

# 中国对发展中国家外交战略六十年

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**【内容摘要】**为总结建国 60 年来的中国外交经验，本文对中国对发展中国家外交战略进行了总结与分析。改革开放前 30 年中国对发展中国家的外交战略主要包括：支持发展中国家的民族解放事业和建立国际新秩序的斗争；对发展中国家给予无偿经济援助；支持发展中国家的团结合作。改革开放后 30 年中国对发展中国家的外交战略主要包括：中国“永远站在第三世界一边”，但是“千万不要当头”；不搞划线外交，致力于同所有发展中国家发展友好合作关系；从单边经济援助转向互利共赢和共同发展的新型经济关系；履行国际责任，积极参与国际热点问题的解决。

**【关键词】**中国 发展中国家 外交战略

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发展中国家作为在世界非殖民化进程中形成和发展起来的民族国家群体，构成了国际体系的重要组成部分，同时也是推动国际体系转型的重要力量。在新中国 60 年的辉煌外交画卷中，中国作为发展中国家和第三世界的重要一员，始终将加强与发展中国家的团结合作作为中国外交的基本立足点。当前，中国与诸多发展中国家新兴大国的崛起，众多发展中国家区域组织的蓬勃发展，已成为推动国际体系转型的重要力量。在此背景下，中国与广大发展中国家团结合作的形式更加多样，内容更加丰富，中国与发展中国家的关系正在进入

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一个崭新的时代。本文拟对中国对发展中国家外交战略经验进行总结与分析。

## 改革开放前三十年中国对发展中国家的外交战略

在改革开放前的30年间,中国对外战略经历了20世纪50年代的“一边倒”战略、60年代的“反帝反修”(“两个拳头打人”)战略、70年代的“一条线”和“一大片”战略三个发展阶段。这30年是发展中国家完成非殖民化进程、实现民族独立的30年,也是发展中国家通过亚非会议、不结盟运动、77国集团等方式团结合作,发展成为一支重要国际力量的30年。在此期间,尽管中国的对外战略进行了两次重大的调整,但中国支持发展中国家的政策却始终保持不变,进而奠定了双方团结合作关系的坚实基础。

毛泽东早就十分重视殖民地、半殖民地国家民族解放斗争在世界格局中的地位,并据此分析世界形势和中国形势。早在1946年8月,他在会见美国记者安娜·路易斯·斯特朗时就指出:“美国和苏联中间隔着极其辽阔的中间地带,这里有欧、亚、非三洲的许多资本主义国家和殖民地、半殖民地的国家。美国反动派在没有压服这些国家之前,是谈不到进攻苏联的。”<sup>①</sup>在这里,毛泽东已深刻认识到美国的战略目标并非入侵苏联,而是通过“把西方国家和一大批殖民地、半殖民地国家纳入自己势力范围内”,实现美国的世界霸权,<sup>②</sup>进而初步认识到新兴民族独立国家在两极体制下的特殊地位。

1955年毛泽东在接见英国工党代表团时明确指出,“这广大的中间地带的人民中,亚非两大洲就有十四亿,还有欧洲的人民,都是我们反对美国侵略的同盟者”。<sup>③</sup>与此同时,伴随众多新兴独立国家的出现和1955年万隆会议的召开,第三世界开始作为一支独立力量登上国际舞台,中国更加明确地意识到相同和相似的历史命运,构成了中国与发展中国家关系的重要基础。在参加亚非会议期间,周恩来在补充讲话中提出:“亚非绝大多数国家和人民自近代以来都曾经受过、并且现在仍然受着殖民主义所造成的灾难和痛苦……从解除殖民主义痛苦和灾难中找共同基础,我们就很容易相互了解和尊重、互相同情

<sup>①</sup> 《毛泽东外交文选》，中央文献出版社、世界知识出版社，1994年，第59页。

<sup>②</sup> 叶自成：《新中国外交思想：从毛泽东到邓小平》，北京大学出版社，2001年，第128页。

<sup>③</sup> 《毛泽东外交文选》，中央文献出版社、世界知识出版社，1994年，第205页。

和支持,而不是互相疑虑和恐惧、互相排斥和对立。”<sup>①</sup> 基于上述认识,中国明确将支持亚非拉国家民族独立和解放作为中国外交政策的重要组成部分。毛泽东在1956年党的第八次代表大会上指出:“亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲各国的民族独立解放运动,以及世界上一切国家的和平运动和正义斗争,我们都必须给予积极的支持。”<sup>②</sup> 中国将与发展中国家“站在一条战线上”,“共同反对帝国主义和殖民主义”。<sup>③</sup>

进入20世纪60年代后,毛泽东的“中间地带”思想发生了重大变化,突出体现为两个“中间地带”的观点。他指出:“中间地带有两部分:一部分是指亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的广大经济落后的国家,一部分是指欧洲为代表的帝国主义国家和发达的资本主义国家。这两部分都反对美国的控制。”<sup>④</sup> 这一论述表明“三个世界”理论的雏形已经具备。1964年毛泽东在同美国友人的谈话中,首次使用了“第三世界”的概念。他指出:“美国在两个‘第三世界’都遇到抵抗。第一个‘第三世界’是指亚、非、拉。第二个‘第三世界’是指以西欧为主的一批资本主义高度发展的、有些还是帝国主义的国家,……”<sup>⑤</sup> 当然,毛泽东在这里阐述的“第三世界”仍是“中间地带”理论的不同表述。

1974年,毛泽东在会见赞比亚总统时明确指出:“我看美国、苏联是第一世界。中间派,日本、欧洲、澳大利亚、加拿大,是第二世界。咱们是第三世界。……亚洲除了日本,都是第三世界。整个非洲都是第三世界,拉丁美洲也是第三世界。”<sup>⑥</sup> 三个世界划分的理论,主要在于号召广大发展中国家团结起来,并联合第二世界国家,共同反对美苏的霸权主义。毛泽东明确指出中国属于第三世界,中国和第三世界国家要相互支持、相互帮助。

从毛泽东的“中间地带”理论到“三个世界”理论形成历时近30年,这一过程与民族解放运动的深入发展、万隆会议的召开、不结盟运动的诞生、77国集团的出现,直至第三世界形成的历史进程是同步的,充分反映了中国对发展中国家国际地位认识的不断深入和提高。“三个世界”理论不仅为中国与发

<sup>①</sup> 《周恩来外交文选》,中央文献出版社,1990年,第120-121页。

<sup>②</sup> 《新华半月刊》,1956年20号,第1页。

<sup>③</sup> 《毛泽东外交文选》,中央文献出版社、世界知识出版社,1994年,第403页。

<sup>④</sup> 同上,第508页。

<sup>⑤</sup> 同上,第514页。

<sup>⑥</sup> 同上,第600-601页。

展中国家的团结合作指明了方向，同时也构成了党的第一代领导集体国际战略思想的核心组成部分。在“中间地带”和“三个世界”理论的指导下，中国对发展中国家的基本外交战略可以概括为：

（一）支持发展中国家的民族解放事业和建立国际新秩序的斗争

在 20 世纪 50 至 70 年代，支持正在争取独立的民族解放运动，支持新独立的民族主义国家维护民族独立，是中国对发展中国家政策的主要内容。在西亚非洲地区，中国大力支持西亚北非国家和人民争取和维护民族独立的斗争。中国积极支持埃及、伊拉克、黎巴嫩等阿拉伯国家的民族解放斗争和巴勒斯坦恢复民族权利的正义斗争；支持安哥拉、几内亚比绍、南非等非洲国家反帝、反殖和反种族主义的斗争；支持安哥拉、扎伊尔、阿富汗等国反对苏联侵略的斗争。在拉丁美洲，中国对古巴革命、巴拿马要求收回巴拿马运河区主权的正义斗争和多米尼加反对美国武装侵略的斗争，都给予了坚决支持。

20 世纪 60 至 70 年代，拉美国家掀起的争取 200 海里海洋权的斗争，77 国集团在联合国内所进行的维护发展中国家经济权益的斗争，构成了当时发展中国家建立国际经济新秩序斗争的主要表现，中国对此予以了大力支持。在 1974 年联合国第六届特别会议上，邓小平代表中国政府发言，就第三世界国家的共性特征以及共同面临的任務，如何消除国际政治和国际经济中的不合理现象等问题作了全面阐述，得到了广大发展中国家的认同。

（二）对发展中国家给予无偿经济援助

在 20 世纪 50 至 70 年代，中国对发展中国家给予了大量无偿经济援助，其重要战略考虑是通过向发展中国家提供经济援助，巩固其政治独立。周恩来指出：“中国是一个刚刚解放不久的国家，我们的经济还很落后，我们在经济上还没有完全独立。”“但是由于我们认识到，经济上的独立对于巩固政治上的独立具有重要意义，我们在自己进行经济建设的同时，也愿意在可能的范围内贡献我们的微薄力量，帮助其它国家经济的发展。”<sup>①</sup>

1963 年底至 1964 年初，周恩来在访问非洲的过程中，正式提出了中国对外援助的八项原则。在访问回国后，周恩来指出，这些原则“不仅适用于对非洲国家的援助，也适用于我国对亚洲和其它新兴国家的援助。”<sup>②</sup>“我们对

<sup>①</sup> 谢益显：《中国当代外交史》，中国青年出版社，1997 年，第 172-173 页。

<sup>②</sup> 石林：《当代中国的对外经济合作》，中国社会科学出版社，1989 年，第 43 页。

兄弟国家和新独立国家进行援助，把他们的力量加强了，反过来就是削弱了帝国主义的力量，这对我们也是巨大的支援。”<sup>①</sup>为了指导对第三世界国家的援助，中国对外经济联络部连续召开了五次对外援助工作会议。中国对外援助的数额从50年代至70年代中期一直保持连续增长（参见下表），特别是在20世纪70年代前半期，中国的外援占同时期国家财政支出比例的5.88%，其中1973年高达国家财政支出的6.92%。<sup>②</sup>从1970至1978年，中国共帮助37个国家建成470个项目，超过前16年（1955至1970年）建成项目的总和，其支出为新中国成立以来21年总和的159%。<sup>③</sup>非洲是当时中国对外援助的重点，在1956至1977年间，中国向36个非洲国家提供了超过24176亿美元的经济援助，占中国对外援助总额（42176亿美元）的58%。<sup>④</sup>

中国对外援助情况（1953-1980）（单位：百万美元）

地区	1953~1960年 平均数	1961~1969年 平均数	1970~1975 年平均数	1976~1980 年平均数
非洲	4	46	319	94
亚洲	160	172	310	160
欧洲	—	—	8	6
拉丁美洲	8	4	24	3
大洋洲	—	—	—	—
总计	172	222	6613	263

资料来源：李安山：“论中国对非洲政策的调适与转变”，《西亚非洲》，2006年第8期，第15页。

中国的对外援助对于促进发展中国家的经济发展发挥了重要作用，同时也赢得了中国在发展中国家的政治声誉，为日后中国与发展中国家关系奠定了深厚基础。例如，有国外学者针对中国援建的非洲坦赞铁路所具有的重要政治意

<sup>①</sup> 王泰平：《中华人民共和国外交史（1956～1969）》，世界知识出版社，1998年，第190页。

<sup>②</sup> 石林：《当代中国的对外经济合作》，中国社会科学出版社，1989年，第69页。

<sup>③</sup> 同上，第60-61页。

<sup>④</sup> W. Weinstein & T. H. Henriksen, (eds.), *Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations*, Praeger, 1980, pp. 117, 121.

义指出，它所具有的“史诗般的象征意义”，预示着在现代国际关系史上，一条非西方世界间的南南合作之路的启动。<sup>①</sup>当然，中国单方面对外援助存在的局限性也不容否认，如超出中国自身能力，造成某些国家对中国的援助的过于依赖，对某些国家（如阿尔巴尼亚和越南）的援助甚至造成事与愿违的结果等，都是当时推行单方面对外援助留下的历史教训。

### （三）支持发展中国家的团结合作

首先，中国自身本着“求同存异”精神和“和平共处五项原则”，解决与发展中国的历史遗留问题，促进发展中国家的团结合作。为打消新兴民族独立国家对中国的疑虑，中国在处理与周边印度、缅甸等发展中国的历史遗留问题时，提出了“和平共处五项原则”。在万隆会议上，周恩来不断强调发展中国家之间应“求同存异”。“和平共处五项原则”和“求同存异”主张的精髓就是彼此尊重、相互平等、互不干涉，它不仅奠定了中国与发展中国家政治关系的深厚基础，同时也为亚非国家的团结合作作出了重要历史贡献。在后来中国的对外关系实践中，中国与某些发展中国家虽然存在矛盾分歧和冲突，但是中国坚持了不因与某些国家的关系而影响整个第三世界团结的做法。例如，1961年不结盟运动兴起时，中国与这一运动的重要发起者印度和南斯拉夫的关系处在僵持状态，但这并没有影响到中国对不结盟运动的态度。相反，中国对不结盟运动反帝、反殖的总政策，予以了高度评价和积极支持。

其次，中国积极做发展中国家的的工作，促进发展中国家的团结。例如，在埃及与以色列和解后，埃及与阿拉伯世界的关系急剧恶化。为维护阿拉伯国家的团结，邓小平和其他中国领导人对其他阿拉伯国家做了大量工作。邓小平指出，中东问题的解决，归根到底要靠阿拉伯国家的团结和联合，希望阿拉伯国家不要中断与埃及的关系。经过多方面的努力，阿拉伯国家相继恢复与埃及的关系，埃及重新回到阿盟。<sup>②</sup>

## 改革开放后中国对发展中国家的外交战略

<sup>①</sup> J. K. Nyerere, “South-South Dialogue and Development in Africa”, *Uhuru*, May 23, 1979. 转引自王逸舟主编：《中国对外关系转型30年：1978~2008》，社会科学文献出版社，2008年，第69页。

<sup>②</sup> 颜声毅：《当代中国外交》，复旦大学出版社，2007年，第186-187页。

改革开放以来,中国在客观认识时代特征和时代主题的基础上,逐渐冲破过去以意识形态,或以美、苏阵营划线的传统外交理念的束缚,确立了独立自主与不结盟的外交战略,对中国的外交政策作出了重大调整。在改革开放后的30年间,加强与发展中国家的团结合作始终是中国外交的基本立足点。中国在继续巩固与发展中国家友好合作关系和传统友谊的同时,根据国际形势的变化与自身外交战略的调整,对中国与发展中国家关系的内容与形式进行了充实与调整,从而使中国与发展中国家的关系焕发出了新的生机与活力。

### (一) 中国“永远站在第三世界一边”,但是“千万不要当头”

20世纪80年代尤其是冷战结束以来,面对西方霸权主义和强权政治的严重挤压,部分发展中国家不同程度地存在“希望中国当头”抗衡西方的期待。面对这种复杂的局面,邓小平基于对时代主题的全面认识,从中国独立自主与不结盟外交的基本原则出发,提出了中国“永远站在第三世界一边”,但是“千万不要当头”的战略思想。这一战略思想确定了中国与发展中国家关系的两个基本原则:

第一,中国与发展中国家关系的战略基础不会改变,中国作为第三世界的一员,永远维护发展中国家的共同利益。邓小平指出:“中国的对外政策,到80年代,实际上到90年代,甚至到21世纪,主要是两句话,一句话是反对霸权主义,维护世界和平。另一句话是中国永远属于第三世界。中国现在属于第三世界,将来发展起来,仍然属于第三世界。中国 and 所有第三世界国家的命运是共同的。中国永远不会称霸,永远不会欺负别人,永远站在第三世界的一边。”<sup>①</sup>

第二,中国联合第三世界共同反对霸权主义,但不会充当第三世界的领袖。邓小平指出:“我们千万不要当头,这是一个根本国策。这个头我们当不起,自己力量也不够。当了绝无好处,许多主动都失掉了。”邓小平还说:“搞霸权主义名誉很坏,当第三世界的头名誉也不好。”“中国永远站在第三世界一边,中国永远不称霸,中国也永远不当头。”<sup>②</sup>邓小平意在强调,充当第三世界的领袖不仅不符合中国的外交方针和国家利益,也不利于第三世界的团结合作。但邓小平同时认为,“不当头”并非无所作为,有所作为的主要方式就是“积

<sup>①</sup> 《邓小平文选》第3卷,人民出版社,1994年,第56页。

<sup>②</sup> 《邓小平文选》第3卷,人民出版社,1994年,第363页。

极推动建立国际政治经济新秩序”。<sup>①</sup>

实践证明，在改革开放以来的对外战略中，无论是推动国际格局多极化、建立国际政治经济新秩序的战略思想，还是建设持久和平、共同繁荣的和谐世界的战略构想，中国都把维护发展中国家的利益作为一项长期战略加以贯彻和执行。在党的十七大报告中，胡锦涛明确指出：“我们将继续加强同广大发展中国家的团结合作，深化传统友谊，扩大务实合作，提供力所能及的援助，维护发展中国家的正当要求和共同利益。”<sup>②</sup>

## （二）不搞划线外交，致力于同所有发展中国家发展友好合作关系

20世纪50至70年代，受冷战体制下意识形态因素的影响，与美苏两个大国的关系如何在不同时期构成了中国划分敌我力量的重要参照，对中国对外关系产生了严重的消极影响。例如，在50年代，由于中国以美国划线，对于与美国关系密切的国家，中国很少与它们交往；在60至70年代，中国又以苏联划线，按第三世界国家对苏联的态度立场决定中国对它们的政策。<sup>③</sup>20世纪80年代初，中国确立了全方位的独立自主和平外交政策，放弃以大国划线的做法，使中国同发展中国家的关系得到了全面的发展。据统计，1980至1990年有24个发展中国家与中国建立或恢复外交关系；<sup>④</sup>在反映发展中国家利益的联合国大会投票中，中国与第三世界一致率从1971至1976年的58.5%上升到1984至1987年的84.5%。<sup>⑤</sup>

20世纪90年代和进入新世纪以来，在与发展中国家双边关系不断发展的同时，中国与发展中国家区域组织的关系也得到迅速发展，使中国与发展中国家合作关系的形式更加多样，内容更加丰富。在构建与参与区域组织合作方面，中国与俄罗斯、中亚国家成立了上海合作组织，推动上海合作组织成员国缔结了长期睦邻友好合作条约，上合组织进入全面务实合作阶段；中国作为首个非东盟国家加入《东南亚友好合作条约》，东盟—中国（10+1）、东盟—中日韩

<sup>①</sup> 同上。

<sup>②</sup> 胡锦涛：《高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜，为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗——在中国共产党第十七次全国代表大会上的报告》，[http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqzg/2007-10/25/content\\_6205616.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqzg/2007-10/25/content_6205616.htm)。

<sup>③</sup> 颜声毅：《当代中国外交》，复旦大学出版社，2007年，第196-197页。

<sup>④</sup> 孙勇胜：《中华人民共和国对外关系史纲》，甘肃人民出版社，1996年，第320页。

<sup>⑤</sup> K S. Boulder, *China and the World New Directions in the Chinese Foreign Relations*, Westview Press, 1989, pp. 153-154.



(10+3) 合作成果显著;中国和非洲国家成立了中非合作论坛,2006年我国成功主办中非合作论坛北京峰会,成为新中国外交史上主办的规模最大、领导人出席最多的国际会议,对巩固和发展我国与非洲国家的友好关系具有重大意义;中国与阿拉伯联盟于2004年成立中阿合作论坛,2006年中国成功主办中阿合作论坛部长级会议。

### (三) 从单边经济援助转向互利共赢和共同发展的新型经济关系

20世纪80年代初,伴随对时代主题的认识,中国实现了从“战争与革命”到“和平与发展”的转变,从“经济为外交服务”向“外交为经济服务”的转变。<sup>①</sup>从80年代起,“平等互利、形式多样、讲求实效、共同发展”成为中国与发展中国家经济合作关系的基本方针。进入新世纪以来,中国更加重视从战略高度开展对发展中国家的经济外交,探索双方经济合作的新形式,双方已日益形成互利共赢、共同发展的新型经济合作关系。

改革开放后,邓小平深刻认识到大规模单方面经济援助的局限性,强调对外援助要注意方法和效果。他指出:“应该肯定我们过去援助第三世界是正确的。……从战略上讲,我们真正发展起来了,要用相当数量来援助。中国发展以后不要忘记这一点。在援助问题上,方针要坚持,基本上的援助原则还是那个八条,具体办法要修改,真正使受援国得到益处。”<sup>②</sup>在上述精神指导下,1980年3月,对外经济联络部召开了全国对外经济工作会议,提出了坚持国际主义,坚持援外八项原则,广泛开展国际经济技术合作,有出有进、平等互利的对外经济工作方针。<sup>③</sup>

1982年12月至1983年1月,中国总理访问非洲11国,提出了我国同非洲国家进行经济技术合作的四项原则,即“平等互利、形式多样、讲求实效、共同发展”。<sup>④</sup>1985年,中国总理在访问拉美时又提出了发展与拉美国家关系的四原则,即“和平友好、互相支持、平等互利、共同发展”。<sup>⑤</sup>与此

<sup>①</sup> 曲星:《中国外交50年》,江苏人民出版社,2000年,第440-441页。

<sup>②</sup> 转引自王泰平:《新中国外交50年》,北京出版社,1999年,第721-722页。

<sup>③</sup> 王逸舟主编:《中国对外关系转型30年:1978~2008》,社科文献出版社,2008年,第144页。

<sup>④</sup> 黄泽全:“中非关系走进新时代”,

[http://www.chinaafrica.com/news/content.asp?news\\_id=1877](http://www.chinaafrica.com/news/content.asp?news_id=1877)。

<sup>⑤</sup> 张清敏:“对众多不同国家的一个相同政策——浅析中国对发展中国家的政策”,《当代中国史研究》,2001年第1期,第39页。

相适应,从1983年开始,中国对发展中国家的无偿援助开始减少,在继续给发展中国家提供无息贷款,实施承建成套项目的同时,中国与发展中国家开始开展多种形式的经济技术合作,使双方经济关系从中国对发展中国家提供经济援助为主逐渐转变为互利合作为主。

20世纪90年代以来,中国进一步探索与发展中国家经济合作的新形式。中国与发展中国家合作的主体逐步从政府转为企业,实现了援外方式多样化和援外资金来源多元化。<sup>①</sup>在1995年召开的全国援外改革工作会议上,中国政府对发展中国家的援助政策进行了一系列探索和改革。其主要内容是:在坚持不附加任何条件的前提下,中国积极推行优惠贷款、援外项目的合资合作。

进入新世纪以来,中国更加重视从战略高度开展对发展中国家的经济外交,探索双方经济合作的新形式。在2004年召开的全国对发展中国家经济外交工作会议上,温家宝总理强调,对发展中国家的经济外交工作要坚持“相互尊重、平等相待,以政促经、政经结合,互利互惠、共同发展,形式多样、注重实效”的指导原则。<sup>②</sup>伴随中国不断调整对发展中国家的经济外交战略,伴随中国与发展中国家经济合作形式的多样化与制度化,中国与发展中国家的经济合作已经遍及发展援助、贸易、投资、金融、能源等各领域,真正走向了互利共赢的全方位经济合作。

#### (四) 履行国际责任,积极参与国际热点问题的解决

当今世界的主要热点问题大多发生在发展中国家,随着中国国力的增强和国际地位的提高,国际社会尤其是发展中国家对中国参与解决国际热点问题的期待不断提高。从中国自身来看,作为安理会常任理事国,中国也有义务为解决国际争端贡献自己的力量,愿意利用自己的影响力在解决热点问题上发挥建设性作用。

在20世纪80至90年代,基于以经济建设为中心的总体发展战略,以及受中国国家实力有限、参与多边国际机制的经验相对缺乏等因素的制约,中国的热点外交在总体姿态上具有相对超然的特点。具体体现为在与现实国家利益相关性不大的热点问题上,中国除在联合国框架内表达立场、施加影响外,参与和介入的程度十分有限。随着中国国际地位的不断提高和国力的增强,融入

<sup>①</sup> 颜声毅:《当代中国外交》,复旦大学出版社,2007年,第195-196页。

<sup>②</sup> “全国对发展中国家经济外交工作会议在京召开”,《人民日报》,2004年9月3日。

国际体系程度的加深,国际社会对中国国际责任要求的提高,以及中国国家利益的不断外溢和“走出去”战略的确立,中国日益加强了对国际热点问题的介入与参与程度。党的十七大报告明确提出:“中国致力于和平解决国际争端和热点问题”<sup>①</sup>,表达了中国参与解决国际热点问题的根本主张及信心与决心。

中国在积极参与国际热点问题解决的过程中,形成了中国热点外交的鲜明特点:第一,坚持通过对话和谈判和平解决国际争端是中国热点外交的根本宗旨;第二,倡导多边主义,重视联合国在维护世界和平中的作用,恪守公认的国际关系准则;第三,重视发展,强调通过经济合作和增加人道援助,为和平解决争端营造环境;第四,通过加强与有关国家特别是大国的协调和沟通,化解矛盾,凝聚共识;第五,从国际道义出发,尊重相关各方合理的利益关切,推动热点问题的解决向着有利于当事国或地区人民的根本利益的方向发展。<sup>②</sup>

中国从自身的外交政策与价值观念出发,在妥善处理并协调有关大国、国际组织和区域组织关系的基础上,推动热点问题的解决向着有利于当事国或地区的人民根本利益的方向发展,而不谋求控制和主宰热点问题及其相关的国际事务,积极推进多边磋商与协调,对于塑造中国负责任大国的国际形象发挥了重要作用。美国主管东亚与太平洋地区事务的前副助理国务卿柯庆生曾指出:“在近年里,中国的外交活动反映出一种变化,……它认识到与国际社会在共同关切的问题上进行合作的价值与义务。这是中国外交政策上一种我们应该肯定并继续支持的趋向。”<sup>③</sup>

<sup>①</sup> 胡锦涛:《高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜 为夺取全面建设小康社会新胜利而奋斗》, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqzg/2007-10/25/content\\_6205616.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/hqzg/2007-10/25/content_6205616.htm)。

<sup>②</sup> 详尽论述参见刘中民:《中国的热点外交研究——特点、理念与意义》,《东北亚论坛》,2009年第3期。

<sup>③</sup> [美]柯庆生:“通过外交途径影响中国的全球性选择”, [http://guangzhou-ch.usembassy-china.org.cn/diplomatic\\_influencing\\_china.htm](http://guangzhou-ch.usembassy-china.org.cn/diplomatic_influencing_china.htm)。

# Sixty Years of China's Foreign Strategy towards Developing Countries

*LIU Zhongmin*

The developing countries, as a group of nation-states emerged from the course of the world decolonization, constitutes an important part of the international system and an important force in pushing for the transformation of the system. During the six decades of its glorious diplomatic history, China as a developing country and as an important member of the third world has persistently regarded the unity and cooperation with developing countries as the foundation of China's diplomacy. Today, thanks to the emergence of the newly emerging powers, China and many other developing countries, and the burgeoning of regional organizations of developing countries, they have become an important force for pushing the transition of international system. The unity and cooperation between China and developing countries are more diversified in forms and richer in contents. Their relations are entering into a brand new era. This essay tries to generalize China's foreign practices by examining China's foreign strategy towards developing countries over the sixty years since the founding of new China.

## **I. China's Foreign Strategy toward Developing Countries in the Three Decades before Reform and Opening-up**

Three periods can be identified in China's foreign strategy towards developing countries in the pre-reform years, namely, the

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period of “leaning to one side” in the 1950s, the period of “anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism” in 1960s and the period of “one line and one mass” in 1970s. The three decades saw the decolonization movement, national independence, unity and cooperation among developing countries via Bandung Conference, Non-alignment movement and G77, which became an important international force. Albeit China made two important adjustment to its foreign strategy during the pre-reform period, China made no change in the policy of supporting the developing countries, which laid a strong foundation to the unity and cooperation of them.

Mao Zedong had attached great importance long ago to the struggle of national liberation in colonial and semi-colonial countries and to its significance in the world configuration and through which Mao assessed the situations of world and of China as well. He pointed out as early as in August 1946 when meeting with Anna Louise Strong, “There is a vast immediate belt sandwiched by U.S. and Soviet Union, consisting capitalist countries, colonial countries and semi-colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. The U.S. reactionary will by no mean attack the Soviet Union until it has subdued those countries.”<sup>①</sup> Here, Mao Zedong had already been aware that U.S. harbored no intention to invade the Soviet Union, but “to incorporate the Western countries and the vast number of countries and semi-colonial countries into its own sphere of influence”, hence to seek U.S. hegemony in the world.<sup>②</sup> Mao then had been preliminarily aware of the special status of the newly independent countries in the bipolar system.

Mao Zedong clearly noted in meeting with the visiting British Labor delegation in 1955, “Of the people in the vast intermediate area, 1.4 billion are on the Asian and African continents in addition to the Europeans. All of them are our allies against U.S. invasion.”<sup>③</sup> In the meantime, as the emergence of many newly independent countries and the opening of Bandung Conference in

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<sup>①</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Document Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p.59.

<sup>②</sup> Ye Zicheng, *Diplomatic Thought of New China: From Mao Zedong to Deng Xiaoping*, Beijing University Press, 2001, p.128.

<sup>③</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p.205.

1955, the third world began to appear in the international arena as an independent force. China thus became more aware of the common and similar fates, which constituted the important basis of the relations between China and developing countries. During the Bandung Conference, the late premier Zhou Enlai noted, "The majority of Asian and African countries and peoples have been suffering, and are still suffering today, the disaster and bitterness inflicted by colonialism...By being on common basis to search for eliminating the bitterness and disaster, it is too easy for us to understand and respect each other, to sympathize and support each other, but not to suspect and fear of each other, nor to dismiss and oppose each other at all."<sup>1</sup> Based on the above understanding, China clearly regards supporting Asian and African countries of their national independence and liberation as an important part of China's foreign policy. Mao Zedong noted on the party congress in 1956, "We must provide active support to the national independence and liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the peace movement and the just struggle of all the countries across the world."<sup>2</sup> China will "stand on the same frontline" with developing countries", "joining hands in opposing imperialism and colonialism".<sup>3</sup>

In 1960s, Mao's idea of "intermediate belt" altered greatly, highlighting the view of two "intermediate belts", i.e., "One part of belts refers to Asia, Africa and Latin America, the economically backward countries. The other part refers to the imperialist countries and developed capitalist countries mostly in Europe. The two parts equally oppose the U.S. control."<sup>4</sup> This proposition indicates the shaping of the theory of "three worlds". Mao used the term of "third world" for the first time in his talks with an American friend by saying, "U.S. is resisted by the two "third worlds". The first third world refers to the Asia, Africa and Latin America. The second third world refers to mostly the European capitalist countries, highly developed and some even

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<sup>1</sup> *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press, 2001, pp.120-121.

<sup>2</sup> *Xinhua Semimonthly*, No.20, 1956, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p.403.

<sup>4</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p.508.

imperialist..."<sup>①</sup> Of course, the "third world" Mao used here is but the idea "intermediate belt" in other words.

Mao noted in meeting with Zambian President in 1974, "I view U.S. and U.S.S.R. as the first world. Japan, Europe, Australia and Canada, the centrists, are the second world. We are the third world. All of Asia, except Japan, is the third world. The entire Africa is the third world. So is the Latin America."<sup>②</sup> The theory of the division of three worlds aims at calling for unity of the broad developing countries and associating with the second world to join hands in countering the hegemonism of U.S. and U.S.S.R. Mao is clear to ascribe China to the third world. Therefore, China and the third world countries should support and help each other.

It took three decades for Mao's "intermediate belt" to transform to the third world theory, which coincided with the national liberation movement, Bandung Conference, the birth of non-alignment movement, G77, thanks to the rise of the third world. This indicates that China is gradually looking up the international status of developing countries. The theory of three worlds not only pointed out the direction of the unity and cooperation between China and developing countries, but also constituted the core component of the first generation of the party leadership in terms of international strategy. With the guideline of the theory of "intermediate belt" and "three worlds", China's basic foreign strategy towards developing countries can be analyzed as follows:

#### 1. Supporting Developing Countries for Their National Liberation and for Establishing International New Order

Between 1950s and 1970s, supporting developing countries for their national liberation and national independence were major contents of China's policy towards developing countries. China strongly supported nations and peoples in West Asia and North Africa in struggling for and maintaining their national independence. China actively supported Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon in their national liberation struggles and Palestine in its legitimate struggle for recovering the right of a state. China supported

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<sup>①</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p514.

<sup>②</sup> *Selected Works of Mao Zedong on diplomacy*, Central Party Literature Press and World Knowledge Press, 1994, p.600-601.

Angola, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa for their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. China supported Angola, Zaire and Afghanistan in their struggle against Soviet Union. In Latin America, China supported Cuban revolution, supported Panama in its legitimate struggle for retrieving the authority of Panama Canal and supported Dominican for their struggle against U.S. arms invasion.

Between 1960s and 1970s, the Latin Americans launched struggles for their maritime sovereignty to 200 miles and the G77 launched struggle for maintaining economic rights of developing countries within the UN scope, which constituted the major manifestation of the developing countries in their struggle for establishing new order of international economy. China greatly supported for the struggles. In 1974 on behalf of the Chinese Government to attend the special session of the UN General Assembly, Deng Xiaoping first expounded to the world of the identity and tasks of the developing countries and the approaches China held to eliminate unjust and unfair phenomenon in international politics and international economics. The speech was broadly agreed by the developing countries.

## 2. Providing Developing Countries with Free Economic Aid

Between 1950s and 1970s, China provided developing countries with great amount of free economic aids aiming at consolidating their political independence. As Zhou Enlai pointed out, "China is a nation liberated just recently. We are economically backward and have to reach complete economic independence...But as we are well aware that economic independence is very significant to consolidating political independence. We are willing to make contribution to helping the economic development of them, though China is itself pursuing economic construction."<sup>①</sup>

During his visit to Africa from the end of 1963 to early 1964, Zhou Enlai put forward eight principles of China's foreign aid. As he was back home from the visit, Zhou pointed out, those principles "not only apply to African countries, but also to Asian and other newly emerging nations."<sup>②</sup> "Our aid to brother

<sup>①</sup> Xie Yixian, *Contemporary China's Diplomacy*, Chinese Youth Press, 1997, pp.172-173.

<sup>②</sup> Shi Lin, *Contemporary China's Foreign Economic Cooperation*, China Social Science Press, 1989, p.43.



countries and newly independent countries is aimed at strengthening their strengths and thereby offsetting the strength of the imperialism, which ends up also as a great support to ourselves.”<sup>①</sup> The Ministry of Foreign Economic Liaison had consecutively held five working meetings on foreign aid for the purpose. China’s foreign aid grew constantly from 1950s to the mid-1970s (see the following Table). Especially, China’s aid accounted for annually 5.88% of the national budget in the first half of 1970s, of which 6.92% in 1973.<sup>②</sup> Between 1970 and 1978, China had established 470 projects in 37 countries, exceeding the total number of the projects in the previous 16 years between 1955 and 1970 and its expense amounted to 159% of the total in the 21 years from 1949 to 1970.<sup>③</sup> Africa is a key destination to China’s foreign aid. China provided 36 African countries with over \$2417.6 billion of economic aids between 1956 and 1977, accounting for 58% of China’s total foreign aids.<sup>④</sup>

China’s foreign aids (1953-1980) (\$1million)

Regions	1953-1960 Average	1961-1969 Average	1970-1975 Average	1976-1980 Average
Africa	4	46	319	94
Asia	160	172	310	160
Europe	-	--	8	6
Latin Am	8	4	24	3
Oceania	-	-	-	-
Total	172	222	6613	263

Source: Li Anshan, “China’s Aid to Africa: Adjustment and Shift”, *West Asia and Africa*, 2006, No.8, p.15.

China’s foreign aid played a great role in promoting economic development of developing countries and at the meantime won China political prestige in developing countries, laying profound basis for good relations between China and developing countries

<sup>①</sup> Wang Taiping, *PRC Diplomatic History (1956-1969)*, World Knowledge Press, 1998, p.190.

<sup>②</sup> Shi Lin, *Contemporary China’s Foreign Economic Cooperation*, China Social Science Press, 1989, p.69.

<sup>③</sup> Shi Lin, *Contemporary China’s Foreign Economic Cooperation*, China Social Science Press, 1989, pp.6--61.

<sup>④</sup> W. Weinstein & T.H.Henriksen (ed.), *Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations*, Praeger, 1980, pp.117, 121.

since. It is "epically symbolic" and heralding a road of non-western South-South cooperation put in motion, as a foreign scholar put it referring to the political importance of the China's aid to Tanzania-Zambia railway.<sup>11</sup> Of course, downsides remain in China's unilateral foreign aid, e.g., the foreign aid outstrips China's own strength; the over-reliance of some countries on China's foreign aid; things go contrary to the wishes as in the cases of Albania and Vietnam, which all are historical lessons left behind by the unilateral aid.

### 3. Supporting Unity and Cooperation of Developing Countries

First, based on "seeking commonality and reserving difference" and "five principles of peaceful coexistence", China settles historical leftovers and promotes unity and cooperation of developing countries. China puts forward "five principles of peaceful coexistence" to drive out the suspects on China held by some newly independent countries, for instance, when China is dealing with historical leftovers with India and Burma. Zhou Enlai repeatedly emphasized "seeking commonality and reserving difference" between developing countries on Bandung conference. The essence of "five principles of peaceful coexistence" and "seeking commonality and reserving difference" is in other words the mutual respect, mutual equality and no interference in internal affairs of other countries. This not only laid a profound basis for good relations between China and developing countries, but also made important contribution to the unity and cooperation of the Asian and African countries. Although China experienced contradiction and conflict with some developing countries thereafter, China has never had its unity with the third world adversely affected thereof. For example, the non-alignment movement emerged in 1961 when China's relations with India and Yugoslavia, the two important initiator of the movement, soured though; China's attitude towards the movement was not affected. On the contrary, China highly appreciated and actively supported the movement of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

Secondly, China actively mediated to promote unity of the developing countries. For example, Egypt's relations with Arab world dramatically aggravated when Egypt and Israel had

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<sup>11</sup> J.K.Nyerere, "South-South Dialogue and Development in Africa", *Uhuru*, May 23, 1979.

reconciled. In order to maintain Arab unity, Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders did a great deal of mediation in Arab countries. Deng pointed out, the solution to the Middle East problem is ultimately up to the unity and association of the Arab countries. He hoped Arab countries not to sunder their relations with Egypt. With efforts made by multiple parties, Arab countries resumed their relations with Egypt one after another and Egypt finally returned to the League of Arab States.

## **II. China's Foreign Strategy to Developing Countries in Three Decades Following the Outset of Reform and Opening-up**

Since the outset of reform and opening-up, China reexamined the features and theme of the era and broke up the previous ideological restraint or the traditional diplomatic restraint of setting the U.S. and Soviet blocs as a criterion of making friends and foes hence China developed the diplomatic strategy of independence and non-alignment and made an important readjustment in foreign policy. Over the three decades of reform and opening-up, unity and cooperation with developing countries have been the basic footage of China's diplomacy. China continued its traditional friendship and cooperation with developing countries, though China developed and readjusted the contents and forms of the relations, which ended up with renewed dynamics and vigor.

### **1. China Will Side with the Third World Forever, but Never Take the Lead**

Since 1980s, especially since the end of cold war, part of the developing countries has been severely squeezed by the western hegemonism and power politics, hence they expected, to different extents, that China took head to balance. In face of the situation, Deng Xiaoping made an overall examination of the theme of the era and started from the principle of China's foreign policy, i.e., independence and non-alignment, to put forward the strategic thinking that China "will side with the third world forever, and will never take the lead". The strategy reconfirms two principles of China's relations with developing countries:

First, China will not change the strategic foundation of its

relations with developing countries. As a member of the third world, China will forever maintain the common interest of the developing countries. Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "Up to 1980s or actually to 1990s, even to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China's foreign policy is mainly two sentences: one is anti-hegemonism to maintain the world peace. The other is that China belongs to the third world forever. China belongs to the third world not only presently, but also when China has developed in the future. China shares a common fate with the third world. China will never claim hegemony, never bully others and will side with the third world forever."<sup>①</sup>

Second, China stands with the third world against hegemonism, but will not assume the leadership of the third world. Deng Xiaoping pointed out, "We should not take the lead. This is the fundamental policy of China. We cannot afford the leadership. We are not strong enough. The taking the lead comes with no benefit, but rather will lose initiatives." Deng added, "Pursuing hegemonism is ill-reputed, of the same is true to take the lead of the third world." "China will side with the third world forever. China will never claim hegemony. Never will China take the lead, either."<sup>②</sup> Deng implies that assuming the leadership of the third world would not conform to the China's foreign policy and national interest, nor in the interest of the unity and cooperation of the third world. But Deng Xiaoping stated at the same time that "not to assume the leadership" does not mean to do nothing. The major forms of doing something are to actively push for establishing new order of international politics and economics."<sup>③</sup>

As showed by the practice of foreign strategy since reform and opening-up, China carried out the policy of maintaining the interest of developing countries as a long-term strategy, which manifested in pushing for multi-polarization of international configuration, establishing international political and economic order and establishing an enduring peaceful, co-prosperity, and harmonious world. Hu Jintao pointed out in his report at 17th Party Congress, "We will continue to increase solidarity and

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<sup>①</sup> *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.III, People Press, 1994, p.56.

<sup>②</sup> *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.III, People Press, p.365.

<sup>③</sup> *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.III, People Press, 1994, p.365.

cooperation with them, cement traditional friendship, expand practical cooperation, provide assistance to them within our ability, and uphold the legitimate demands and common interests of developing countries.”<sup>①</sup>

## 2. To Reject Ideology Diplomacy and to Have Friendship and Cooperation with All Developing Countries

China divided friends and foes by references of its relations with U.S. and Soviet Union between 1950s and 1970s, which severely affected China's foreign relations. For example, China maintained little relations with countries that closely associated with U.S. in 1950s; and in 1960s and 1970s, China's attitudes towards the third world countries were up to their attitudes towards Soviet Union.<sup>②</sup> By the early 1980s, China developed all-directional independent and peaceful foreign policy to jettison the great-power-alignment diplomacy, which prompted a comprehensive development in China's relations with developing countries. China had established or restored diplomatic relations with 24 countries between 1980 and 1990.<sup>③</sup> The unanimity rate between China and the third world in the UN voting, which showed the interest of developing countries, increased from 58% between 1971 and 1976 to 85% between 1984 and 1987.<sup>④</sup>

From 1980s and with advent of 21<sup>st</sup> century, along with the bilateral relations between China and developing countries, China's relations with the regional organizations of developing countries boomed. The cooperation relations were more diversified in forms and richer in contents. Shanghai Cooperation Organization was established by China, Russia and Central Asian countries. SCO members signed the long-term good-neighborhood cooperation agreement and have entered into a stage of comprehensive and pragmatic cooperation. China joined the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia as the first non-ASEAN country. ASEAN-China (10+1), ASEAN-China, Japan and ROK (10+3) have made great achievements in their cooperation. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

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<sup>①</sup> Hu Jintao's report at 17th Party Congress, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content\\_6938749\\_10.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content_6938749_10.htm).

<sup>②</sup> Yan Shengyi, *Contemporary China's Diplomacy*, Fudan University Press, 2007, pp.196-197.

<sup>③</sup> Sun Yongsheng, *P.R.C. Diplomatic Outline*, Gansu People's Press, 1996, p.320.

<sup>④</sup> K S. Boulder, *China and the World New Directions in the Chinese Foreign Relations*, Westview Press, 1989, pp. 153-154.

was established by China and African countries. China succeeded in hosting FPCAC Beijing summit in 2006, which was the largest international conference with the most number of leaders showed up ever held in PRC history. The conference is of great importance to cementing and developing China's friendship with African countries. The China-Arab Cooperation Forum was established by China and the League of Arab States in 2004. China succeeded in hosting the ministerial conference of the China-Arab Cooperation Forum in 2006.

### 3. From Unilateral Economic Aid to Mutual Benefit

China has shifted the concept of the theme of era from the term "war and revolution" to the term "peace and development" in the early 1980s. China therefore shifted the foreign relations of politics and economics from "economy for diplomacy" to "diplomacy for economy".<sup>①</sup> Since 1980s, "equality, mutual benefit, diversity of forms, efficiency and co-development" has become the basic guideline to China's economic cooperation relations with developing countries. With the advent of 21<sup>st</sup> century, China attached more attention to economic diplomacy with developing countries and probed new forms of bilateral economic cooperation. China and developing countries have increasingly come into a new economic cooperation relationship of mutual benefit, win-win and co-development.

With the outset of reform and opening-up, Deng Xiaoping spotted the limitation of the massive, unilateral economic aid. He stressed on paying attention to the method and efficiency of foreign aid. He pointed out, "We should recognize that our aid to the third world in the past is correct. Strategically speaking, we shall provide aid in a considerable amount when we have really developed. China should not forget that point when China has developed. On the issue of aid, policy should continue, which is the eight principles. But the concrete methods should be revised to really benefit the recipients."<sup>②</sup> Thanks to that direction, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Liaison held a nation-wide foreign economic conference in March 1980 to issue the foreign economic policy of insisting on internationalism, the eight principles of

<sup>①</sup> Qu Xing, *Five Decades of China Diplomacy*, Jiangsu People's Press, 2000, pp.440-441.

<sup>②</sup> See Wang Taiping, *PRC Diplomatic History (1956-1969)*, World Knowledge Press, 1998, pp.721-722.

foreign aid, extensive international economic and technology cooperation, giving and taking in respect of economic aid, equality and mutual benefit.<sup>①</sup>

The Chinese premier visited eleven African countries from December 1982 to January 1983 to put forward four principles by which China proceeded economic and technology cooperation with African countries, i.e., "equality, mutual benefit, diversity of forms, efficiency and co-development".<sup>②</sup> In 1985, Chinese premier in his visit to Latin America reiterated four principles of China's relations with Latin America, i.e., "peace and friendship, mutual support, equality and mutual benefit, and co-development".<sup>③</sup> Accordingly since 1983, China was reducing its free aid to developing countries. While continuing to provide developing countries with interest-free credit and complete set of projects, China began to launch economic and technology cooperation in diversified forms that transformed bilateral economic relations from one way of economic aid to the way of economic cooperation and mutual benefit.

Since 1990s, China has been making further effort in probing new forms of economic cooperation with developing countries. Government as the major actor of economic cooperation has gradually given way to the actor of enterprises in bilateral cooperation, which has materialized the diversified forms of foreign aid and pluralization of fund for foreign aid.<sup>④</sup> On the nation-wide foreign aid reform conference held in 1995, Chinese government completed a range of probes and reforms in terms of foreign aid to developing countries, i.e., mainly, China will stick to the premise of attaching no precondition, though China will actively pursue the policy of preferential credit and joint venture cooperation on foreign aid.

With the advent of the new century, China stepped up the economic diplomacy towards developing countries out of a strategic perspective and to explore new forms of economic

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<sup>①</sup> Wang Yizhou, *Thirty Years of Transformation of China's Foreign Relations: 1978-2008*, Social Science Academic Press, 2008, p.144.

<sup>②</sup> Huang Zequan, "China-African Relations in New Era", [http://www.chinaafrica.com/news/content.asp?news\\_id=1877](http://www.chinaafrica.com/news/content.asp?news_id=1877).

<sup>③</sup> Zhang Qingmin, "Single Policy to All Countries: On China's Policy towards Developing Countries", *Study of Contemporary Chinese History*, 2001, No.1, p.39.

<sup>④</sup> Yan Shengyi, *Contemporary China's Diplomacy*, Fudan University Press, 2007, pp.195-196.

cooperation. On the nation-wide conference of economic diplomacy to developing countries, Premier Wen Jiabao stressed on "mutual respect, equality, promoting economics by politics, reinforcement between politics and economics, mutual benefit, co-development, diversified forms and efficiency" as the guideline to China's economic diplomacy to developing countries.<sup>①</sup> As China is adjusting economic diplomacy and strategy over developing countries and as China's economic cooperation with developing countries is being diversified and institutionalized, the economic cooperation has covered all fields of development aids, trade, investment, finance, energy, etc., which really materialized mutual benefit and all-directional economic cooperation.

#### 4. Bearing International Responsibility and Participating in Settling International Hotspots

Most hotspot issues in the world today occurred in developing countries. As China grows in national strength and international status, the international community and especially the developing countries are expecting more on China in tackling international hotspot issues. China as a permanent member of the UN Security Council bears the obligation to contribute its strength and influence to the settlement of international disputes.

Between 1980s and 1990s, due to China's general development strategy that placing the top priority on economic construction and due to the restraints of national strength and lack of experience in participating in international regimes, China was relatively detached in respect of hotspot diplomacy. To be specific, on the hotspot issues that are weakly relevant to national interest, China's participation and intervention were modest, despite China did express its stance and apply its influence within the UN framework. However, as China's international status and national strength increasingly grows and as China greatly involves in international system, the international demand on China for bearing greater international responsibility grows. Moreover, China's national interest is increasingly spilling over and China developed "walk out" strategy (e.g., China is now become the important party of the Darfur issue), China has therefore stepped up its intervention in the international hotspot issues. as Chinese

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<sup>①</sup> "Nation-wide Conference of Economic Diplomacy to Developing Countries Is Held in Beijing", *People's Daily*, September 3, 2004.



Communist Party explicitly issued in the seventeen congress, "China commits to the peaceful solution to international disputes and hotspots", which showed China's resolution and confidence in participating in the settlement of international hotspots.<sup>①</sup>

Features of China's hotspot diplomacy have shaped in the process of China's participation in settling international hotspot issues. First, dialogue and peaceful solution to international hotspots is the basic tenet of China's hotspot diplomacy. Second, China advocates multilateralism and UN role in maintaining the world peace and China abides by the rules and norms of international relations. Third, China stresses on development, economic cooperation and humanitarian aid by which to create the environment for peaceful solution to international disputes. Fourth, China strengthens coordination and communication with relevant countries especially big powers to solve contradiction and to reach international consensus. Fifth, China starts from international ethics, pays respect on the reasonable interest of relevant parties and pushes for the solution to hotspot issues in the direction that is in interest of relevant countries or in the fundamental interest of the local peoples.<sup>②</sup>

On the hotspot issue, China is guided by China's diplomatic policy and values to properly deal with and coordinate with relevant big powers, international organizations and regional organizations. China then pushes for the settlement of hotspot issues in the direction that is in interest of relevant countries or in the fundamental interest of the local peoples, though China does not seek to control and dominate the hotspot issues and relevant international affairs. Rather, China actively pushes for multilateral consultation and coordination, which greatly promoted China's international image as a responsible power. Regarding China's important role on the issues of Korean nuclear issue, Iran's nuclear issues, Darfur and Burma, Mr. Thomas J. Christensen, the former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, pointed out, "in recent years China's diplomatic activity reflects an evolution... to a more pragmatic recognition of the

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<sup>①</sup> Hu Jintao's report at 17th Party Congress, [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content\\_6938749\\_10.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2007-10/24/content_6938749_10.htm).

<sup>②</sup> For details, see Liu Zhongmin, "Study of China's Hotspot Diplomacy: Features, Ideas and Significance", *Northeast Forum*, 2009, No.3.

merits and obligations of working with the international community on areas of concern. This is a positive trend in Chinese foreign policy that we should recognize and continue to support.”<sup>①</sup>

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<sup>①</sup> Thomas J. Christensen, “Shaping China’s Global Choices Through Diplomacy”, [http://guangzhou-ch.usembassy-china.org.cn/diplomatic\\_influencing\\_china.htm](http://guangzhou-ch.usembassy-china.org.cn/diplomatic_influencing_china.htm).

*most important international environments for China. The policy is to maintain national security and territorial integrity, to create stable periphery, and to build up friendly neighboring relations. Thanks to the evolutions of the international system, China at once adheres to the principles vis-à-vis its neighbors, and carries out strategic change. China has successfully realized its goals for a better periphery in the 21st century to contribute to its general foreign relations and domestic economic development.*

### **Sixty Years of China's Foreign Strategy towards Developing Countries**

LIU Zhongmin

*China's strategy towards developing countries over the three decades before the outset of reform and open policy mainly includes: China supports the national liberation cause of developing countries and fights for establishing international new order; provides developing countries with free economic aids; and supports unity and cooperation of developing countries. Over the three decades thereafter, the strategy to developing countries mainly includes: "stand by the third world forever" but never take the lead; not to "take ideology as a diplomatic line"; commits to friendship and cooperation with all the developing countries; shifts to mutual benefit and co-development from the previously unilateral economic aids; and carries out international responsibility and is active in participating in addressing international hotspots.*

### **Contemporary Chinese IR Theories: Status Quo and Development**

SU Changhe

*This essay summarizes the evolution of Chinese IR theories since 1990s. China was dominated by Marxist IR theory and ideological theory. Introduction of western IR theories provides Chinese scholars with multi-perspectives. At the same time, Chinese scholars are increasingly drawing upon ancient Chinese ethics and political thinking. The recent debate on Chinese characteristic of IR theories and Chinese School in IR theories reflects the academic appealing on constructing Chinese IR theories, which contributes to China's peaceful development and peaceful coexistence with the world.*