

中美貿易戰的啟示

貿易戰打到後來就是看誰輸得起，誰挺得住

首先，中美關係三段論：第一，美國不允許任何國家在軍事，經濟，金融，政治制度，價值觀等方面超越它；第二，如果繼續按照當前的大趨勢發展，十年內中國至少在經濟上非常可能超越美國，十五年内必然超越美國，在金融，軍事，甚至政治制度的優越性方面，可能跟美國平起平坐；所以，第三，為了維持美國第一，美國必須使用一切必要手段，把中國壓下去。這是一個長期鬥爭，也是中美關係的主線。短期輸贏，只要不重創國家實力，都不很重要。

這場所謂無煙的戰爭只有四個可能的結局。一是美國打壓成功，把中國摀在後面；二是打壓失敗，中國成功地在許多方面超越了美國，使美國失去其世界領導地位；三是打到一半，終於認識到它的愚蠢，而和平共存，構建合作的大國關係；四是兩敗俱傷，讓其他國家趁機崛起。我們希望的是第三個可能，但是，結果如何，不是今天任何人能夠預見的。所以，還是回來談談它帶給我們的啟示吧。

中美貿易戰開打之後，議論紛紛。美國主流媒體和主流經濟學家普遍反對特朗普的貿易戰，認為是不智之舉，並且是不尊重國際間既定規則，如世界貿易組織的各項解決爭端的程序。曾經擔任奧巴馬經濟顧問和哈佛大學校長的著名經濟學家薩默斯就認為這是“舉起石頭砸自己的腳”，對美國弊多於利。國際輿論也普遍不認同特朗普的行動，雖然歐洲某些國家考慮到自身利益，為了要被稅關免稅的提升而降低了反對的聲音。

當美國商務部列出了1300項受到第301條款審查的名單之後，有識之士立馬發現，它們針對的主要是一些在中國“中國製造2025”的科技項目（信息技術與人工智能，自動化與機器人，航空與航天科技等；廣東衛視的《財經郎眼》節目逐條對比制裁項目中針對中國製造2025中的重點項目），明白顯示，雖然特朗普簡單的腦袋想到的只是中美貿易逆差問題，或者說只強調老百姓能夠懂得的逆差問題，可是他背後的團隊精心設計的戰略卻是要打擊中國科技升級的龐大計劃。也就是說，這場貿易戰絕對不是中國多買點美國的大豆，高粱，汽車，飛機等，把逆差擺平，就能解決了的。這場貿易戰的核心是：美國不容許中國在科技上跟它平起平坐，必須屈居第二位或者更落後。這就是我們的第一個啟示，亦即中美兩國的博弈的戰場不是熱戰，不是冷戰，甚至也不主要是逐漸失效的圍堵中國的包圍戰，而是阻止中國在高科技方面超越或跟美國分庭抗禮的科技戰。

美國商務部宣布對中興通訊公司施行七年禁售的決定就是這個大規模科技戰中的一個理想的突破口，因為中興自己的一些不規範做法為

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美國提供了一個難得的機會（雖然美國對伊朗的禁運其實是一種霸權行為）。但是，非常諷刺的是，“禁售”打擊的對象恰恰證明了“殺敵一千，自損八百”的老話，因為據報導，中興購買的芯片80%來自美國科技公司。考慮到中國企業總共購買了超過美製芯片的半數，特朗普這麼做不但打擊了中國，也打擊了美國的高科技企業（連帶打擊了韓國，日本和台灣三地的高科技企業）。可以猜想，特朗普和他的極右派團隊可能願意不計代價地跟中國拼一下，逼中國低頭，可是，這就引出了我們的第二個啟示：貿易戰沒有贏家，所以，打到後來就是要看誰輸得起，誰挺得住。

美國經濟的增長率目前是在百分之三左右徘徊；中國是在百分之六點五以上行走。同樣的，兩國的貿易負擔都高的驚人。特朗普的貿易戰是要增加中國產品的關稅，使其價格升高，不利地影響到中國產品在美國市場的競爭力和整體經濟。可是，為了圖利，別國製造和美國本國製造的類似產品也會在美國市場上加價，因而物價肯定升高，通漲率必然隨之升高。配合美聯儲提升利率的既定政策，加上美國科技將可能受到中國的報復，美國的GDP很難繼續以3%的速度增長。在兩方的經濟都會受損的情況下，問題不是誰吃的虧比較大，而是誰有能力打掉牙齒合血吞，輸得起，挺得住？

或許大家注意到，就在最近，好幾州的中小學教師發動了集體罷工和示威遊行，動輒數萬人走向街頭。他們暴露出來的信息是，無數教師的平均年薪才不過在四萬元的邊緣。我們從其他數據中也了解到，大約有40%的美國家庭每月開支如增加400元，他們就得靠貸款來應急。無數的學童如果沒有學校裡提供免費早午餐，他們就得挨餓。換句話說，美國有龐大的人口群都在生存邊緣掙扎，絕不是一個世界最富有的國家。如果通漲率上揚，日用品價格上漲，強大的生活壓力將會激起更多的人走上街頭。所以我們再問，到底是美國輸得起，挺得住？還是中國輸得起，挺得住？

因此，我們的第三個啟示就是對制度的觀察。到底是美國的民主制輸得起，挺得住？還是中國的一黨制輸得起，挺得住？這就是比制度了。如果貿易戰繼續打下去，答案將會非常明顯地顯現於我們眼前。在民選體制下，特朗普搞的這一套到了今年十一月中期選舉的時候就會受到嚴峻的考驗。在民主體制下，特朗普極可能經不起考驗，共和黨多半會失去它在上下議會中的多數，導致國內衝突繼續升級，政策不行。換句話說，美國的民主制很可能經不起貿易戰的考驗。

相對而言，即使貿易戰打到兩敗俱傷的地步，吃過大躍進和文革之苦的中國老百姓，在央視的統一宣傳和政府的大力掌控之下，幾乎毫無懸念地能夠挺得住。有些公知可能會站出來唱一些不協調的調子，社會不滿的情緒肯定也會增加。但是，習近平的連任將毫無懸念，政府政策也不至於動搖。是在這樣的對比下，可以相信，至少在這一輪的貿易戰中，美國或早或晚會棄戰求和。

朝韓和解，亞洲太平？

◎彭文逸

調恰當之至。根據西方媒體過去的重複報導，北京方面不願意看到朝韓和解和統一，理由是朝鮮為中國提供了一個緩衝地帶，使它跟駐韓美軍保持一段距離。西方分析還說，北京也不願意看到半島動亂，因為那會導致大量朝鮮難民湧入東北。對北京最有利的其實是維持原來那種不戰不和的狀態。所以，這裡也存在了一個辯證關係：朝鮮只有成功地發展核武器，使中國知道，維持現狀已經沒有可能，逼使北京作出選擇。習近平選擇放棄盟友，跟特朗普一起制裁朝鮮，這樣就逼使朝鮮用放棄核武來換取生存。這樣的正反對立的辯證關係可以說是奇妙無比。總之，金小胖子下了一步大棋，逼使世界兩強聯手對付他。這絕對是一個不成功就成仁的險招。他是否真的具有那麼大的政治智慧，令人懷疑。不過，那已經不重要了，因為即使他是誤打誤撞地弄出來當前的局面，仍然是非常非常的了不起。

北京方面可能會擔憂，南北韓加在一起，不但擁有八千萬人口，並且還有豐富的礦產資源，可觀的國防工業，以及世界一流的高科技建制。假以時日，南北韓的統一對中國將構成一個不可輕辱的競爭對手。當然，如果它向中國傾斜，加入一帶一路的隊伍，那麼中國將如虎添翼。如果它加入美國的聯盟體系，那就足夠讓北京頭疼了。

自從韓戰於1953年停火之後，美國壓根就沒有打算離開南韓。對美國而言，美日韓三角聯盟不但構成第一島鏈的北方據點，圍堵了太平洋，同時也阻擋了俄國海軍南出太平洋。因此，如何把美國從半島趕出去一直是朝鮮與中俄三國不可能完成的任務。

現在，金小胖子很可能要逐步完成這個任務了。他要把美軍從半島趕出去，必須得到文在寅的合作。文在寅呢，出身於從北韓逃到南韓的難民家庭，南北統一是他的政治

使命，所以他內心裡很可能願意把美國趕出去。他跟金小胖子半小時的悄悄話說些什麼？我們不得而知，是否達成了一些只有他們知道的共識，使韓國不再受制於美國？和中國？無論如何，朝鮮棄核，南北韓和解，乃至於最終統一，其後果無可避免地是，美軍勢必撤出朝鮮半島。

對於美國的霸權而言，這很可能不是不能接受的條件。因為這使美國第一島鏈和西太平洋防務，如果不是整個瓦解，也會嚴重削弱。即使特朗普，為了想完成這筆交易，使他青史留名，願意逐步撤軍，美國的軍方，政客，智庫等，都幾乎不可能答應。這裡也存在一個辯證關係：如果他想要青史留名，他必須完成這個朝韓和解的任務，因此他必須排除各方的阻力。他做的到嗎？這才是朝韓大戲的關鍵。

金正恩和文在寅兩人即使存有和解的真實願望，他們將要面對的是美國近七十年在西太平洋的軍事霸權。撼山易，撼動這個霸權難。四月二十八日，《紐約時報》的保守派專欄評論家Bret Stephens在“金免售和平橋”一文中說，朝鮮三代領袖都曾以兜售棄武來換取實利，結果都沒有履行他們的義務，這次金小胖子也不會例外。他曾訪問了原中情局局長（即現任國務卿）龐貝奧，問如何處理朝鮮問題，龐貝奧的答复是：“我們可以做的最重要的事就是…把核能力與有意願使用此能力的人分開來。”Bret說，“這毫無疑問是指更換政權”。

既然龐有這樣的想法，加上不久前在《華爾街日報》上主張先下手攻擊朝鮮的博爾頓已經成為特朗普的外交顧問，特朗普身邊是兩個大鷹派。試問，既然特朗普選擇這兩大鷹派人物作為輔佐，難道他在下個月跟金正恩談判的時候，不顧他們的意見，跟金正恩達成協議嗎？

這將是一個巨大的問號，而亞洲前途是否和平就決定在這樣的取捨之中。



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Is China's Middle East Effort A Wishful Dream, Risky Investment or Genuine Peace Plan?

The reason that this author has not devoted much space in this column to discussions of the Middle East (M.E.) issues is not because of a lack of problems there; rather too many messy problems with no solutions in sight to inspire meaningful discussions. The author subscribes to several newsletters and publications covering the M.E. issues and the U.S. involvement there. The nearly daily bombardments of 'hot news' on M.E. just add frustration, frustration and frustration. As a 'senior' columnist (serving American citizen's duty to understand and interpret the U.S. foreign and domestic policies), the continuous evolving M.E. crises are just too complex to be written in short columns. The U.S. could not get a bi-partisan endorsed long-term M.E. strategy nor an all citizen supported U.S. military engagement there. Russia was just eager to counter the U.S. influence in the M.E. whether or not the U.S. plan was working.

In today's column, entitled, 'Is China's Middle East Effort A Wishful Dream, Risky Investment or Genuine Peace Plan?', is really triggered by China's recent string of actions (like in Chinese Wei Qi, a set of pieces strategically placed will eventually reveal the player's intent and likelihood of a winning pattern) that seem to shed a light of hope in resolving the complex M.E. issues. However, China's M.E. effort appears to be part of an ambitious plan, whose vision is exhibited by the One Belt and One Road initiative (OBOR, I prefer to translate the Chinese word '路' to 'route' not 'road' because I think the word 'route' is broader in scope involving strategic and directional planning than the word 'road'). But its hidden part, not yet so obvious, could be regarded as the M.E. Peace Plan. It is this plan the author wishes to discuss and analyze - whether China's plan is just a wishful thinking, a risky investment or a real hopeful peace plan for solving the M.E. problems?

The problems in the M.E. should be first summarized in terms of key conflicts to set the background for our discussion on China's M.E. Effort (Readers can review these conflicts in Wikipedia for details thus only brief summary is given here):

1. The M.E. problems in the past 100 years are due to oil resources and geopolitical interests, dictator/regime changes, Arab Springs, racial and religious conflicts and rise of terrorism.
2. The conflicts among UK-US and Russia in the M.E. (rooted in regional domination and regime control have created Israel-Palestine confrontation, the Gulf War and Iraq crisis, Iran regime change tilting to Islam fundamentalism, an Iranian nuclear threat and the Islamic State (ISIS).
3. Externally influenced Arab Spring had affected regime changes in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya (Al-Qaddafi), and Yemen and

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forced Morocco and Jordan to amend constitution and government reform.

4. Arab Spring in Syria created Free Syrian Army and caused civil war with Russia supporting the regime and Saudi-US supporting the rebel.

5. The current M.E. problems are extensions of the past troubles accentuated by i). historical Arab-Israel conflict, ii). Racial Sunni-Shiite rivalry, and iii). threat of Islam in terms of intolerance and terrorism.

6. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or Iraq and Levant (ISIL), a Sunni Jihadist group claiming religious authority over all Muslims, is savvy with social media for fundraising and recruitment resulting in its expansion, continued instability in the M.E. and a rise in terrorism.

The above problems produced M.E. turmoil, the spread of M.E. refugees to other countries and terrorist events throughout the world begging for solution but none exists. The new Administration of the U.S. is retreating from her past ineffective efforts of maintaining peace in the M.E. and now focusing on America First. China on the other hand seems to be stepping up to the challenges of solving the M.E. issues with new diplomatic and economic actions applied to the M.E. and Muslim countries. China has always paid attention to the problems in the Muslim world since she has a significant population of Muslim citizens of her own. During the Cold War, China was a poor developing country; her attention to her Muslim populated regions was more policies than grand projects due to limited resources. Post Cold War, China has maintained a high economic growth rate to eventually become the world's second largest economy. Thus, China's attention to her Muslim populated regions has been heightened with numerous infrastructure and economic developments in electrification, highway projects, high speed rail lines, water resources, mining, desert greening and numerous agriculture and industrialization programs. The 9-11-2001 terrorists attack on World Trade Center in New York might have alerted China about the rise of terrorism originated from the M.E. but the activities of Arab Spring a decade later perhaps really had stimulated China into developing a comprehensive strategy to deal with the Muslim world and the M.E.

The following developments (and achievements) in China's foreign policy regarding Muslim countries and the M.E. lend strong

evidence to China's genuine attempt to develop a peace plan for the M.E. and for her own benefits:

1. China-Malaysia bilateral trade shows China being Malaysia's second largest trading partner (2016, \$23.7B versus \$27.6B, Singapore 1st place, China being first place seven years prior) and Malaysia being China's largest trading partners among ASEAN nations. China is also the largest trading partner of Indonesia (2016, \$16.8B versus \$16.2B, the U.S. 2nd place)

2. China published her Arab Policy Paper on January 13, 2016 prior to President Xi's first M.E. trip (1/19-24/2016) visiting Saudi Arabia (elevating bilateral ties to comprehensive strategic partners, e.g. setting up Chinese drone manufacturing in Saudi Arabia, Saudi King visited China on 3/15-18/2017 witnessing \$65B business deals), Egypt and Iran just days after UN's nuclear-related sanctions on Iran were lifted following Tehran scaling back its nuclear program. Xi had timed the trip for an opportune time to broker a peace relationship between Riyadh and Tehran. His speech at the Arab League in Cairo stated clearly China's honorable position: "instead of looking for a proxy, seeking any sphere of influence, and filling the vacuum, China will promote peace talks, call friends to join OBOR initiative and build a cooperative partnership network for win-win opportunities".

3. China established her first foreign military base at Djibouti, located in the Horn of Africa. China and Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) is a major initiative (2013) related to OBOR; its infrastructure, energy, Gwadar port and many other projects will not only benefit China and Pakistan but will also benefit Iran, Afghanistan, India and Central Asia. China opens OBOR to Saudi and Iran to reduce tension and create cooperation. China will build high-speed rail from Xinjiang to Tehran (Shiite) passing through Sunni Muslim Central Asia countries (Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). China also promotes Iran membership in Shanghai Cooperative Organization which other Muslim country members (Sunni) have joined.

4. China has always maintained supportive position regarding establishment of a Palestine state and a good economic, military and technological links with Israel. China had invited both Palestine and Israel leaders to visit China with the intent to play an honest broker role to achieve a peaceful solution between them.

From the above discussion, we can appreciate the complexity of the M.E. problems and China's strategic effort in promoting peace for the M.E. China has made tremendous investments in the Muslim world. China's approach of being "Friends to All" and "Enemy to None" may be a viable new alternative strategy to bring the M.E. to peace. The U.S. and Russia should welcome China's effort and the world would benefit if China's effort could succeed in the end.