to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine. From 2007 to 2010, he served as the Deputy Secretary-General of the Secretariat of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.*



December 2006: Gao Yusheng bids a farewell to Oleksander Moroz, chairman of the Socialist Party of Ukraine.

official to visit the Soviet Union since a breakdown in relations between the two countries during the 1960s, his visit broke the ice. Brezhnev's successors Yuri Andropov and Konstantin Chernenko died in 1984 and 1985, respectively. China sent vice premiers Wan Li and Li Peng to attend the respective funerals. These three visits laid a foundation for the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.

At the end of 1984, Ivan Arkhipov, then-First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, was invited to visit China. An old friend of China, Arkhipov worked

in China in the 1950s as an economic adviser. His visit reminded many Chinese people of the past friendship between the two countries and served as a catalyst to restore bilateral ties.

"Thanks to extensive diplomatic efforts of both sides, Sino-Soviet relations improved gradually," recalls Gao. "The two countries started cooperating in many fields including in the United Nations. The rebound of relations not only improved China's external environment but also helped the country develop relations with the United States and other Western countries."

"I arrived in Moscow on

December 29, 1984, just a few days before the New Year," recalls Gao. "Despite the festive atmosphere, I was struck by the shortage of supplies and low efficiency. People were queueing in long lines to buy goods. In a big food shop at Kalinin Street, the line of customers trying to buy meat extended from upstairs to downstairs. They had to wait a half day or even a whole day to buy the meat. At another supermarket, shop assistants placed oranges into mesh bags and weighed them, and then before the oranges could reach a shelf, a customer would grab them.



In the spring of 2003, Gao Yusheng, then China's ambassador to Turkmenistan, met with Afghan President Hamid Karzai.

Hardly anything spent any time on the shelves.”

During his tenure in the Soviet Union, Gao perceived the stagnation in local society, defects in the political system and the slow development of the economy and technology. Living standards hardly matched the country's status as a superpower and the torchbearer of developed socialism. “Although I couldn't predict when it would collapse, I was always pessimistic about the future of the Soviet Union.”

At that time, as China just launched its reform and opening up, people had different ideas about the direction and road for reform. Some still thought China should learn from the Soviet Union and borrow its experience in economic reform.

“When I was working

in the Chinese embassy in Moscow, I wrote many reports about the Soviet Union's system, especially its shortcomings as well as the difficulties and crises it was facing, in which I emphasized the dead end

**The restoration of the ties between China and the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the policies and tactics China implemented during the process represented remarkable achievements for Chinese diplomacy as well as Sino-Soviet relations at the time.**

of the country's development model,” reveals Gao. “My purpose was clear: I was hoping to prevent China from repeating the Soviet Union's mistakes. I just wanted to do something good for my country and people.”

The new Sino-Soviet

relationship was based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and highlighted the non-ideological, equal, mutually beneficial and non-aligned relations. As preconditions for restoration of bilateral relations, Deng Xiaoping demanded the Soviet Union withdraw its military from Sino-Soviet borders and Afghanistan and urge Vietnam to withdraw its troops from Cambodia. From the perspective of the big picture of China's diplomatic strategy, Deng managed to control the pace of normalization of bilateral ties while guarding the interest of his country.

“The restoration of the ties between China and the Soviet Union in the 1980s and the policies and tactics China implemented during the process represented remarkable achievements for Chinese diplomacy as well as Sino-Soviet relations at the time,” says Gao.

#### **COOPERATION WITH PRINCIPLES**

Between 2000 and 2007, Gao consecutively served as China's ambassador to Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

“My work in these three countries was smooth and



pleasant,” says Gao. “While safeguarding the national interests of China and following the country’s foreign policy and relevant instructions, I made sure to respect my hosts and properly consider their interests and needs. I managed to make

friends and promote cooperation between China and the three countries in sectors such as politics, culture, economics, trade, security, energy and infrastructure. As a diplomat, especially an ambassador, you have to make as many friends as possible in order to

safeguard the interests of the country and complete every assignment. I developed a deep understanding about the importance of friends.”

China’s basic policy of diplomacy with neighboring countries is to treat them as friends and partners, to make them feel secure and to support their development. This policy is characterized by friendship, sincerity, reciprocity and inclusiveness. Friendship is a consistent principle of China’s diplomacy with its neighbors. “China has devoted a lot of attention to its relations with countries in Central Asia,” notes Gao. “Chinese leaders visit these countries almost every year to maintain close contact. With China’s rapid development and rising international status, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine also attach great importance to developing their relations with China.”

In 2010, Gao retired from his post as the Deputy Secretary-General of the Secretariat of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization with pride and profound feelings about his 20 years-plus diplomatic career. “Although times are different now, as the international order and the central role of the United Nations face challenges and the status and relations of various countries have changed, I think it is even more important that diplomats make friends rather than enemies, keep their heads down to complete their work and be ready to respond to changes anytime.”



October 1983: Kulikova, secretary-general of the Soviet Union-China Friendship Association, visits a Sino-Soviet Friendship Commune kindergarten. In the 1980s, as Sino-Soviet relations rebounded, more cultural exchanges were carried out between the two countries. by Ma Juntian/Xinhua



June 1, 2014: Two Turkmen Akhal-teke horses come to China to take part in the program “National Treasures Face to Face” organized by Shaanxi TV. Alongside trade and energy cooperation, China and Turkmenistan see more people-to-people exchanges. VCG

# Cooperation Plus: Winning on Equal Footing

By Lou Chunhao

The “China-India Plus” cooperation model will help the two countries better accept and align with each other’s policies.

As the two largest developing countries and emerging economies in the world, interactions between China and India in regional and global affairs affect not only the two countries but the region and the world. As the two countries continue broadening and deepening cooperation in various fields at different levels, China and India urgently need to explore an interactive mode that serves the interests of both countries and helps enhance peace and stability in the region and the world.

In April 2018 during the first informal meeting of leaders of the two countries in Wuhan, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed that China and India devise a plan to guide cooperation between the two countries, which involves strengthening coordination and

collaboration in international and regional affairs, promoting regional economic integration and facilitating connectivity. The suggestion was warmly received by Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, signifying political willingness of both countries to explore the “China-India Plus” mode.

In October 2018, China and India jointly launched a training program for Afghan diplomats as the first pilot project of the “China-India Plus” mechanism for cooperation. In October 2019 at their second informal meeting in Chennai, the two leaders reached consensus to expand “China-India Plus” cooperation. Most agree that “China-India Plus” has become an important channel for the two countries to strengthen practical cooperation. But given the

complexity of the relationship between the two countries, critics have questioned whether the “China-India Plus” mode is feasible and sustainable. Some South Asian nations have even expressed concern that “China-India Plus” could become a sort of China-India co-governance that weakens smaller countries’ voices. So, there is a need to elaborate on the spirit, intent and execution of “China-India Plus” cooperation.

## NECESSARY AND INEVITABLE

A combination of cooperation and competition flavors the relationship between China and India. The two countries share similar aspirations for national development and rejuvenation, common needs for stable and positive bilateral relations and neighborhood environment,

desire for reform in international systems, and goal of protecting the interests of developing countries. These commonalities have naturally led to extensive practical collaboration in many fields. But the two countries still have disagreements, some of which stemmed from historical complications that cannot be settled in the short run.

As the world undergoes changes unseen for a century, China and India are poised at critical points of national renewal. A stable and cooperative bilateral relationship benefits the development of the era as well as national policies of both countries, which in turn helps them achieve national goals and promote regional and international stability. Sometimes one plus one equals more than two, as with “China-India Plus” cooperation.

The “China-India Plus” mode can increase mutual trust and quell suspicion between the two countries, helping them better accept each other’s policies. As the interests of China and India increasingly overlap in the region, a lack of strategic mutual trust has caused people in both countries to worry about the opposite side’s strategic intent as the China-proposed Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and India’s Look East Policy advance. India has always considered South Asia and the northern Indian Ocean region its sphere of influence. The Modi administration proposed a “Neighborhood First” policy, looking to South Asian



October 18, 2019: The Indian delegation marches into the opening ceremony of the 7th Military World Games in Wuhan, the capital city of central China’s Hubei Province. by Xiao Yijiu/Xinhua

countries to construct an “Indian Ocean Community” to strengthen its dominance of the Indian Ocean to hedge against China’s rising influence in the region. But it is hard to dampen China’s growing influence in South Asia and the northern Indian Ocean region. Although China has repeatedly emphasized the goodwill of the BRI, various countries have joined in the BRI, and India has become the largest borrower of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), India still harbors anxiety about cooperation between its neighbors and China under the framework of the BRI. Some Indian strategists often label neighboring countries as either “pro-China” or “pro-India” and wring their hands about China-aided development projects in Pakistan,

Nepal, Sri Lanka and even the Maldives, calling those projects “unsafe.” Through the “China-India Plus” mode, the two countries can become “a community of shared interests” and leverage similarities to dispel Indian doubts about China and embrace its cooperation with India’s neighbors.

Additionally, the “China-India Plus” mode can contribute to the alignment of policies of the two countries and enhance integration. For example, in South Asia, both countries are paying a lot of attention to connectivity. Under the framework of the BRI, China has promoted the construction of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor and the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor. During an October 2019 visit to Nepal, Chinese President Xi Jinping

proposed that China and Nepal build a trans-Himalaya connectivity network together. India has also led or participated in some regional connectivity programs including the SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region) initiative targeting the Indian Ocean region, the BBIN-MVA (Bangladesh- Bhutan-India-Nepal Motor Vehicles Agreement) with its neighboring countries in South Asia and the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor with Japan. The regional connectivity initiatives proposed by China and India have respective advantages and focuses, with great cooperation potential. China and Japan have already carried out cooperation in third markets. China and India have every reason to fulfill the potential of bilateral cooperation on regional connectivity. At their second informal meeting in Chennai, leaders of the two countries emphasized that improving connectivity plays an important role in achieving regional prosperity and stability and requires mutually beneficial cooperation.

### KEEP DEVELOPING

In November 2019, China and India started the second phase of the joint training program for Afghan diplomats after it had evolved into a good example of “China-India Plus” cooperation representing the expanding collaboration. The “China-India Plus” mode has great potential in

terms of cooperative sectors, regions and methods.

The “China-India Plus” mode needs to accelerate to promote cooperation in the field of development. Compared to security, the area of development is not politically sensitive, and “development” is the great common adhesive binding China, India and other countries. Over decades of reform and opening up, both China and India have accumulated great experience while overcoming challenges. The two countries need to share experience and dividend of development with other countries. Developing countries, especially those in South Asia, hope to join the “express train” of the two countries’ economic growth. Next, the “China-India Plus” mechanism will focus on regional connectivity, environmental protection, water management and improvement of national governance capacity.

“China-India Plus” should look to developing countries for cooperation. Both China and India remain developing countries, and other developing countries share immense potential for development, creating attractive cooperation opportunities for China and India alike. Southeast Asia and South Asia still retain sensitivities for geographical reason, which are reinforced by the Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States as it seeks to seed distrust and rivalry between China and India for its own interests. In such circumstances, China and India can

start cooperation in regions with less sensitivity such as Africa and Latin America and leverage early fruits to promote further cooperation.

The “China-India Plus” mode can adopt various forms of methods for cooperation. The governments of China and India serve as leading propellers of “China-India Plus” cooperation. Collaboration should also be encouraged among enterprises, think tanks, media and practitioners from all walks of life from the two countries. “China-India Plus” should not be simply regarded as a concrete cooperative project between the two governments, but an exemplary framework for cooperation at all levels. The year 2020 marks the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and India, and a series of celebrative events will create many chances for further exploration of the “China-India Plus” mode.

The “China-India Plus” mode remains in the preliminary stage of exploration and needs to be sharpened in terms of content and roadmap. Only by upholding the principles of openness, cooperation, equality and shared benefits will “China-India Plus” be better accepted in China and India as well as other countries. 

—  
*The author is deputy director and associate researcher at the Institute of South Asian Studies under China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations.*



# China-India Plus: Paving New Lanes for Cooperation

By PK Vasudeva

There is a dire need for the “China-India Plus” model in facilitating bilateral cooperation, defending the multilateral trading system and free trade, and maintaining good relations with other countries.

**B**oth Chinese President Xi Jinping and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi were on an African tour ahead of their meeting at the 10th BRICS summit in South Africa in July 2018.

Xi’s visit to Rwanda, the first by a Chinese head of state, yielded 15 agreements, which include projects for the construction of a 66-kilometer road going through tea production areas and a pilgrimage place, a highway to Rwanda’s international airport presently under construction and the expansion of a Chinese-funded hospital.

Modi was the first Indian prime minister who visited

Rwanda. India and Rwanda signed eight agreements on defense, agriculture, trade, culture, and the dairy and the leather industries. Two pacts on lines of credit worth US\$200 million were signed for a special economic zone and an irrigation scheme, respectively.

In Beijing, the Chinese foreign ministry took note of this unusual schedule. The ministry’s spokesperson Geng Shuang remarked at a news briefing that China and India were “like-minded partners” in “deepening cooperation in various fields with African countries to achieve mutual benefit and win-win results,” and also expressed hope for the two countries to explore the “China-India Plus One” or

“China-India Plus X” cooperation model.

Until now, both sides have agreed on joint projects in Afghanistan and discussed opportunities for cooperation in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and African countries for capacity building.

## CONSENSUS REACHED, MOVES TAKEN

In April 2018, President Xi and Prime Minister Modi had an informal meeting in Wuhan. The summit, serving as a milestone, enhanced bilateral relations and created a new model of exchanges between the two leaders. China-India relations have been stabilized and improved, moving



July 15, 2019: In the southern Chinese city of Guangzhou, young representatives experience olive stone carving, one of China's national intangible cultural heritage items. From July 14 to 17, the 2019 Guangzhou World Youth Environmental Protection Conference and the 4th UN China Youth Environmental Forum were held in Guangzhou, attracting nearly 200 young representatives from countries and regions including China, Britain, Russia, Malaysia and India. CNS

As China's Vice Foreign Minister Luo Zhaohui noted, "China-India Plus" cooperation should be extended from Afghanistan to other countries, such as Nepal, Bhutan, the Maldives, Iran and Myanmar, and the two countries can also join hands under the mechanisms of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), the Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC) and the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Forum for Regional Cooperation (BCIM) to promote regional peace, stability and prosperity.

into a fast lane of development. A great deal of work has been done to translate the "Wuhan Spirit" in the areas of the five "Cs", namely Communication, Cooperation, Contacts, Coordination and Control.

In a move to press ahead with the "Wuhan Spirit," President Xi and Prime Minister Modi have concretized the "China-India Plus" initiative since both sides identified Afghanistan as the country where the two nations would forge a partnership. China and India have been active supporters of Afghanistan's peace and reconstruction process. The training program for diplomats from Afghanistan launched by India and China is an essential part of international efforts to assist Afghanistan and marks the start of China-India-Afghanistan cooperation. And both India and China are looking at other areas to

cooperate in Afghanistan. For instance, India's edge in agriculture and medical services combined with China's hybrid rice and poverty reduction are the hallmarks.

The two sides also talked

**China is committed to developing high-end, value-added manufacturing to fuel the next stage of its economic development. India, on the other hand, wants to develop a manufacturing base.**

a lot about regional connectivity initiatives, such as the International North-South Transport Corridor, India-Afghanistan-Iran transit and trade arrangement and China-Pakistan-Afghanistan cooperation, which provided a solid foundation for current and future cooperation between China and India in Afghanistan.

#### WHY "CHINA-INDIA PLUS"

China and India share common interests in defending the multilateral trading system and free trade. President Xi and Prime

Minister Modi spoke with one voice in regards to safeguarding the multilateral trading system and free trade at international platforms.

The trade wars waged by the U.S., especially against China, have huge implications for heavily integrated and globalized supply chains. So far, China has attempted to soften the blow for exporters,



August 17, 2019: Performers at the “India Day” event of the Beijing International Horticultural Expo 2019. by Xinhua

but narrowing margins are prompting companies to reshuffle their production networks. China and India have both initiated a consultation request concerning certain U.S. tariffs imposed on imports of steel and aluminum products at the World Trade Organization (WTO), and officially launched the dispute settlement procedure.

Currently, labor shortages and an aging population are leading to rising wages in China, but India is likely to have the world’s largest workforce by 2027, with a billion people aged between 15 and 64. The country has

a large, young population – more than half of India’s total population is under the age of 25, and two-thirds are under 35 years of age. Analysts expect the large, young workforce to contribute significantly to India’s growing consumer base.

China is committed to developing high-end, value-added manufacturing to fuel the next stage of its economic development. India, on the other hand, wants to develop a manufacturing base. The Indian government has introduced a wide spectrum of programs and incentives across sectors. For instance,

the “Make in India” campaign is designed to transform India into a global manufacturing hub by facilitating investment, fostering innovation, and building best-in-class manufacturing infrastructure.

Hence, there is a dire need for the “China-India Plus” model in facilitating bilateral cooperation, defending the multilateral trading system and free trade, and maintaining good relations with other countries. ■

—  
*The author is a retired professor of international trade.*

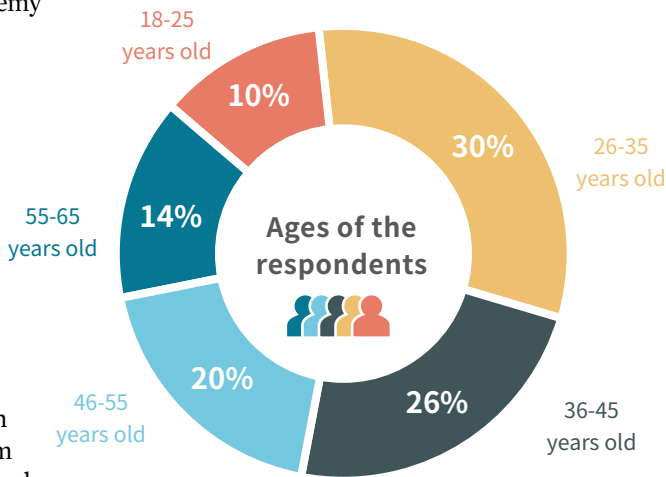
# China National Image Global Survey

Edited by Hu Zhoumeng



**H**ow do people around the world view China? From May to July 2018, the Academy of Contemporary China and World Studies joined Kantar, a leading global data, insights and consulting firm, in conducting the sixth global survey of China's national image.

The survey reached out to citizens from 22 countries including China, Japan, South Korea, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia and Turkey in Asia, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Spain and the Netherlands in Europe, the United States, Canada and Mexico in North America, Brazil, Argentina and Chile in South America, Australia in Oceania and South Africa in Africa. Samples of 500 respondents from each country, 11,000 in total, were surveyed through online questionnaires. To ensure accurate representation from involved countries, surveyors sought residents aged between 18 and 65 with an even gender ratio. 

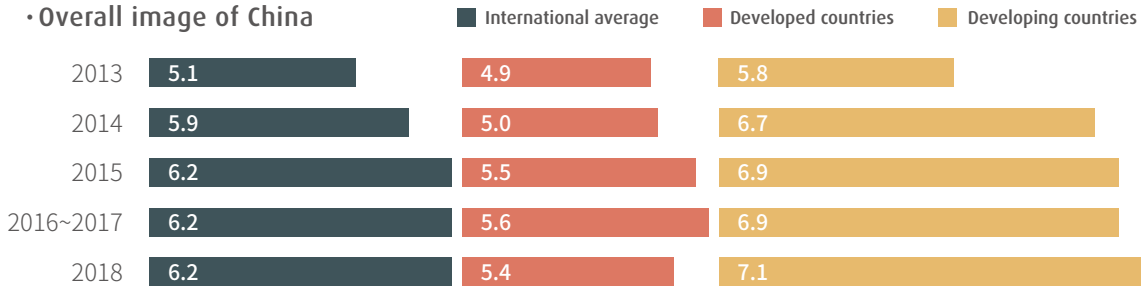






China's overall image is steadily improving internationally, particularly in other developing countries.

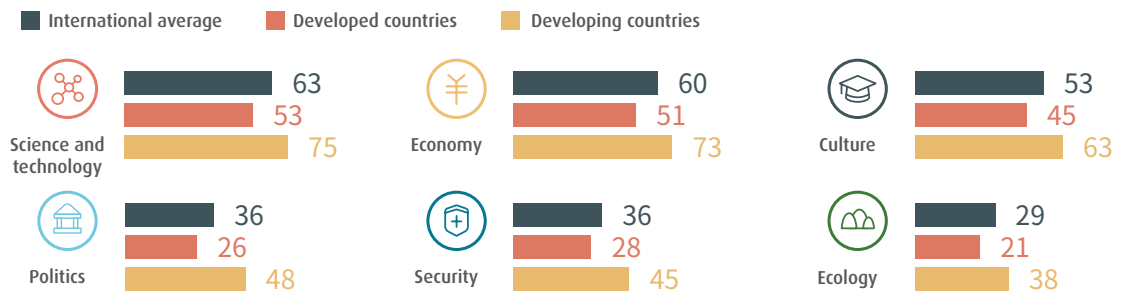
Question: Please indicate your general impression of the following countries. (1-10 points)



On China's participation in global governance, international respondents rated China high in the fields of science and technology, economy and culture.

Question: Please evaluate China's performance in global governance. (%)

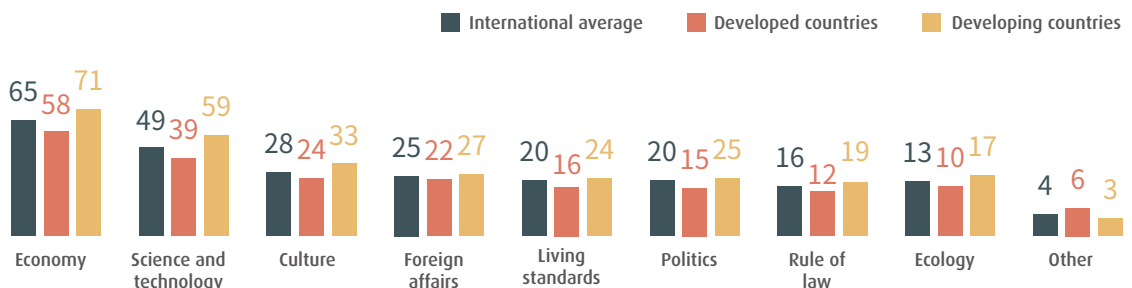
• Evaluation of China's performance in global governance



On China's reform and opening up, international respondents gave high marks to its success in terms of growth in economics and science and technology.

Question: In which fields do you think China's reform and opening-up policy has been successful? (%)

• The successful fields in China's reform and opening up



\*Samples: 8,865 overseas respondents familiar with China's 40 years of reform and opening up



Full and strict self-governance, exceptional organization and mobilization abilities and strong centripetal power are the most prominent features of the international image of China's ruling party.

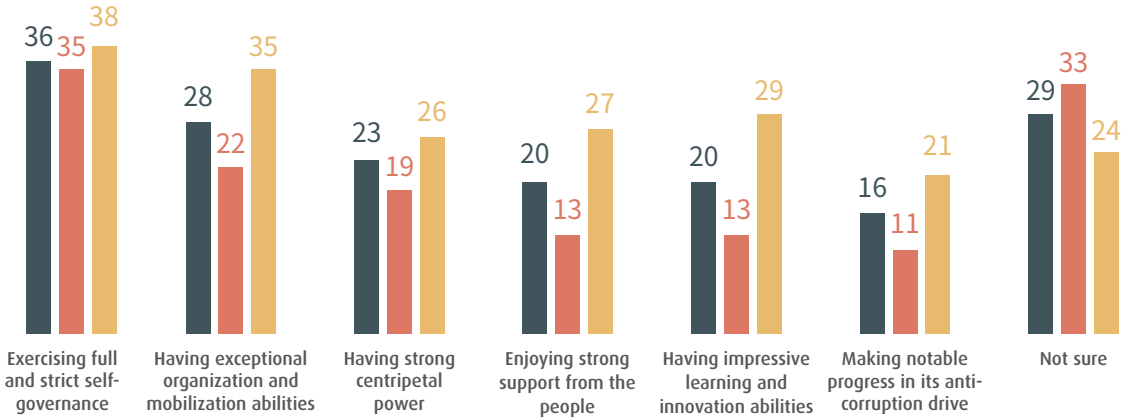
Question: How do you view the Chinese government? (%)

#### • Image of China's ruling party

■ International average

■ Developed countries

■ Developing countries



International consensus holds that China's economy will maintain high-speed growth as China becomes the biggest trading partner of more and more countries.

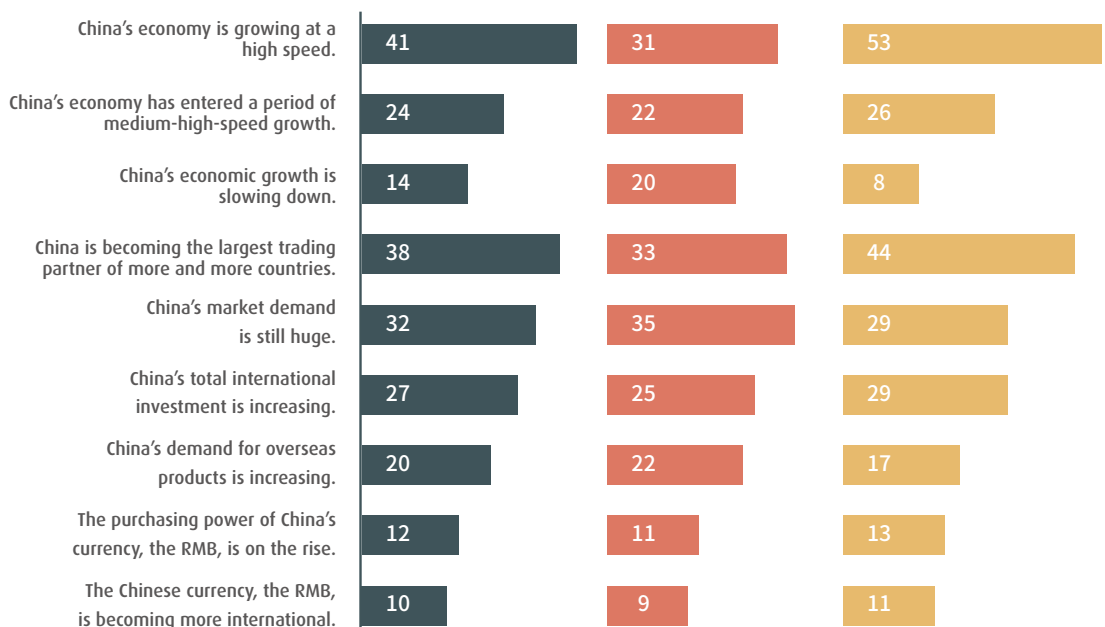
Question: Which of the following descriptions are true of the Chinese economy? (%)

#### • Evaluation of China's economy

■ International average

■ Developed countries

■ Developing countries



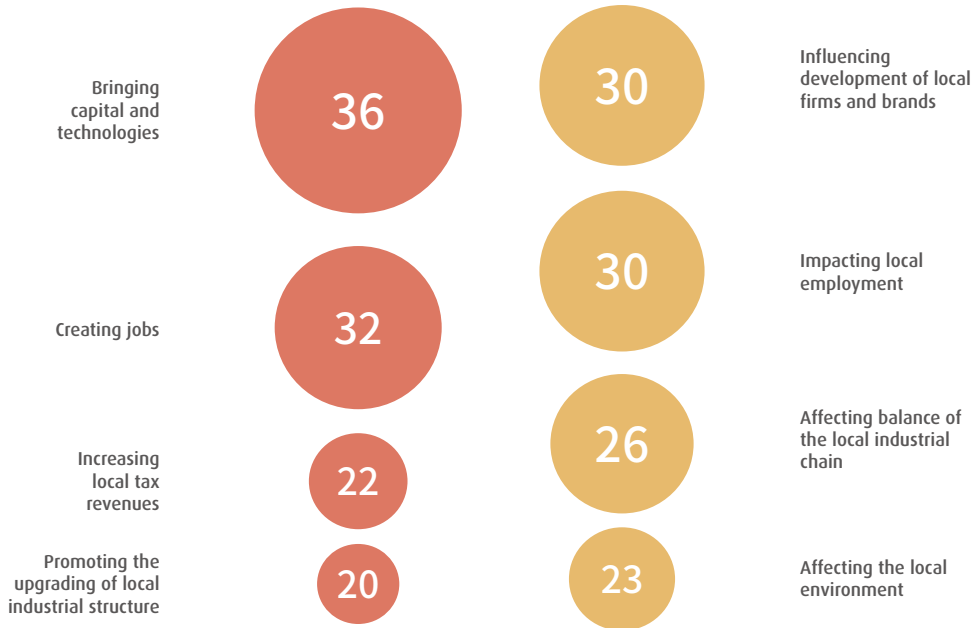


Chinese enterprises' presence in foreign countries brings capital, technology and job opportunities.

Question: How do you view Chinese enterprises' presence in your country? (%)

#### • Evaluation of Chinese enterprises

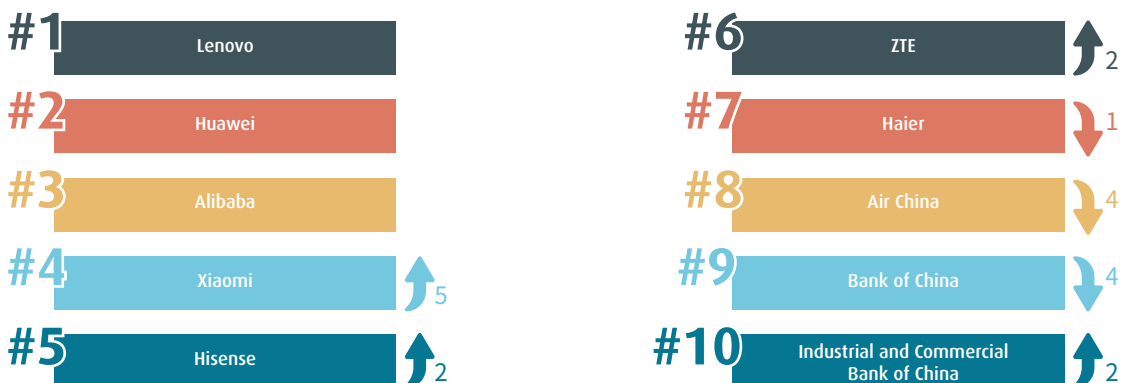
● Opportunities ● Challenges



China's internet and sci-tech firms rise in popularity.

Question: Which of the following Chinese brands are you familiar with? (Very familiar / Fairly familiar / Have heard of it / Vaguely heard of it / Never heard of it)

#### • Overseas recognition of Chinese brands





China's technological innovation capacity is appreciated by more people, with the high-speed rail as its best-known technological achievement.

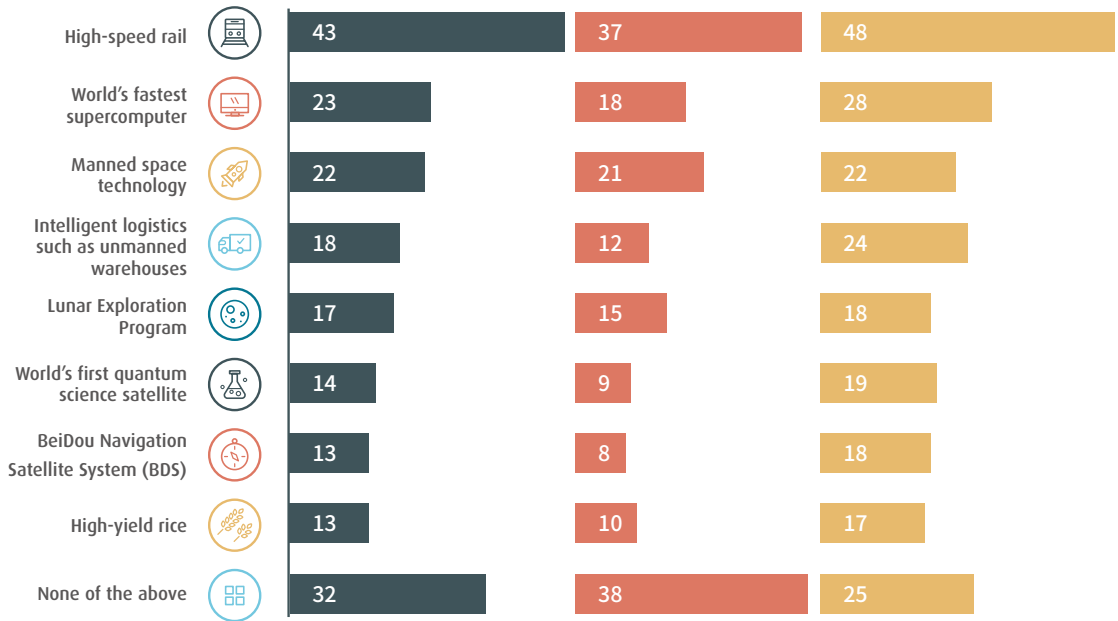
Question: Which of the following Chinese scientific achievements are you aware of? (%)

#### • Awareness of China's scientific and echnological achievements

■ International average

■ Developed countries

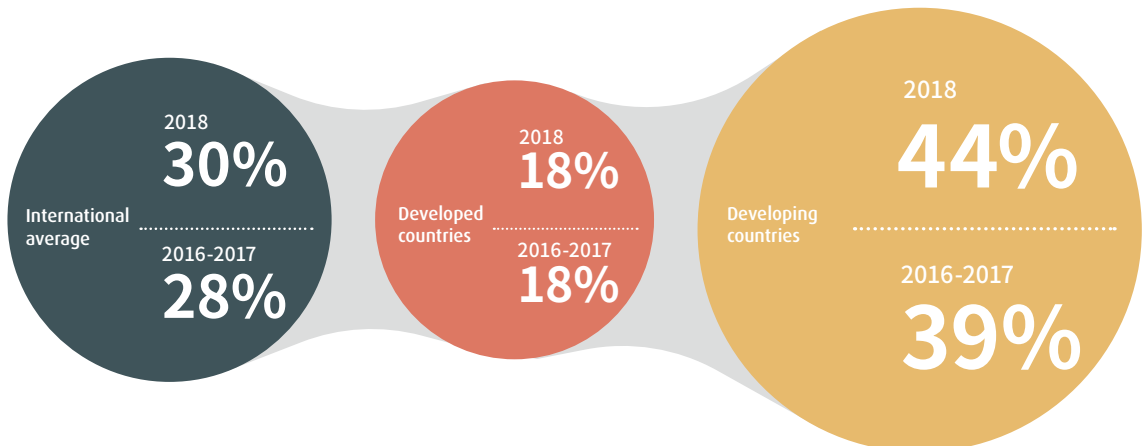
■ Developing countries



Young people and those from developing countries show the most interest in visiting China.

Question: Do you plan to study, work or travel in China in the next three years?

#### • Plan to visit China in the next three years







## Beijing, Hong Kong and Shanghai are still the best-known Chinese cities globally.

Question: Which Chinese cities would you like to visit? (%)

### • Top three Chinese destinations

■ Beijing ■ Hong Kong ■ Shanghai

Samples: 3,158 overseas respondents planning to visit China within the next three years

#### Overseas respondents aged 18-35



#### Overseas respondents aged 36-50



#### Overseas respondents aged 51-65



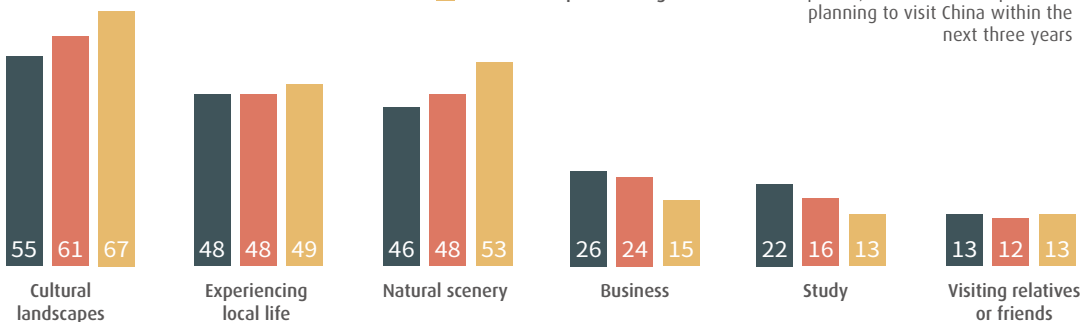
## Cultural heritage, local life and natural landscapes are the key attractions to overseas visitors.

Question: What are the main reasons that you chose to visit those cities? (%)

### • Main reasons to visit China

■ Overseas respondents aged 18-35 ■ Overseas respondents aged 36-50 ■ Overseas respondents aged 51-65

Samples: 3,158 overseas respondents planning to visit China within the next three years



# Chinese and Indian Youth Call for Mutual Learning

Concept by Hu Zhoumeng




September 28, 2019: Eight representatives from China and India attend the China-India Youth Talks 2019 in Beijing. courtesy of China Radio International

**E**ight representatives from China and India gathered in Beijing on September 28, 2019 to discuss a wide range of topics related to the theme “China and India: What can

we learn from each other?”

The representatives shared their cross-cultural life experience in the two countries with about 150 spectators at the China-India Youth Talks 2019. The talks inspired thoughts

on reducing stereotypes, deepening mutual understanding, and bringing China and India closer. They also exchanged views on challenges facing China and India and opportunities for collaboration. 



## When Stereotypes Fade Away

My first journey to China was hard because I didn't realize how much difficulty I had to face in terms of language since English is not used as much as in India. But my stereotypes about China soon disappeared in just a month after I set foot in this country. When you come here, face the people, talk to them and live in a Chinese city, you will find that there is nothing like what you expected. I didn't realize how advanced and efficient China is in terms of infrastructure and how it manages its big population. This was totally eye-opening. I am also impressed by how China has kept its language so strong, and it makes you want to learn.



**Seerat K. Banga**

Graduate of the Zhongshan School of Medicine, Sun Yat-sen University

Now there are more Chinese tourists in India and sometimes they take pictures when they see people relaxing on the streets. So they tell their Chinese friends that Indian people are quite laid back. But if you look at the people around us, nobody is doing this. This is wrong. The Indian people are among the hardest-working peoples in the world. When people don't understand the whole picture, they take a part out of it and say this is the whole story. In China, there are also laid-back people. But if you look at the hard-working majority, you would say Chinese people are hard-working all the time. Both Chinese and Indians are hard-working and the only difference could be the external conditions. Some people want to be hard-working but lack the necessary material conditions. If we provide those conditions, they would be the best people in the world.



**Mao Keji**

Research fellow with the International Cooperation Center of the National Development and Reform Commission of China

Bollywood movies have a huge influence on how Chinese people think of India, but this also created a stereotype that Indians sing and dance anytime and anywhere. This reminds me of a similar experience. When I do physical exercise, not just in India but also in some other foreign countries, people keep asking me: Are all Chinese good at kung fu? There is a slight difference between the two cases. Not all Chinese are enjoying kung fu these days. But Indians do love dancing and singing, and it is a good way for them to share passion and make friends, and show the world how happy they are about their lives.



**Yang Tianshu**

Former China Radio International correspondent in India



**Aditya Kumar Pandey**

Ph.D. student at Jawaharlal Nehru University



## More Cooperation on the Way

I think medicine is an area for China and India to cooperate. In fact, they are already cooperating in this field as India is sending medical students to China. India and China both have huge populations so they need doctors. That's why we have so many medical schools and in China they are helping Indian students become doctors.



**Seerat K. Banga**

Graduate of the Zhongshan School of Medicine, Sun Yat-sen University

China and India face similar problems but at different levels since the two countries are in different stages of development. Some problems China has faced are becoming India's right now. China now suffers from an aging population, but India has the youngest and most robust population in the world. About three decades ago, population growth was a problem in China, but currently it is for India. That's why the two countries can make more meaningful cooperation in that sense.



**Mao Keji**

Research fellow with the International Cooperation Center of the National Development and Reform Commission of China

The field of science and technology is a big advantage for China's future development, and it is not only benefiting the Chinese market. As more and more Chinese companies come to India, they also bring the same technologies and know-how there. Compared to those provided by the United States and Japan, China's solutions for power grids and high-speed railway networks suit India better. It is time for India to embrace more Chinese solutions.

Earlier when we were not so confident about China-India relations, we lacked investment in each other's markets. Whenever a political issue happens, business suffers. But in the last few years, direct investment from China to India easily went up to billions of US dollars. Chinese companies are having more employment and contributing more tax revenues in India, which benefits the two countries in the long run.



**Li Jian**

Founder and CEO of Draphant

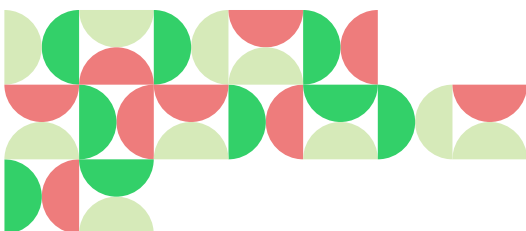


Both China and India are facing the challenge of "brain drain." That is, most of the talented people try to go to foreign universities for education and won't come back due to lack of jobs or bad educational and medical facilities. I hope the two governments can solve the problem so the talents who go abroad for education can come back to contribute.



**Kamal Panchal**

Executive officer of Asia Pacific Model United Nations





Currently media cooperation between China and India is not as much as we need. In the future, we should create more chances for cooperation between media organizations to hold talks like this or exchange programs to learn how each other's media work. We can share more information, let each other know the opposite side's way of thinking and show more details about the reality in China and India.



**Yang Tianshu**

Former China Radio International correspondent in India

Tourism is one industry on which China and India can collaborate in the future. Both civilizations are thousands of years old. But now there are only a small number of Chinese and Indian people visiting each other. Along with that, we should strengthen people-to-people exchange because most of the Indian students in China are pursuing medical studies and there are only a small number of Chinese students in India. So, in these sectors India and China can have better cooperation and strengthen their relations in the future.



**Aditya Kumar Pandey**

Ph.D. student at Jawaharlal Nehru University

If we compare the two countries to bullet trains since China and India are among the fastest-growing emerging economies in the world, then Mumbai, Delhi, Beijing and Shanghai are already in the first carriage because they are growing very fast. But in the last carriage, there are still relatively backward states and cities that have a long way to catch up. The difficulty lies in imbalance. Both countries are addressing this issue but it will still be critical in the next phase of development.

For cooperation between China and India, first of all, it's very important to keep the positive momentum on strategic fronts, such as strategic economic dialogue and financial dialogue. These mechanisms provide critical strategic items on the synergies between the two countries. The second is that we can strengthen collaboration under multilateral frameworks. Apart from the G20 and BRICS, which are fairly well-known, few people notice that India is actually by far the top beneficiary of the AIIB funds. The AIIB is the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which was proposed by China a few years ago. Third, the two countries should enhance the frequency and depth of bilateral communication on some concrete matters. For example, recently we have helped the Reserve Bank of India visit China to learn the workflow, policy and regulations concerning agricultural credit. We expect more interactions as such to come in the future.



**Lin Sheng**

Vice president of Corporate and Institutional Department, Bank of China Limited Mumbai Branch

The biggest challenge is to change the perception of our people. India and China do not just participate in global diplomacy. They should lead global rule-making now. We are working together to address climate change, fight terrorism, and promote the digital economy. We should create an Asian Union together since nearly 50 percent of global population will be with us. And we can create the Asian Silicon Valley by connecting Bangalore and Shenzhen. Think about "China with India," rather than "China versus India." We should have competition but not contradiction.



**Prasoon Sharma**

Pentland Scholar with New York University and University College London

# Connecting India and China through Cinema

By Madhurendra Jha

The China-India High Level Mechanism on Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges fosters better connection and deepens cultural understanding between the two countries.

During a recent visit to Beijing to attend a symposium, my professor and I had a lot of fun explaining to a local cab driver who drove us from Nanluoguxiang to Deshengmen that not all Indians are vegetarians, and many Indians consume alcoholic beverages too. The cab driver found it very difficult to change his long-held imagination of India fed to him by the popular media and bazaar gossips.

Our conversation with him reminded me of my conversations with a few of my Indian friends about what China looks like in their imaginations. The most interesting answer came from a friend

who is a well-educated and well-travelled writer. “When I try to imagine China, I see a big dust storm,” he stated. The two examples point towards the fact that there is a huge void between the people of India and China when it comes to understanding each other.

As a popular Chinese saying goes, “it is better to see once than to hear a hundred times.” Films, I would argue, are an excellent source for our peoples to see each other and hear each other in an intimate and relaxed atmosphere. In the last few years, the Indian media and the Chinese media have been discussing the popularity Indian films have gained in China, such as *3 Idiots*, *PK*, *Dangal*, *Hindi*

*Medium*, *Secret Superstar* and *Hichki*, just to name a few, with *Andhadhun* being the latest addition. Not only have these films been commercially successful but also have drawn the attention of Chinese academicians who, through these films, have studied the Indian film industry and the various socio-political and cultural aspects in these films.

The enthusiasm with which Chinese audiences are consuming Indian films is not a new phenomenon. In October 1955, a week-long Indian film festival was organized in China, during which three films including *Awaara* and *Do Bigha Zameen* were simultaneously screened across 20 cities in China. Even

earlier, in the early 1930s, the film theatres of Shanghai screened the Indo-German co-production *The Light of Asia* and *Nur Jehan* which was advertised as the first Indian film to be screened in China. The cinematic connection between India and China, which began with these two films almost 90 years ago, is only getting more profound.

To say that films from China's mainland have not been coming to India is technically untrue. The popular Chinese film *The White-Haired Girl* was screened as a part of a film festival in India in 1952, and then again in 1977 at the Delhi Film Festival. One of the most renowned filmmakers in China, Xie Jin visited India in 1987 as he led a five-member Chinese delegation to attend the 11th India International Film Festival. Films from China's mainland including *Blush*, *The King of Masks* and *The Old Barber* won the Golden Peacock Award for Best Film at the India International Film Festival.

My limited knowledge and experience, however, lead me to believe that since these films have been largely limited to film festivals, barely visible in a "theatre near you", they have failed to capture the popular imagination of Indian audiences. As a result, Indian audiences are mostly still limited to Chinese kung fu films starring Bruce Lee and Jackie Chan while remaining oblivious to the other genres of films from China which



Poster for the Indian film *Do Bigha Zameen*.

show tears and laughter as well as failures and aspirations of the Chinese people. Hence the film *Ash Is Purest White* by one of the most important auteurs of China, Jia Zhangke, which was released in India on August 2, 2019, came and went without creating any buzz among the majority of Indian moviegoers. Inadequate

marketing is another factor to be blamed. Insufficient screens, of which the overwhelming majority are in very few major cities of India, indicate the intended audience was art-film enthusiasts, the same as that of film festivals.

Considering the way China has been portrayed in India's post-1962 films and media,

the importance of Chinese films in helping the Indians develop a better understanding of China looks even more pertinent. After the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962, in the popular imagination of Indian films and media, as well as in the minds of the common people consuming these, China became an “aggressive” nation, which translates into lack of trust for this neighbour. For

instance, in *Haqeeqat*, a 1964 war film directed by Chetan Anand, when the protagonist compares China to a “backstabbing friend” who India trusted, he is voicing the emotion of the majority of Indians and announcing the end of the *Hindi-Cheeni Bhai-Bhai* (literally, “Indians and Chinese are brothers”) era. However, the constantly changing world order demands that

the Indians continuously move towards minimizing the negative effects of what I call the *Haqeeqat* syndrome, i.e. living with a constant distrust for China.

Films can help both governments expedite this process. A good film has the power to transcend the barriers of differences, be they racial, linguistic, or religious and connect the audience with the characters on the



A still from the Indian film *PK*. A comedy combining irony, romance and theatricality, the film was once the best-selling Indian production on the Chinese mainland.



screen at a human level. “Aa wa la oon!” I have met many Chinese people who can sing at least the first line of the title track of *Awaara*. They praise the film for shattering the idea of class. I had the good fortune to witness the Chinese audience’s reaction to *Dangal* when it premiered in Beijing and then again at the cinema hall of Peking University in April 2017. The audience laughed, cried, and

*Thailand*, see the vulnerability of Chinese leukaemia patients in *Dying to Survive*, and marvel at the sci-fi world depicted in *The Wandering Earth*. When this happens, the discourse around China in India, which refuses to see it as anything other than a political entity, will also start moving towards seeing it as a cultural entity. The “dust storm” (as my friend described lack of

of BRICS film festival and the SCO film festival will only add strength to this effort.

However, much more needs to be done at a bigger scale. Both governments can follow the model of the India Film Week held in China in October 1955. The Chinese embassy and consulates in India and the Indian central government in tandem with the state governments can organize Chinese film weeks in all major cities of India. Collaborations with universities, colleges and institutes which have Chinese studies programs in those cities or nearby areas can spread knowledge of the screenings and thus allow these films to reach deeper to common Indian moviegoers. This will facilitate a socio-political and cultural understanding of China. Simultaneously, Indian film weeks can be organized in China in similar fashion.

I believed such sustained efforts by the governments, in concert with the enterprising private players ready to tap the potential of the film market in India and China and in consultation with the scholars on both sides studying each other, will contribute to the task of filling up the Himalayan gap which exists between the two countries. 

**A good film has the power to transcend the barriers of differences, be they racial, linguistic, or religious and connect the audience with the characters on the screen at a human level.**

cheered with the characters and for the characters. At both venues, the audience continued to clap till the last of the end credits rolled. The showings I attended were shown to full houses.

Having seen and screened Chinese films as a student and as a faculty, I believe that an Indian audience will feel the melancholy of *Spring in a Small Town*, understand the way a new nation is being imagined in *The Bridge*, experience the vastness of China portrayed in *The Yellow Earth*, feel catharsis after watching the vicissitudes of the Xu family in *To Live*, empathize with the alienated youth in *Platform*, fall off their chairs laughing while watching the journey of self-discovery of the protagonists in *Lost in*

familiarity with China) will start to settle and the so-far obscured ancient civilization and its people clouded by it thus far will begin to appear.

Both Chinese and Indian governments do understand this. Mechanisms to promote people-to-people communication are being established, with films being an integral part of this drive. The first meeting of the China-India High Level Mechanism on Cultural and People-to-People Exchanges in December 2018 and its second version in August 2019 saw both countries celebrating India-China Film Week in New Delhi and Beijing respectively to foster better connection and deepen the cultural understanding between the people of the two countries. The presence

—  
The author is an assistant professor in the Department of Chinese Studies at Doon University and a research fellow with the Institute of Chinese Studies-Harvard Yenching Institute (ICS-HYI), India. His areas of expertise include Chinese language, literature, culture, cinema and translation studies.

# Prof. Xu Fancheng: Sino-Indian Cultural Exchanges and the Perspective of World Unity

By Sharad Joshi



## Essays in Memory of Prof. Xu Fancheng

By the Compiling Committee

Yunnan Publishing Group  
Yunnan People's Publishing House  
November 2018

As I was contemplating the different phases of Prof. Xu Fancheng's life, I perceived some underlying significance in them, as if his life was a revelation of a theme, a mission, a spiritual meaning with which he was born and which he fulfilled, step by step, during these phases.

These are the broad outlines of the phases of his life and seed ideas about his mission: outwardly, we may say they are about cultural exchanges, but in their inner bearing they are the spiritual exchanges between India and China. These cultural and spiritual exchanges can be seen to have deep significance.

In the words of Tan Yunshan, who

probably introduced Prof. Xu Fancheng to Sri Aurobindo and who visited Sri Aurobindo Ashram in 1939 and had Sri Aurobindo's Darshan, "As in the past China was spiritually conquered by a great Indian, so in the future too she would be influenced (spiritually) by another great Indian, Sri Aurobindo, the Mahayogi, who is the bringer of that light which will chase away the darkness that envelops the world today."

In Sri Aurobindo's spiritual vision there are two parts of humanity in the entire world, the Occidental and the Oriental. The Oriental had played a deep and significant role in the evolution of mankind, both culturally and spiritually. Of the Oriental half of humanity, India and China are the two major nations to have spiritual vision for the future of mankind: China in the philosophy of Confucius and the works of Lao-Tzu and India in her deep spiritual past of Vedic and Upanishadic visions and spiritual disciplines.

The future spiritual perspective of mankind can be fulfilled again if India and China can unite in a spiritual vision and mission for mankind, keeping their outward cultural identities as living forces in the light of the unity.


For in the vision of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, each nation represents an individual psychological trait necessary for the fullness of humanity, and, though all nations are united at a higher spiritual level, their external psychological traits

need to be preserved.

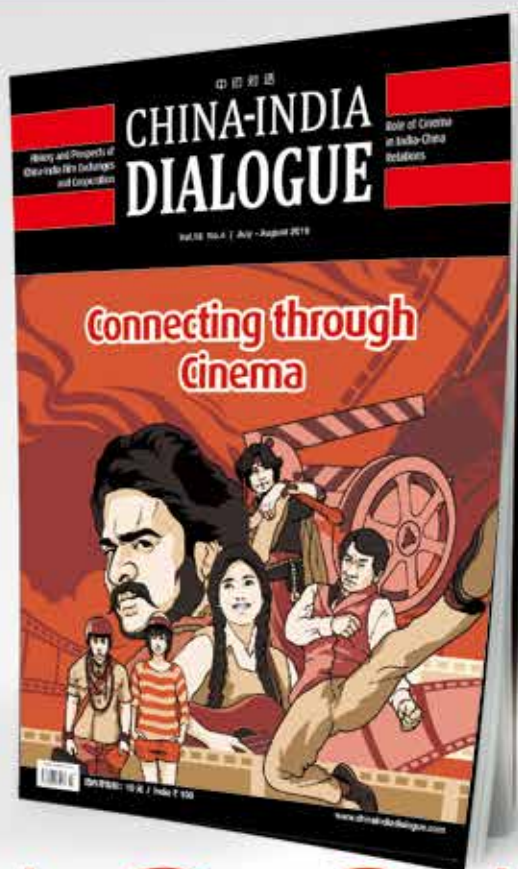
It is not the uniformity of the cultures of nations that is envisaged for human unity but a higher central spiritual unity and outward diversity of individual national cultures. That is the ideal in the future perspective of 'unity of mankind' (Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam), an age-old ideal of India, which means "the whole earth is a family," as established in the vision of Sri Aurobindo in his monumental book *Ideal of Human Unity*.

For this future vision the first line Nature has opened up is the cultural and spiritual exchanges between India and China.

As in the ancient past by the travels of Chinese scholars on spiritual pilgrimages to India and the spread of Buddhism in the East, in the modern times, the long stay, creative work and spiritual pursuits of the Integral Yoga of Sri Aurobindo and the Mother, yogis and scholars like Prof. Xu Fancheng and, more importantly, their messages and influences spreading widely in China can be an important stage in the future perspective to be fulfilled in times to come.

Such is the significance of the mission, deep and wide, we can see in the life and works of Prof. Xu Fancheng. 

The author is chairman of Sri Aurobindo Society Gujarat State Committee. This article is excerpted from the book *Essays in Memory of Prof. Xu Fancheng with editing*.



# BRIDGING CHINA AND INDIA



**FIND US  
ON VARIOUS MEDIA**



Any question or comment about CHINA-INDIA DIALOGUE  
Please email us at [contact@chinaindiadialogue.com](mailto:contact@chinaindiadialogue.com)

[WWW.CHINAINDIADIALOGUE.COM](http://WWW.CHINAINDIADIALOGUE.COM)



# SUPPORTING CHINESE ENTERPRISES BOOSTING NATIONAL BRANDS

