

*Closing Keynote by Ambassador Wang Guangya,
Permanent Representative of the PRC to the United Nations,
on the Future of China's Foreign Policy*

PROFESSOR BRUCE CUMINGS: Let me introduce His Excellency Ambassador Wang. He is the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. He's been in that position since August 2003. He studied in Wales and at the London School of Economics and divided his career between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing and the Chinese mission to the U.N. He was at John Hopkins University in 1981 and 1982. He began his service in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Translation and Interpretation Department in 1973, and he has risen to his current eminence since then. Ambassador Wang, please. Thank you.

[applause]

AMBASSADOR WANG: Thank you, Professor Cumings. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I'm honored and thankful to be invited to this symposium at the University of Chicago. Ten days ago, President Hu Jintao arrived in the United States for a state visit at the invitation of President Bush. I believe you had closely followed the three important speeches he gave during the visit.

The topic assigned to me by the organizers of this conference has to do with the future goal of China's foreign policy. As the world undergoes profound changes in this time, fraught with both opportunities and challenges, there has arisen among U.S. institutions, universities, think tanks and observers, a kind of misgivings and anxiety. That is about the possibility of China repeating the past mistakes of larger powers on the rise. Historically, these powers attempted to influence and alter the existing international configuration of their times. This concern is understandable and should be addressed in candor. My straightforward reply to this worry is that China needs and is committed to development predicated on domestic harmony and external peace. China's foreign policy therefore has to be oriented towards the pursuit of peace, the maintenance of stability and the promotion of cooperation.

Let me develop my dissertation in four points: first, what is the true significance of China's commitment to peaceful development? Second, does China's development present an opportunity or a threat to the rest of the world? Third, are the United States and China partners in cooperation or rivals in competition? Fourth, what is the role of the United Nations?

First, what is the true significance of China's policy of peaceful development? In my view, it means that China will do the utmost to ensure a peaceful international environment in which to further its development and in turn contribute to world peace by virtue of its own development. Of all creation, human beings are the most precious and of all things, nothing is more desirable than harmony and peace. China is committed to carrying out exchanges and cooperation with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual respect and benefit. That is to promote a win-win situation in which no country is left behind in development. China is committed to a world enriched by diverse civilizations and marked by full harmony among mankind, between man and nature and among nations. And to achieve this, there is no alternative to dialogue.

Peaceful development is nothing less than the prerequisite for China's endeavor to become prosperous. Reform and opening up to the outside world have brought earthshaking tremendous transformations in China. It now boasts a GDP of US\$2,200 billion, a foreign trade topping US\$1,400 billion and a foreign exchange reserve exceeding US\$800 billion, a tremendous achievement to be sure. But we must remain sober to the fact that harsh changes lies ahead for China. While its GDP was fourth in the world last year, its per capita GDP was a paltry US\$1,700, behind 100 other countries. China is plagued by uneven development between its eastern and western part, between the rural and urban areas, irrational factors in its economic structure and patterns of growth, as well as severe problems related to energy, resources and the environment. For a developing country, with a population of 1.3 billion like China, it will take several decades, perhaps a century, of sustained efforts before a decent, comfortable life could be ensured for all its citizens. This is exactly all the more reason for China to live in harmony with other countries and to promote prosperity for all societies.

Peaceful development is dictated by China's fundamental interests. Under the impetus of globalization, China is today more than ever open to the world. According to authoritative sources, China's foreign trade dependency reached 67 percent in the year 2005, topping all major trading countries, dwarfing the 20 percent of trade-oriented Japan and the United States, whose openness to trade is second to none. China has joined over a hundred intergovernmental international organizations and signed more than 300 international treaties. China's highly open economy is actively integrating into the international community in all areas and its interests are intertwined with those of other countries. It means the maintenance of international peace and security is in the best interest of China. China is naturally glad to be a responsible stakeholder, or a constructive partner, participating in upholding and forging the international system, and its rules.

Peaceful development is the best embodiment of the trend of today's world. Historically, the rise of a new power was often accompanied by clashes and upheavals in the international system and configurations, more often than not leading to bloody, armed conflict. As mankind ushers in the 21st century, rapid economic globalization and political multi-polarization have increased the interdependence of countries to an unprecedented degree. In this new era, peace will make winners of us all and conflict will make all of us losers. The traditional pattern of clashes triggered by the rise of a large power is bound to give way to peaceful coexistence. In its push for development, China will not and cannot retreat to the 'zero-sum' path traditionally taken by powers on the rise. Our only option is peaceful development in which all countries are winners.

Peaceful development is also dictated by China's cultural heritage and tradition. Chinese culture is essentially a non-aggressive culture of peace. The Chinese civilization is to a large extent encapsulated by Confucianism, which prizes benevolence and good neighborliness and places a premium on harmony. Steeped in this culture, the Chinese nation has always prided itself on its love for peace, its pursuit of harmony and has set great store by friendship. Zheng He, the great navigator of the Ming dynasty, led seven expeditions across oceans, and took his fleet to more than 30 countries in Asia and Africa, introducing to them tea, porcelain and silk, yet without taking one square inch of their land for China. This cultural and philosophical emphasis on friendship and harmony and shunning of war and violence will undoubtedly exert a far-reaching influence on China's strategy for development and diplomacy both now and in the future.

There is also considerable concern in the U.S. about the increase in China's defense expenditure and some skepticism about China's commitment to peaceful development. I humbly submit that the doubt can easily be dispelled with a little bit of intellectual effort and some comparison. As a matter of fact, China spends much less on its defense than some other countries. China's 2005 defense expenditure of US\$30 billion paled in comparison to the United States' US\$401 billion and Japan's US\$45 billion for the same year. This bears out China's genuine commitment to peaceful development. China pursues a defensive defense policy and is increasing transparency in this area. China has no intention or ability to engage in an arms race. China has in recent years issued four defense white papers, giving ample information on its defense strategy, the structure of its military, its defense appropriations and military spending. If, as speculated by some, China's real defense expenditure were several times the published figure, it would be an unbearable and unsustainable financial burden on China's neck and would run counter to its policy of harmonious development.

Secondly, does China's development present an opportunity or a threat to the rest of the world? China's sustained high rate of growth has provoked widespread concern in the international community. Last year, Robert Fogel, Nobel laureate professor of this university, observed that China's economy had been growing at an incredible rate in the last thirty years, achieving an economic performance unmatched by other countries. Professor Fogel's observation is borne out by the fact that the annual growth rate of the Chinese economy has consistently topped nine percent since 1978. It is precisely this high rate of growth that has prompted some to argue that China has caused repercussions on other economies and a steep increase in demand for energy and other resources, thereby objectively impacting the world economy. I submit that no matter which way you look at it, China's development is no challenge or threat to any country, but rather represents a tremendous contribution and opportunity.

The locomotive effect of China's economy on the world economy is becoming increasingly evident. China has become an important engine for world economic growth. At present, China, with a five percent share of the world GDP, is making a ten percent contribution to world economic growth, and a 12 percent contribution to global trade growth, second only to the United States.

The Chinese market is beginning to see the realization of its immense potential, benefiting all regions of the world. Since 1978, China's imports have increased at an average annual rate of 16 percent. Since China's entry into the WTO, its average tariffs have fallen to 9.9 percent. Its average annual imports have reached US\$500 billion, creating ten million jobs in countries and regions concerned. China has become the largest market for Asian exports. In the year 2004, the entire 50 percent increase in East Asian exports went to the Chinese market.

Honoring its commitments made upon joining the WTO, China has amended major laws on intellectual property rights, to align them with the relevant WTO agreement. China has also implemented the United Nations Millennium Development Goals in earnest by providing assistance without any political preconditions to developing countries, in honor of its international obligations. So far, China has financed over 2000 aid projects in cooperation with more than 110 countries and regional organizations, and granted debt relief amounting to 20 billion RMB, to 44 Least Developed Countries. In addition, China is offering US\$10 billion of concessional credit to

the Least Developed Countries, to help them improve infrastructure.

China is developing as an integral part of the world, and the rapid growth of the Chinese economy can only bring exciting opportunities and ever-expanding cooperation to the world. China looks forward to sharing the fruit of its success with the rest of the world.

The third question is whether China and the United States are partners of cooperation or rivals in competition. The China-U.S. relationship is one of the most important and arguably complex bilateral relations in the world that is certain to have an impact on the evolution of regional and world configurations of power. President Hu Jintao's six-point proposal on the development and deepening of China-U.S. relations made during his state visit to the United States have been well received in the U.S. The proposal will certainly have far-reaching implications for the promotion of constructive cooperation in all areas between our two countries. Needless to say, coming from different political and social systems, and historical and cultural backgrounds, and situated at different levels of economic development, China and the United States will have distinct perspectives and divergence of views on some questions. This is only natural. When quarrels are unavoidable even in the most blissful marriage, how can one expect relations between two influential, big powers, to be immune from frequent disagreement? The question is how we should approach and handle these tensions that appear in the normal course of things. I firmly believe that common interests between the two countries are primary, both in the short and the long run. There is absolutely nothing that prevents the U.S. and China from forging a mutually-beneficial partnership.

The complementarity of our two economies is obvious. China-U.S. trade has increased from US\$2.5 billion before the establishment of diplomatic relations to US\$211.6 billion last year. China has acquired from the United States funding, technologies and commodities with a high technological content needed for its economic development. Up to November last year, China had purchased 534 aircraft from Boeing, worth US\$40 billion. Not too long ago, China agreed to buy another 80 aircraft from Boeing, in a new contract worth US\$5 billion. Frankly speaking, if the U.S. relaxes its restrictions on exports to China, the volume of our imports from the United States will surely increase sharply.

On the other hand, the import from the U.S. of high quality, but low-priced, low-end merchandise that the U.S. no longer produces has not only facilitated the structural adjustment and upgrading of its manufacturing sector, but also benefited U.S. consumers. According to statistics, the importation of Chinese products has saved U.S. consumers US\$600 billion over the past decade, representing an average US\$625 saving per household per year. Consumers are not the only beneficiaries either. According to a survey carried out by the U.S.-China Chamber of Commerce, among the more than 50,000 U.S.-invested business in China, 70 percent are making profits. In the 2004 alone, their sales in China reached US\$75 billion. The Wall Street Journal also reported that General Electric's revenue in China climbed to US\$5 billion last year.

As the biggest developing country and the largest developed country, respectively, China and the United States have a special responsibility for peace, security and prosperity in the world, especially in the Asia-Pacific region. Our two countries share extensive common interests on a broad range of issues. China and the United States should continue to strengthen cooperation in such conventional and non-conventional fields as counter-terrorism, non-proliferation, Asia-Pacific security,

combating transnational crimes and preventing the spread of infectious disease, in a concerted effort to safeguard and promote peace, stability and development in the Asia Pacific region, as well as in the world. China respects U.S. interests in the Asia-Pacific region and welcomes a positive and constructive U.S. role in Asia. China also believes that our two countries are fully capable of strengthening our cooperation to our mutual benefit.

The fourth question refers to the role of the United Nations. The creation of the United Nations originated from the vision of multilateralism of President Franklin Roosevelt. Over 60 years ago, the United Nations was born amid the ashes of the Second World War, thanks to the efforts of President Roosevelt and other Allied states, including China. The core objective of the organization is to undertake collective cooperation to maintain security, promote development with a view to saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war that has twice brought untold sorrow to mankind.

The decades since its inception have witnessed the organization playing an indispensable role in safeguarding international peace and security and in the prevention of another global conflagration. Of course, the United Nations has had its share of ups and downs in the course of the last 60 years. It basked in glory when the multinational forces authorized by it succeeded in liberating Kuwait in 1991. It was also embarrassed by its failure in preventing the genocide in Rwanda in 1994. Since 9/11, the organization has been confronted by unprecedented challenges, especially a series of non-conventional security challenges, including rampant terrorist acts, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, the spread of infectious disease and organized transnational crimes.

Looking to the future, we realize that while the United Nations may not be the panacea for all global ills, only international multi-lateral machinery with the UN at its center can deal with the many unconventional threats and challenges the world faces. This is something that no state, no matter how powerful - or group of states - can accomplish.

The United Nations is undergoing reform now. We need a more effective United Nations to better deal with the many common challenges in the world. UN reform should be conducive to multilateralism and to the safeguarding of the purposes and principals of the UN charter. UN reform should enable the organization to invest more in development with a view to the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. Reforms in its method of work should lead to true democracy, giving priority attention to the concerns of developing countries, and seek broadest consensus. As far as the two big powers, China and the United States, are concerned, concerted efforts to steer UN reform towards problem-solving in the multilateral framework, will help improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the organization and enhance its authority and role, and will in the final analysis be in the interest of both countries.

Ladies and gentlemen, in his inaugural address in the year 2000, President Randel of this University quoted a remark by Mr. William Harper, the first president of this University, back in 1892, who said, "The question before us is how to become one in spirit, not necessarily in opinion." It is my belief that this quotation is not only fitting for the University of Chicago, an academic institution, but also for exploring the future of China-U.S. relations. It is true that differences of opinion between China and the United States exist on some of the questions. It is much true that China and the United States do share the same spirit of our common commitments, that is to advancing

our bilateral relations, making multilateral machineries such as the UN more robust, and building a better future for mankind. To this end, let's work together.

Thank you for your attention.

[applause]

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Let's have 15 minutes or so of questions. Go ahead.

QUESTION: Okay. Distinguished Ambassador Wang, I have a question for you. China signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 80 years ago, but still has not ratified it. This covenant has already 156 state parties. So could you tell us the current situation of our legislation process regarding the ratification of this covenant? Thank you.

AMBASSADOR WANG: Yeah, thank you. I think that ever since the reform and opening up, many people have eyes on the economic achievements of the Chinese government and the Chinese people. But I think there is one aspect that people sometimes ignore or have the less attention, that is the way that the Chinese society evolved. I think that since the opening up and reform, a lot has been done, even on the political side. Especially since 1978, a lot of laws and legislations have been enacted in China, with a view to promoting the human rights and also the fundamental freedoms of its own people.

China has joined a number of UN human rights conventions, and we've already joined the economic and social rights, and as you rightly said that we have signed the Covenants on Civil and Political Rights. I understand that the Chinese People's Congress, the legislature, is getting views and studies by different institutions, governmental as well as non-governmental, to make sure that once, if we ratify it, it has to be that the Chinese own domestic laws will be in line with the international standards. So I understand that it is still under serious consideration.

But I think even by signing this covenant, which is a political indication that China is serious, not only about economic and social rights, but also about political and civil rights.

QUESTION: Thank you for coming this evening, Ambassador. I actually have a question about human rights, also.

AMBASSADOR WANG: Yes, go ahead.

QUESTION: Currently in the Darfur region of Sudan, there has been a genocide going on for the past three years, I believe, and Chinese companies and the Chinese government have many vested interests in Sudan, and have been sort of bankrolling the regime there that has been allowing this genocide to go on. So I have a question concerning why Chinese companies are allowed into Sudan and why China has been supporting this regime.

AMBASSADOR WANG: Okay, thank you. I think that there are some misconceptions about the Chinese companies working in Sudan. I believe that for China, we always feel that Africans are our brothers. We want to help the African countries to improve their economic and social development. So I believe that the Chinese companies and businesspeople in different African countries is, in a way, how China can help the Africans to regain their economic growth, in order to get rid of

this poverty. So I believe that the oil companies in Sudan is in a negotiation with their government in Sudan to help them to develop their economy.

But many times the press and also many people like to link the suffering, the problems in Sudan, in Darfur, to the presence of the Chinese companies there. I think it has nothing to do with that. Even, I think, the presence of the Chinese economic companies in Sudan has nothing to do with the policy of the Chinese government on the Sudan issue, on the Darfur issue. Then I come to the Darfur issue.

I think that Sudan is a country that has suffered a lot over the last 20 years because of its civil war. Now with the help of the international community, we are glad to see that between the north and south, there is a peace agreement. Now there is the formation of the new national government. Over the last three years, the Darfur issue became an issue of international concern. Basically, there is fighting by the government, with the government, and also the rebel forces there. There is the humanitarian suffering of the people on the ground, but also there is a problem between the Darfur region of Sudan and its neighbor Chad.

So I think this issue is more complicated than what we can imagine. The Chinese government is also concerned about the suffering of the humanitarian situation on the ground, because of this fight. In order to find a solution to this issue, I think we have to take into account different elements for a solution. You have the peace problem between the government and the rebel forces, and you have also the violations of human rights, by the rebels and also by the rebel supported government, the Janjaweed.

You also have the lack of resources for the humanitarian situation on the ground. So there are different problems. As I believe, and also it is the belief of many in the United Nations, the best way to have a solution to the humanitarian crisis in Darfur is first and foremost to find a peace between the government and the rebel forces, so that's why we support the African Union, for their effort in Abuja, to reach a peace agreement. I understand that, as they indicated, a peace might be reached before the end of this month. We hope that peace can come. Once peace is achieved, we do hope that all sides will honor this peace agreement, honor the ceasefire, and also provide all the help that is necessary for the people on the ground. Thank you.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Thank you. Next question, please.

QUESTION: Thank you, again, Ambassador, for coming all this way to speak for us today. My question is actually concerning North Korea and Iran. China's previous stances towards these countries have been a source of antagonism for the United States, particularly in security issues. Granted I understand that China does trade with Iran and instability in North Korea would be detrimental to China, particularly along the Manchurian border, so I would like to know what are the current stances towards these countries, particularly as Iran is being referred to the security council right now for possible sanctions?

AMBASSADOR WANG: Yeah, thank you. I think first of all, one comment: as a general remark on these two issues, I think that there is concern on the nuclear issue in the Korean peninsula; there has also been concern on the Iranian nuclear issue. I think that in this regard, I believe that the

fundamental objective of the U.S. government and government of China is the same: We want to maintain the authority of the international non-proliferation regime. Because we feel that all the mechanisms that the international community set up in the non-proliferation region -- NPT, the convention on chemical weapons and others -- have served its purposes, so we have to maintain the authority.

Whoever breaks these conventions will be condemned, so I think that if one day North Korea proved to [build] nuclear weapons, China will be the first one to condemn it. If one day Iranians prove to be the one that have possessed nuclear weapons, China will be the first one, among the first ones, to condemn it. We will not, never accept.

Now I think that we come to the problem that there is concern, both in the Korean peninsula and also in Iran, on whether there is proliferation. I think there are a lot of suspicions. I think both China and the United States are considering what is the best approach that could lead to a solution to this problem. I think in terms of approaches, there might be some different emphasis. I think that on the Korean nuclear issue, that we have a common objective. We believe the best way out for China and for the United States is the six-party talks. But now I think we are in a stalemate, because of the financial problems that North Korea has with the United States. I do hope that this minor issue will not prove to be the stumbling block for the resumption of the negotiations.

Now this big concern is about the Iranian nuclear issue. Because yesterday, in my capacity as president of the UN Security Council, at 10:45 in the morning I received the report from the IAEA on the Iranian nuclear issue, so I believe that in the next few weeks there will be a lot of discussions. I think once we address this issue, I think we have to have a clear definition. Maybe I think here we differ. For China, we believe that the Iranian nuclear issue is an issue within the area of non-proliferation, then probably others believe it's an issue of threat to international peace and security. So that's why they believe that the Security Council has to be involved.

If it is a non-proliferation issue, then China believes that the IAEA, which is an organization that is the watchdog for this issue, has to play the key role, with political support by the United Nations Security Council, not letting the United -- letting the Security Council take it over from the IAEA.

Secondly, what is the best approach? Now people are talking about economic sanctions or talking about possible military options. And I believe that if this is being considered, it will make the efforts for a diplomatic solution more difficult. So I believe that we have to strengthen the IAEA, and the major powers: China, U.S., and others, have to be united on calling on the Iranians to abide by their obligations under the NPT. So I think that we have to work together, but not let this situation get out of control, because Iran is in a region that is already full of problems. Now the problems, the situation in Iraq is not encouraging. And the situation in Lebanon, Syria, and also in the occupied territories, between the Palestinians and the Israelis, are all very complicated. If not handled well, the Iranian issue -- I think it might add fire to the whole region. We have to be careful.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Thank you very much. Next question, please.

QUESTION: In regards to nuclear non-proliferation and the current standoff with the Iranian situation, would you please comment on American policy, of the American embrace of India and

its nuclear program?

AMBASSADOR WANG: Thank you. I think that, I don't want to go specific on American policy with regard to India or to Iran. I think that since the United States and China all agree that we have to maintain the authority and the integrity of the international non-proliferation regime, we have to be serious about our own commitment to these treaties. We have to do it seriously, and without engaging in double standards. I think that for the Iranian issue, I believe that we have to be careful. There is a lot of suspicion, definitely. I think that the Iranians should be open and transparent, and they should accept international verifications.

But I think that in the U.S. you also have this law that suspicion will not be the basis to pronounce that someone is guilty or not. So the best way is for IAEA to carry out verification, to find out what the Iranians' activity, their nature, their scope, and to make everything open and transparent. But I think that once you look at the Iranian issue, the Iranians, I believe, in a way, is right. They are saying that they are doing it for peaceful purposes. If that is true, being a member under the NPT, they are entitled, so therefore I think there has to be a balance. The Iranians' rights under the NPT, and their obligations under the NPT, have to be both respected, not just obligations but also rights.

But how can we make sure their rights are used for a peaceful purpose? That is the suspicion. So here, I think China, the United States and others, have to work together, through the international watchdog, to find those out. So I think that there is a stance there. I believe that we need some good formulas, in which, to the Iranians, being a member, they feel that their rights are being respected. But on the other hand, all the suspicions of the international community, which is right, has to be cleared.

QUESTION: Would you care to comment in regards to India?

AMBASSADOR WANG: India, as I already indirectly said, I think that we have to, for China and the U.S., we have to respect our obligations under the NPT, we have to be serious about our obligations.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Thank you. We're going to take the last two questioners there and then call it a night. Please, go ahead.

QUESTION: Thank you. From Beijing Review, regarding China's defense budget, the argument of the United States is that China lacks transparency in exposing its purpose of, and how its budget is spent. And that it makes its neighbors concerned. What's your comment on this? Thank you.

AMBASSADOR WANG: I think that, yeah, there has been some suspicions here and also by other countries. I'm so glad to see people from the Defense Department are also here. I believe probably the best way to alleviate those concerns is to have more exchanges between our two militaries. I do believe that more exchanges between our two militaries should be an important part of overall China-U.S. relations. This will certainly be helpful.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Alright, our last question. Go ahead.

QUESTION: Thank you very much for your extremely interesting presentation. I want to come back to the question of Confucianism that you mentioned, and the whole idea of the Chinese culture as being harmonious, and I was wondering whether harmony in some sense itself, when placed in a very antagonistic world, can lead to some kinds of sort of conflict. And I want to ask this question from a historical perspective. Because if you look at, say, the role that Confucianism has played, and certain Confucian ideas have played in 20th century Chinese history, you take a look at say Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) and the whole idea of separating the world into the way of the hegemon and the kingly way. Wang-dao and Bao-dao. And there you get the sense in which you know the Western powers, the imperialist forces, are the way of the hegemon, while China and some other, you know, part of this Pan-Asianism, they represent the kingly way.

Now, I think, even though Mao Zedong doesn't invoke Confucius, you can also see his idea as being sort of linked to harmony, but that harmony is going to involve resisting a world, as Professor Cumings explained, a world in which the United States is trying to be a type of imperial hegemon, that thinks it's universal. And so I was wondering whether you could now link this tradition of harmony and resistance to the present period? Because the world seems to continue to be an antagonistic one.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: We certainly got a good question.

AMBASSADOR WANG: Oh, yes, yeah, thank you.

PROFESSOR CUMINGS: Please, go ahead.

AMBASSADOR WANG: I'm glad that you have done quite a deep study on Chinese philosophy. I think that, as I said, Confucianism is the dominant philosophy in the Chinese society. It also represents the essence of the Chinese civilization. But I do believe, as Professor Cumings said in the early remarks about the different powers that could have different understanding of this philosophy of hegemony -- I can assure you that for the Chinese philosophy, there is never any effort to seek hegemony. Not now, and even in 20, 50 or 100 years' time. Even China becomes the world number one or number two economic power. This is a political decision, the Chinese government and people will never seek hegemony.

Secondly, coming to the philosophy of Confucian civilization, I think that Confucian civilization is dominant in China and in many parts of Asia. But nowadays we're living in a world of different civilizations, so how can these different civilizations respect each other, and how can we avoid confrontation among these civilizations? So I do believe that as far as China is concerned, we are all for harmony, in China and also in the world, according to Confucius' philosophy.

But also we do hope that in this world of different civilizations, different faiths, different beliefs, that people should have to respect each other, learn from each other, so that we can avoid a confrontation of civilization, a confrontation of different faiths. Thank you.