1978年改革開放以來,中國經濟取得巨大進步,但2017年中國人均GDP只有9,137美元,尚未邁過中等收入國家12,000美

<sup>1</sup> 本書提到的所有「中國」經濟數據,均只包含中國大陸的部分。根據國際貨幣基金組織和世界銀行推出的「購買力平價」(purchasing-power-parity, PPP)的估計數據,中國已經是世界第一大經濟體,美國位居其次。可是,用購買力平價估算的GDP作為基礎來比較國與國之間的實際經濟產出的規模,存在某些方法論上的疑問。可參閱:Lawrence J. Lau, 2007。

元的門檻,排名在全球第70位以後;而美國的人均GDP則高達59,518美元。<sup>2</sup>中國的整體軍事和科技實力仍明顯落後於美國。作為國際交易媒介或價值儲藏工具,人民幣也無法與美元匹敵。雖然中美在聯合國安理會都有否決權,但在國際貨幣基金組織、世界銀行和亞洲開發銀行等多邊組織中,中國的影響力仍比不上美、日和歐洲國家。現在把中美作為「兩國集團」(G2)相提並論,明顯為時過早。

此外,儘管中美互為最大的貿易夥伴國,雙方經濟往來中卻存在重大摩擦和潛在衝突。這引發美方的諸多抱怨:對中方有利的貿易差額,人民幣匯率的低估,美國企業難以進入中國市場,中國的市場競爭環境不夠公平、對國有從業存在偏袒,中國政府的產業政策(例如「中國製造 2025」計劃的內容),對知識產權保護不力,強制外國企業進行技術轉移,對工商業信息的網絡竊取,以及國家安全方面的擔憂等、這些抱怨最終導致美國總統特朗普在 2018 年決定對來自中國的進口商品分三輪實施新關稅制裁,總貨值達到 2,500億美歲。由此引發了兩國間的貿易戰。3

2018年3月1日,特朗普總統宣佈對進口鋼鐵產品徵收25%的從價關稅。對進口鋁製品徵收10%的從價關稅。中國雖然不是對美國的鋼鐵和鋁製品的主要直接出口方,依然向世界貿易組織提起了對這些關稅的申訴。5美國專門針對中國商品的第一輪關稅制裁在2018年7月6日實施,稅率為25%,涉及340億

<sup>2</sup> 以美國官方公佈的2017年GDP除以2017年年中人口數計算得出。

<sup>3</sup> 該數字一直處於變化中,最開始是500億美元,到2018年9月24日,變成2,500億美元。不過,近期又提到將追加2,670億美元的進口商品,那將使總貨值達到5,170億美元,幾乎相當於中國對美國的年度出口的總值。

<sup>4</sup> 從價關稅 (ad valorum) 是指按商品貨值徵稅。

<sup>5</sup> 歐盟於2018年6月向世界貿易組織提起了類似的申訴。

概 論 3

美元的多種商品,如飛機輪胎、熱水器、X光機部件以及各種工業部件等。這些關稅措施很快遭到中國方面對價值340億美元的美國商品的關稅報復,稅率同樣為25%,涉及電動汽車、豬肉和大豆等產品。兩國之間的第二輪新關稅制裁是在2018年8月23日實施,互相針對160億美元的進口產品,稅率依然為25%。中國同時向世界貿易組織提起了對美國新關稅措施的新申訴。

美國的第三輪關稅制裁發生在2018年9月24日,針對價值2,000億美元的來自中國的商品,初期稅率為10%,從2019年1月1日起將提至25%。這輪關稅措施將使受美國新屬稅影響的中國商品的總價值達到2,500億美元(=340億+160億+2,000億),接近美國每年從中國進口的商品總價值的一米。中國方面的報復措施是對價值600億美元的美國商品實施5%至25%不等的新關稅率,使受中國新關稅影響的美國商品的總價值達到1,100億美元(=340億+160億+600億)。在中國從美國進口的產品中,目前還有價值約400億美元的部分未受影關稅的影響,包括大型飛機、集成電路和半導體等。

還有,特朗書總統已發出威脅,如果中國對美國的新關稅實施報復,美國將對另外的價值2,670億美元的中國商品提高關稅。如果實施,這將使受美國新關稅影響的中國商品的總價值達到5,170億美元(=2,500億+2,670億)。根據美國的官方統計,2017年美國從中國進口的商品總值為5,056億美元。因此,如果新一輪關稅制裁真的發生,意味著美國從中國進口的全部商品都將受新關稅的影響。當然為保護美國的企業和消費者,部分來自中國的進口商品有可能被免除實施新關稅。例如,在美國從中國進口的全部商品價值中,大約有10%屬於蘋果公司的iPhone手機,該產品在中國組裝,計入中國的出口,但其中屬於中國國內增加值的部

分卻非常低,不足5%。6所以到目前為止,在中國製造的手機尚未被納入美方前三輪關稅制裁的範圍。與此相似,美國從中國進口的半導體也幾乎都是由美國的高科技公司為美國市場而生產,只是在中國完成最後的加工組裝環節,其中屬於中國國內增加值的比例同樣很低。對此類產品實施新關稅的成本將主要由蘋果公司等美國企業及手機用戶等消費者負擔,而不是落到中國的製造承包商頭上。因此新關稅是否會徹底實施還存在某些不確定性。7另據報導,2018年12月1日,在阿根廷布宜諾斯艾利斯G20峰會的工作午餐會上,美國總統特朗普與中國國家主席習近平已達成暫時和解協議。雙方同意在90天內不會增加黨的關稅,以等待後續談判。8 這被認為是很有希望的進展。

這場中美貿易戰給國際貿易和投資造成了擾動,其影響不限於中國經濟和美國經濟,還關係到在過去幾十年出現和發展起來的全球供應鏈。貿易戰給世界所有地方的企業與居民的消費和投資決策帶來了巨大不確定性,並有可能導致中美關係的永久性轉變。



寫作本書時,筆者心中有三個主要目標。首先,筆者希望闡明, 雖然2018年中美貿易戰的實際影響不容忽視,但對中國而言仍然

<sup>6</sup> 企業的增加值的定義是,其銷售收入與除勞動以外的所有購置投入品成本的差額。因此,增加值是企業的利潤、薪資和折舊的總和。加工組裝業務的增加值 與銷售收入的比值通常較低,是因為有大量的中間投入品必須從其他地方(很多 時候是海外)購入。

<sup>7</sup> 美國貿易代表辦公室也可以根據進口企業的申請決定免徵新關稅。

<sup>8</sup> 顯然,G20峰會前,特朗普總統與習近平主席於11月進行過電話交談,就雙方 共同關心的問題交換過意見。

概 論 5

相對可控,對美國而言更是如此。即使美國的新關稅最終覆蓋來 自中國的全部進口產品,這一說法也依然成立。所以無需驚慌。 然而貿易戰對中國的股票市場和人民幣匯率有巨大心理影響,會 打擊中國的企業與居民的信心和預期。

其次,筆者希望揭示,貿易戰背後是中美之間潛在的經濟和技術競爭,以及民粹主義、孤立主義和保護主義情緒在全世界(尤其是美國)的興起。中國和美國對於全球最大經濟體地位的暗中角逐,以及在人工智能和量子計算等21世紀核心技術領域的競爭,或許不可避免。這將有可能成為「新常態」。不過筆者將通過分析闡釋,儘管中國的實際GDP總量可能會在2030年代某個時候超越美國,但從人均水平來看中國仍遠遠落後。恐怕直至21世紀末才能真正與美國並駕齊驅。還有在科技發展說總體水平和一般的創新能力上,中國與美國的差距也仍然巨大。在兩個國家的排外情緒都處於膨脹之際,雙方的政府有責任不僅借助言辭而且通過行動來證明,國際貿易和直接投資並不必然導致任何人受損,而是有足夠大的整體收益讓所有人都獲利。當然,雖說國際貿易整體上總是對貿易雙方都有利,卻肯定會在每個國家內部造成不同的贏家和輸家。不幸的是,市場本身無法把贏家的部分利益轉移給輸家,因此必須依靠政府的税收和財政政策來實現從贏家到輸家的恰當的再分配。

第三,筆者希望展示,中美在經貿領域的相互合作是個潛在的正和博弈,即雙方能同時實現雙贏。鑒於這兩大經濟體之間的互補性,通過貿易往來、直接投資和間接投資,尤其是通過改善經濟合作,充分開發和利用對方目前的閒置或未盡其用的資源,對雙方都將大有裨益。平衡中美貿易是切實可行的,可通過增加雙邊貿易和投資,從而加深彼此間的共同經濟依存度。這也有助於建立信任,減少衝突可能性,避免艾利森教授(Graham Allison)所説的「修昔底德陷阱」(Thucydides Trap)——他認為由於新興強國對老牌

強國的統治地位發起挑戰,中美之間最終不可避免會爆發戰爭。9

中國經濟崛起是新現象,始於1978年底,中國決定開展經濟改革,並對國際貿易和投資實行開放。回頭來看,這對中國以及以鄧小平為首的老一代領導人而言是個重大、英明且極其成功的決策。圖1.1顯示了美國、歐盟、中國、日本、東亞(不包括中國和日本)以及印度於1960至2017年在全球GDP中的份額變化。已故的麥迪遜教授估計,中國從18世紀後期到19世紀早期在全球GDP中佔比約為30%。10可是到1960年,該數字僅為4.4%,到1978年改革開放之前更是下滑到1.75%,而人口卻佔全球的四分之一。1987年,中國在全球GDP中佔比進一步跌至谷底,不足1.6%,此後便逐漸提升,並在2001年加入世界貿易組織後加速,至2017年已達到15.2%。

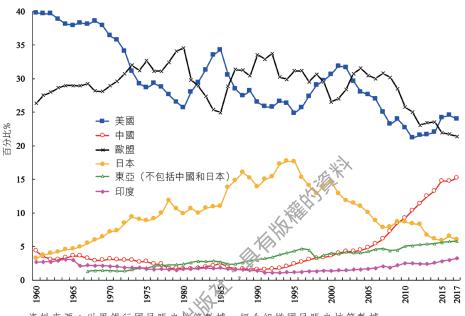
相比之下,今天依然保持世勢最大經濟體地位的美國,在全球 GDP 中的佔比卻從1960 年的39.8%下降至2017年的24%。當然這並非美國經濟衰落所致,而是由於世界其他經濟體的增速更快,尤其是東亞地區。其中也包括中國。日本一度成為世界第二大經濟體,如今已退居第三位,其份額先是從1960年的3.2%提升至1994年的17.7%(高於中國在2017年的水平),然後又回落到目前的6%。印度是今天全球增長速度最快的主要經濟體,其份額從1960年的2.7%緩慢提升至2017年的3.2%,但有望在今後的一二十年快速攀升。

<sup>9</sup> 有關「修昔底德陷阱」是否對中美關係適用的討論,可參閱: Graham T. Allison, 2015。

<sup>10</sup> 見 Angus Maddison, 2006。

<sup>11</sup> 這裡所稱的東亞的定義是:東南亞國家聯盟(ASEAN)各國(包括汶萊、柬埔寨、印度尼西亞、老撾、馬來西亞、緬甸、菲律賓、新加坡、泰國和越南),中國(包括香港、澳門和台灣)、韓國與日本——即東盟與中日韓的「十加三」。

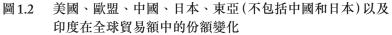
美國、歐盟、中國、日本、東亞(不包括中國和日本)以及 圖 1.1 印度在全球GDP中的份額變化

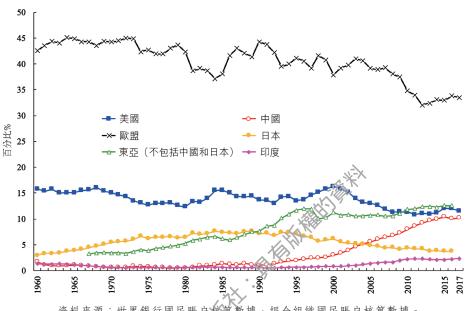


資料來源:世界銀行國民賬 , 經合組織國民賬户核算數據。

,世界經濟重心逐漸從北美和西歐向東亞轉 在上述變化背後 移,在東亞內部則是從日本向中國轉移。美國以及如今的歐盟 國家在全球GDP中的份額從1960年的近三分之二降至2017年的 45%。相對而言,東亞總體上從1960年的不足10%提升到如今 的近30%。美國、歐盟和東亞已成為當今世界的三大主要經濟板 塊,規模大體相當,合計約佔全球GDP的75%。

在商品和服務的國際貿易領域,東亞所佔的份額也出現了類 似提升。圖1.2顯示了美國、歐盟、中國、日本、東亞(不包括中 國和日本) 以及印度於1960至2017年在全球貿易中的份額變化。 美國在1960年佔全球貿易額的15.8% ——遠低於它在全球GDP





資料來源:世界銀行國民賬 算數據,經合組織國民賬户核算數據。

中的佔比,符合一個有著豐富自然資源的、龐大的大陸經濟體的 特徵 ——到 2017 年降至 11.5%。 與之相比, 中國在 1960 年僅佔全 球貿易額的1.7%,到改革開放前夕的1978年更是滑落至0.5%。然 而到加入世界貿易組織之前的2000年,中國在世界貿易額中的佔 比已逐漸升至3%,到2017年更達到10.2%。不過作為與美國類似 的大陸經濟體,中國在世界貿易額中的份額未來已不太可能還有 大幅增長。日本在全球貿易額中的佔比則從1984年的7.6%的峰值 下滑到2016年的3.7%。印度的份額從1960年的1.3%增長到2017 年的2.3%,預計接下來的增長將更快。儘管印度也是一個大型經 濟體,但它在世界貿易中的份額仍有很大的增長空間。

值得一提的是歐盟在世界貿易額中的佔比,儘管從1960年的

概 論 9

42.5%减少至2017年的33.5%,其份額依然很高。然而其中的一部 分原因在於,歐盟內部各成員國之間的貿易被計入了國際貿易,而 不是像美國內部各州或中國內部各省之間的貿易那樣被視為國內貿 易。如果把歐盟內部的貿易剔除,歐盟在世界貿易額中的佔比將 同中國和美國的情形接近得多。美國和歐盟在世界貿易額中的合 計份額在1960年接近60%,到2017年已降至45.1%,同它們在全球 GDP中的佔比基本一致,東亞在2016年世界貿易額中的佔比則為 26.4%。美國、歐盟和東亞合計超過世界貿易額的70%。這再次表 明,如今的東亞各經濟體總體上已具備足夠強大的獨立經濟實力, 可以同美國和歐盟分庭抗禮。此外,東亞各經濟體彼此之間的進 出口已超過它們對美國和歐盟的進出口,並逐來越明顯,這有助於 減少它們對美國和歐盟的經濟依賴。正好2008至2009年全球金融 危機及隨後的歐洲主權債務危機的案例所示,東亞已經更能夠承受 和抵禦美國和歐盟經濟下滑的影響。該現象也給「部分脱鈎假説 | (partial-decoupling hypothesis) 提供了佐證,其含義是即使美國和歐 洲陷入經濟衰退,東亞依然能保持增長,反之同樣成立。

由上述簡單介紹可以看出,中國從1978年啟動的經濟改革和開放中獲得了巨大收益,其GDP以及商品和服務的國際貿易取得了飛躍式增長。外貿增長率在1994年外匯體制改革後加速,在2001年加入世界貿易組織後躍升。但到了過去五年,隨著工資水平和外匯匯率的提高,以及龐大的國內市場的快速增長且成為總需求的主要來源,中國的國際貿易增速已顯著放緩。

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本書的後續結構安排如下。第2章對中美關係發展歷史上的重要 時刻做簡要回顧。第3章從貿易總值和增加值的角度,對中美商

品和服務貿易差額的估計數據做更為可靠和可比的調整分析。為縮小貿易順差或逆差而設計有效的解決方案,必須首先弄清楚中美貿易差額的真實情況。第4章將探討2018年中美貿易戰對雙方的直接和潛在衝擊。第5章將介紹中美兩個經濟體實際上有著高度的互補性,兩國間的貿易和投資應該對雙方都非常有利。第6章討論中美兩個全球最大經濟體不可避免存在相互競爭,無論是否有意為之。但在許多方面,中國與美國還存在相當的距離。第7章將從經濟和國家安全的考慮出發,分析中美之間潛在的技術競爭,儘管中國在科技領域快速追趕,但兩國之間仍有顯著的差距。第8章將討論如何在縮小貿易失衡的同時深化中美之間的相互經濟依賴,幫助兩國避免「修昔底德際對」。第9章將探討超越2018年貿易戰對中美兩國經濟關係啟長期影響,以及與之相關的如何利用兩國間的「新型大國關係」來維持和平競爭,避免戰爭。最後的第10章將對中美關係的未來之路加以展望。

The relation between China and the United States is arguably the most important bilateral relation in the world today. The U.S. and China are respectively the largest and the second largest economies in the world. They are also respectively the largest and the second largest trading nations in the world, as well as each other's most important trading partner. If China and the U.S. work together as partners towards a common goal, many things are possible. An example is the Paris Agreement on the prevention of climate change, approved unanimously by 196 states and other parties in December 2015. This was possible only because both former U.S. President Barack Obama and Chinese President Xi Jinping worked together to make it happen. There are other similarly important global objectives that can be accomplished by the two countries working together as partners, such as the alleviation of poverty in Africa, the denuclearisation of the Korean Peninsula, the enhancement of global cyber-security, and further liberalisation of international trade and investment around the world.

Notwithstanding the tremendous economic progress that China has made since its economic reform and opening in 1978, its GDP per capita in

In any reference to economic data, China should be understood to mean the mainland of China only (not including Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan). According to some "purchasing-power-parity" (PPP) estimates produced by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, China is already the world's largest economy, with the U.S. in second place. However, there are methodological problems with using such PPP estimates of GDP as a basis for the comparison of the real magnitudes of economic output across countries. See the discussion in Lawrence J. Lau (2007).

2017 was only US\$9,137, still under the middle-income country threshold of US\$12,000, and ranking below the 70th position in the world, compared to a GDP of US\$59,518 per capita in the U.S.² China's overall military strength and scientific and technological capabilities still lag significantly behind the U.S. The Renminbi, the Chinese currency, cannot compare with the U.S. Dollar as an international medium of exchange or store of value. And even though China has veto power in the United Nations Security Council just like the U.S., its influence in multilateral organisations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, is still relatively weak compared to not only that of the U.S. but also that of European countries and Japan. It is definitely too soon to speak of China and the U.S. as being a "Group of Two" or "G-2".

Moreover, despite China and the U.S. being each other's largest trading partner, there is still significant friction and potential conflict in their economic relations. The friction originated from U.S. grievances about the lopsided trade balance in China's favour, the allegedly undervalued exchange rate of the Renminbi the lack of market access in China for U.S. firms, the perceived uneven playing field in Chinese markets that appears to favour Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs), the industrial policy of the China's government (as manifested in the "Made in China 2025" initiative), inadequate intellectual property-rights protection, forced technology transfer, cyber theft of commercial and industrial information, and concerns about national security. These grievances culminated in the 2018 decision by U.S. President Donald Trump to impose three separate rounds of new U.S. tariffs on imports from China cumulatively worth US\$250 billion, thus starting a trade war between the two countries.<sup>3</sup>

On 1 March 2018, President Trump announced a planned imposition

<sup>2</sup> This is calculated by dividing the official U.S. GDP in 2017 by the official U.S. midyear population in 2017.

This number has been changing. It started out being US\$50 billion. As of 24 September 2018, it became US\$250 billion. However, an additional US\$267 billion has also been mentioned recently, bringing the potential total to US\$517 billion, almost the same as the entire value of annual Chinese exports to the U.S.

of a 25 percent ad valorum<sup>4</sup> tariff on steel imports and a 10 percent ad valorum tariff on aluminium imports. China, which is not a significant direct exporter of steel or aluminium products to the U.S., nevertheless initiated a World Trade Organisation (WTO) complaint against these tariffs.<sup>5</sup> The first round of U.S. tariffs that specifically targeted China was on US\$34 billion worth of Chinese imports, implemented on 6 July 2018, at a rate of 25 percent ad valorum, affecting goods such as airplane tires, water boilers, X-ray machine components and various other industrial parts. These tariffs were immediately met by retaliatory Chinese tariffs of 25 percent on US\$34 billion worth of imports from the U.S., including goods such as electric vehicles, pork and soybeans. A second round of tariffs on another US\$16 billion worth of imports from each other were implemented by both countries on 23 August 2018, again, at an ad valorum rate of 25 percent. China again filed a new complaint with the WTO about these new U.S. tariffs.

A third round of tariffs on US\$200 billion worth of U.S. imports from China was imposed by the U.S. on 24 September 2018, at an initial rate of 10 percent, but to be raised to 25 percent on 1 January 2019. This latest round of tariffs brought the total value of U.S. imports from China subject to new U.S. tariffs equal to US\$250 billion (34 + 16 + 200), or approximately half of the value of the total annual U.S. imports from China. China retaliated by imposing new tariffs on an additional US\$60 billion worth of Chinese imports from the U.S., at various rates ranging from 5 to 25 percent, bringing the total value of Chinese imports from the U.S. subject to new Chinese tariffs to US\$110 billion (34 + 16 + 60). Approximately US\$40 billion worth of the remaining Chinese imports from the U.S., including large aircraft, integrated circuitry and semiconductors, are at the present time not subject to any new Chinese tariffs.

In addition, President Trump has threatened to impose additional tariffs on another US\$267 billion worth of U.S. imports from China if China retaliates against the current U.S. tariffs. If implemented, this would mean

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;Ad valorum" means according to the value.

<sup>5</sup> The European Union filed a similar case with the WTO in June 2018.

the imposition of tariffs on a total of US\$517 billion (250 + 267) worth of U.S. imports from China. U.S. imports of goods from China amounted to only US\$505.6 billion in 2017, according to U.S. official statistics, and so this possible additional round of new tariffs, if implemented, will mean that the new U.S. tariffs will apply to all U.S. imports from China. However, it is still possible that some U.S. imports from China may be exempted from the new U.S. tariffs in order to protect U.S. firms and/or U.S. consumers. For example, approximately 10 percent of U.S. imports from China by value consists of Apple iPhones, which are assembled in China, and count as Chinese exports, even though the Chinese domestic value added<sup>6</sup> content of Apple iPhones is very low, at less than 5 percent. Cell phones made in China have so far been exempted from the first three rounds of tariffs. Likewise, semiconductors imported from China to the U.S. are almost all products at the final-stage of finishing and packaging of semiconductors originally manufactured by U.S. high-teeh firms for the U.S. market. Their Chinese domestic value-added contents are also very low. The costs of any new tariffs on these goods will therefore be borne primarily by U.S. firms such as Apple Inc. and consumers such as iPhone users, not by the Chinese contract manufacturers. Hence there is some uncertainty whether the new tariffs will be fully implemented.<sup>7</sup> It was reported that Presidents Trump and Xi reached a tentative truce agreement at their dinner meeting on the sidelines of the G-20 Summit in Buenos Aires, Argentina on 1 December 2018, suspending new or increased tariffs on both sides for 90 days to provide time for further negotiations. This should be regarded as a hopeful development.

This China-U.S. trade war disrupts international trade and investment because of its effects not only on the Chinese and U.S. economies but also

<sup>6</sup> The value-added amount of a firm is defined as the difference between its revenue and the cost of all its purchased inputs except labour. Thus, value-added consists of the sum of profits, wages and salaries, and depreciation. An assembly operation will typically have a low value-added to revenue ratio because a large quantity of intermediate inputs will have to be purchased elsewhere, most often from abroad.

Exemptions from the new tariffs may also be granted by the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative upon application by the importing firm.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently, Presidents Trump and Xi also had telephone conversations with each other earlier in November to discuss issues of common concern prior to the G-20 Summit.

on the global supply chains that have sprung up and developed over the past decades. It causes great uncertainties for firms and households throughout the world in their consumption and investment decisions. It also has the potential of permanently altering China-U.S. relations.

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This book has been written with three principal objectives in mind. First, we want to show that while the real effects of the China-U.S. trade war in 2018 are not negligible, they are relatively manageable for China and even more so for the U.S. This is true even if the new U.S. tariffs eventually cover all U.S. imports from China. There is no need to panic. However, the trade war will have psychological effects on the Chinese stock markets and on the exchange rate of the Renminbi, and it will negatively affect the confidence and expectations of Chinese enterprises and households.

Second, we want to show that behind the trade war is the potential economic and technological competition between China and the U.S., as well as the rise of populist, isolationist, and protectionist sentiments around the world, especially in the U.S. The competition between China and the U.S. in terms of being the largest economy in the world, as well as competition in the core technologies of the 21st century, such as artificial intelligence and quantum computing, probably cannot be avoided. It is likely to become the "new normal". However, our analysis shows that while in the aggregate China's real GDP is likely to surpass the U.S. real GDP sometime in the 2030s, on a per capita basis China will remain far, far behind the U.S. and will not reach parity with the U.S. until the end of the 21st century, if at all. Moreover, in terms of the overall general level of scientific and technological development and innovative capacity, China still has a long road ahead to catch up with the U.S. As to the rise of xenophobia in both countries, it is up to each government to demonstrate not only by words but also by actions that it is not necessary for anyone to lose from international trade and direct investments and that there is enough overall gain so that each will benefit. However, while international trade always benefits both trading-partner countries in the aggregate, it does create winners and losers