中美兩國大戰略掃描

四十年,兩次誤判,美國幫助中國完成中國夢"

兩大戰略,同一個方向

過去四十年,中美兩國都有它們 的大戰略,而異常諷刺的是,美國 的大戰略似乎一路在幫助中國崛 起。中國的大戰略呢?也是在使中 國崛起。於是乎,中國迅猛地崛起 了。今天,美國反悔了,它的大戰 略現在是要阻止中國崛起,而中國 的大戰略卻仍然是繼續崛起。終 於,它們不再"同方向而行"了。 這是我們今天面對的大問題

美國的戰略

當我在研究院讀政治學的時候, 全美每天可能都有好幾百名研究生 半夜還擠在電腦室裡打卡(那是電 腦的上古時代),把厚厚一疊卡片 遞進窗口,然後讓服務員把一大堆 卡片放進龐大的IBM360 或類似的機 器裡面。機器的另一端會刷刷刷地 吐出一大堆兩邊打孔的紙。然後咱 們把一大卷紙放進背包,拿回自己 的小屋子裡,試圖尋找多種多樣的 社會經濟數據跟政治參與數據之間 的相關性。

我們需要證明的是:一,當一個 國家的教育水平提高,社會經濟水 平往上升的時候,它的人民的參與 感會增加,會越來越關心政治問 題,爭取發言權。換言之,他們會 逐漸推動政治民主化。經濟發展和 政治民主化,在最理想的情况下, 是關連互動的。可是,當執政者拒 絕接受民主轉型的時候,那麼, 二,社會不滿的情緒會增加,社會 運動會多起來,而不民主的政治環 境還會限制人們的創業心和創造 性,所以它的社會穩定性會減退, 經濟發展也會停頓不前。

如果有人計算一下,他大概會發 現,美國各個研究院的研究生花在 這個題目——即民主化與經濟發展 之間的關係——的電腦時間可能僅 次於花在分析美國選舉數據的電腦 時間。它的確是那個年代的熱門題

根據這些研究,美國的決策者和 一大批智庫裡的專家們相信,鄧小 平1978年推行改革開放的政策以 後,由於經濟迅速發展,中國會逐 漸民主化。隨著民主化,它就會跟 美國越走越近。因此,美國的政策 應當是支持中國的經濟發展。有趣 的是,那時候雷根政府對蘇聯所採 取的恰恰是完全相反的政策,雖 然,後來反而是戈巴喬夫急於走民 主的道路。

歷史的巧合時常好像是有自我意 識的。因為,為了對付經濟力量非 常強大的日本,雷根政府同時還鼓 勵美國企業減少工業成本。他不但 沉重地打擊本國的工會,降低工資 和福利,並且鼓勵把製造業,尤其 是勞力密集的製造業,轉移到亞 洲,使美國企業能夠跟日本競爭。 那時,小平同志可能自語, "格老 子的,謝謝老天爺,咱們走運 了"。但他公開的說法是:"中國

必須趕上最後這班車"。我們都親 眼目睹,中國不但趕上了這班車, 並且幾乎把所有的車廂都給占了下

1989年的六四事件似乎證明,美 國的專家們并沒有全錯。經濟急速 發展帶來了社會動盪,而社會動盪 終於將了共產黨一軍:精英學子要 推動政治改革,要實現第五個現代 化——民主。鄧小平最後拍板的清 場行動直至今日仍然還引起強烈的 反應。但是,從無數個不肯鎮壓和 無力鎮壓,以及不鎮壓的後果的案 例來看,我個人相信,歷史將會垂 憐小平同志萬不得已的鎮壓行動。 或許有人還記得,當時,從基辛格 以降,幾乎每一位專家學者都在 說,中共的鎮壓是逆歷史潮流而 行,中國的經濟將無法繼續增長。

這一點,他們都錯了。中國的經 濟在西方的制裁下繼續向前挺進, 而西方各國為了不願意錯過這個龐 大的市場,終於悄悄地跟中國妥協 了。克林頓幾經轉折,2001年決定 容許中國加入世貿組織。之後,套 句美國成語: "其餘的已經是歷史 了"。中國開始騰飛。

美國的誤判

我不妨在此指出,其實許多研究 結果指出,民主與經濟發展並沒有 絕對的相關性,而正是在集權的制 度下,如希特勒治下的德國,蔣氏 父子治下的台灣,李光耀治下的新 加坡,皮諾切治下的智利等等,經 濟都曾經有過高速度的成長——雖 然,并不是所有集權政府都能夠帶 來經濟成長。所以,美國的專家 們,拿了個半對:經濟發展的確會 造成社會動蕩,但是,政府面對動 蕩的處理方法不一定是民主轉型。 并且,不轉型可能對經濟發展更有 利。可以説,這些專家們誤判了後 面的一半。這個誤判給予中國極大 的發展空間。

當然,美國並不是真心要幫助中 國,只不過它的誤判和覬覦中國的 龐大市場,使它沒有盡全力阻止中 國的經濟騰飛。對中國一黨專政的 體制,它還是充滿敵意的,所以也 幹了幾件令中國人特別氣憤的事, 那就是1993年的銀河號事件, 1996年第七艦隊穿越台灣海峽, 1999年轟炸中國駐南斯拉夫大使 館,以及2001年南海撞機事件。這 幾件事雖然在國際上引起了不大不 小的口舌之爭,但是沒有影響到中 國經濟向上猛進的大勢。等到 2001年9月11日世貿大樓被炸之後, 美國全面捲入阿富汗與伊拉克的兩 場戰爭,不但沒有餘力對付中國, 并且還要仰賴中國的廉價產品來抵 制通脹。這就又給予中國十幾年全 方位發展的寶貴時機。

韜光養晦,悶聲發財

接下來我們要談談中國的大戰略 了。面對蘇聯陣營明顯出現的混

亂,邓小平於1990年12月發表言論 說:"我们千万不要当头,这是一 个根本国策。"1992年4月他進一 步闡述: "我们再韬光养晦地干些 年,才能真正形成一个较大的政治 力量,中国在国际上发言的分量就 会不同。"這就是中國"韜光養 晦"的大戰略。韜光養晦並不是從 1990年才開始的,從1978年到 2012年,中國的大戰略一直都是: 韜光養晦, 悶聲發財。習近平於 2013年接下了一黨治國的大棒,提 出了"中國夢",《中國製造 2025》和"一帶一路"的三大目 標。西方的所有專家學者都說:他 放棄了鄧小平韜光養晦的大戰略。

習近平錯了嗎?

自從特朗普開打貿易戰以來,不 論是國內還是國外,許多中國人好 心地提出了一些批評,認為中國應 該繼續韜光養晦,習近平不應當改 變戰略,以至於引起西方的警覺。 這種看法,當然,並不正確

2010年,當中國的GDP超過了日 本而躍升為全球第二大經濟體的時 候,中國已經無法躲藏了。當時擔 任國務卿的希萊莉曾經在《外交政 策》上發表了一篇比較中美兩國實 力和國際地位的文章。她指出,美 國的地理位置遠優於中國,南北有 兩個鐵桿盟友,東西是兩大片海 洋;而中國有十四個跟它存在著許 多歷史性糾葛和衝突的鄰國。從國 際關係來看,中國處於劣勢。隨 後, 奧巴馬根據她的建議, 提出了

"亞洲再平衡"的大戰略,開始慫 恿這些鄰國跟中國鬧事:釣魚島, 南海,破壞緬甸跟中國的緊密關 係,拉攏越南和印度等等。最重要 的可能是推動一個排除中國的亞洲 自貿區,即泛太平洋夥伴關係 (TPP)。可惜--或者可喜--的是, 在奧巴馬卸任的時候,TPP還沒有 完成協商。如果希萊莉當選的話, 她毫無疑問會極力推動這個戰略, 孤立中國。

所以說,在習近平推出他的宏偉 計劃之前,美國的大戰略已經變 了。它不是針對習近平的計劃所做 出的反應,因此我們不能說習近平 的宏偉目標促使美國改變戰略。美 國是知道了自己的誤判,開始從容 許中國利用美國的市場提升經濟, 到設法壓制中國經濟。所以,奧巴 馬說,要把美國的軍力的60%轉移 到亞洲,同時極力達成排擠中國的 泛太平洋自貿區的協議。但是,由 於希萊莉落選了,特朗普上臺,所 以本來由奧巴馬和希萊利籌劃的戰 略被特朗普徹底撕毀,他另外搞了 貿易戰,可是其制約中國的目的卻

中國有幸,習近平應運而出,大 刀闊斧地反腐,重組軍隊,打下了 中國進一步發展的基礎,也鞏固了 跟特朗普對著幹的底氣。

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推進中美相互瞭解合作 促成海峽兩岸和平統一 倡導和諧平等多元世界

習近平奉天承運

中國的國運顯然還在繼續受到上 天垂顧。試想,如果希萊莉當選了 總統,她難道會撕毀TPP,跟南北 兩個鐵桿盟友重啟北美洲自貿區談 判?或者對歐盟與日本的進口汽車 加征25%的關稅?當然不會。她難 道會跟她自己掌控了四年之久的國 務院和跟她緊密合作的國安機構與 軍事建制對著幹?當然不會。她完 全有能力啟動美國整個軍事和外交 建制,加上盟友的力量,聯合對付 中國。她也絕對不會輕率地說"貿 易戰很容易",然後就跟全世界, 不論敵友,都杠上了。也就是說, 她會跟當年雷根聯合了英法德共同 逼迫日元升值一樣,聯合盟友,一 起對付中國。那樣做,中國的前途 倒真的值得擔憂。可以說,特朗普 的意外當選,是美國一次不流血的 内戰的後果,而對中國而言,非常

但是,不能否認,兩國的大戰略 已經開始了激烈碰撞。這個碰撞對 雙方都不可能是好事。我們可以看 到三個可能的發展方向,一是妥 協,二是兩敗俱傷,三是一勝一 負。

妥協

貿易戰是美國發動的,所以,如 果特朗普不肯妥協,而習近平不肯 認輸,那麼妥協就不可能發生。那 麼,特朗普會不會妥協呢?。

目前,妥協的可能性不大,關鍵 因素是,美國經濟仍然很強勁,第 二季度的GDP增長了4.1%,高於預 期,所以貿易戰的負面後果大體上 沒有出現。相反的,中國的股市已 經嚴重下滑,人民幣也相當幅度貶 值,予人的感覺就是中國可能撐不 下去。這樣,特朗普當然繼續進 逼,相信中國會服輸讓步。

兩敗俱傷

貿易戰,如果不在短期內妥協, 兩敗俱傷的可能性是非常大的。從 特朗普過去兩年間的表現來看,最 起碼我們知道,他是一個不肯認錯 服輸的人。他現在已經擺明要把對 中國徵收的關稅增加到5000億以 上。對此,中國必然會做出反擊, 有共和黨在中期選舉中失敗,民主 黨贏得了眾議院的多數席位,而且 民調顯示,特朗普自己連任的可能 性不見了的時候,他才可能妥協。 當然,最可能要等到他2020年落 選,雙方的經濟都已經承受到相當

程度的打擊之後,新上台的美國 總統,不管是民主黨還是共和 黨,才會妥協停戰

美國的又一次誤判?

多方面的報導指出,關於貿易 戰,白宮內部有兩派意見,而強 硬派贏得了上風。強硬派的代表 人物是納瓦羅,庫德洛和萊特希 澤。其中兩位不太講話,庫德洛 原先是CNBC的分析師,則是大 嘴巴。他說,第一,特朗普對打 貿易戰的意志非常堅定;第二, 中國的債務過高,並且中國 6.8%的GDP增長率很虛,偏重投 資,所以經不起貿易戰的打擊, 經濟會崩盤。特朗普推翻了溫和 派跟中國達成的協議,決定繼續 打貿易戰,就是根據這幾個極端 派的建議。

前面提到,早年美國對中國的 大戰略是基於誤判。到了今天這 個關鍵時刻,我們可以問:把貿 易戰的勝利押注到中國經濟崩盤 上,是不是另一個誤判?

如果是的話,那麼,明年將能 夠清楚看到,中國的經濟雖然受 到打擊,但是沒有崩盤。另一方 面,美國的經濟,在連續十年的 增長之後,由於貿易戰和加息, 通貨膨脹升高,消費水平下降, 經濟趨緩。果如是,則特朗普幾 乎注定會在兩年之後下臺。他的 貿易戰也會跟著他進入墳墓

有沒有誤判的可能呢?可能性 甚大。前央行行長周小川最近在 意大利參加一次論壇時說, (貿易戰)對經濟的負面影響並 不大"。他估計,大約會使 GDP減少 0.5% 的增速。但是,他 又說, "我們看到雷曼兄弟事件 發生,導致金融危機,突然造成 恐慌和連鎖反應。所以這種事情 是很難分析的。"也就是說,不 能排除發生黑天鵝事件的可能。 他對中國經濟的瞭解絕對超過白 宮裡的幾名極右派反中專家。彭 博社9月8號的分析文章標題是

"對特朗普的貿易戰,習近平並 不在乎"。文中指出,習的政策 就是要中國有獨立自主的科技, 所以貿易戰從某個角度看是"塞 翁失馬,焉知非福"(blessing in disguise),幫助中國走向這一步。

果如是,那麼,我們將看到一 個歷史性的巨大諷刺,那就是: 四十年,兩次誤判,美國幫助中 國完成中國夢。到底後事如何: 且讓我們拭目以待。

Outlook of US-China Trade Relations under WTO

World Trade Organization (WTO) is an international institution. Although it is not an agency of the U.N., it has a strong relation with the U.N. WTO is an intergovernmental organization concerned with international trade regulation. It was established on January 1, 1995 under the GATT Marrakesh Agreement, signed by 123 nations on April 15, 1994. GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) was established after WW II in 1948 after economists recommended the establishment of three international institutions to manage, promote and regulate world economy, namely the International Money Fund (IMF, concerning with fiscal and monetary issues), the World Bank (WB, concerning with financial and structural issues) and the International Trade Organization (ITO, for international trade and economic cooperation). The three organizations were proposed to be part of the United Nations system. The ITO was to be a UN specialized agency to address not only trade barriers but other issues indirectly related to trade, including employment, investment, restrictive business practices, and commodity agreements. However, the ITO treaty was not approved by the U.S. and a few other nation members thus never became a reality. Hence, GATT had to transform into an international organization to deal with international trade. Reviewing GATT's history, one can see its complex growth just from the statistics of its 'meeting rounds' - starting year, number of members and length of meeting in months: (4/47, 23, 7; 4/49, 34, 5; 9/50, 34, 8; 1/56, 22, 5; 5/60. 45, 11; 5/64, 48, 37; 9/73, 102, 74; 9/86, 123, 87; 11/2001, 159, still going on). Membership grew to 159 with meeting became continuous nearly every month.

It was at the end of Uruguay round (1986-1994), the Marrakesh Agreement was signed to establish WTO (commenced on 1-1-1995). The standards of GATT on trade in goods were updated and additional 60 agreements added into the WTO agreement, falling under six categories: 1. General WTO member agreement, 2. Goods and investments, 3. Services, 4. Intellectual properties, 5. Dispute settlements and 6. Review of government trade policies (TPRM). In fact, WTO just published its TPRM on China on July 13, 2018. The report contains 38 summary points mostly with positive comments, meaning making improvements and adhering to WTO regulations. China is moving more to consumption based economy, reducing merchandise trade in percentage of GDP with growing services, improving in processing imports, one third of imports through one window taking 16.7 hours in 2017 down from 22 hours in 2016 and only 1.1 hour for processing exports in 2017, amazing efficiency.

China has opened more free trade zones and allowed more foreign

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

investment especially encouraging oil exploration. China's State involvement in economy remains (which contributed to China's success but also drew criticism from the U.S.) and China still maintains a price control list on commodities and services (that impact national economy and people's livelihood) which was updated with items such as explosive materials, tobacco, drugs and construction projects removed. Over all, the WTO has a positive effect on China in managing her economic development and contribution to the world economy.

The last WTO review on the U.S. was in 2016, the 2018 report has not been produced yet. The 2016 report pointed out the deteriorating infrastructure and rising income gap as the challenges for the U.S. as well as her concern of anti-dumping, having 269 AD orders as of 6/2016 against China, EU, India, Japan, S. Korea and Taiwan concentrated in the steel industry. The anti-dumping issue is an odd topic in economics. When nations selling goods to another nation at low price (subsidized), the Importer has the freedom to accept or reject the sales. It is hardly a devastating problem, say, compared to a nation monopolizing a certain technology or material or goods and selling at a very high price. One well known example is medicine which many poor countries cannot afford to buy. It will be interesting to see how the WTO 2018 TPRM report will say about the trade war launched by President Trump and what impact it may have on WTO members. The WTO deals with regulation of trade between participating countries by providing a framework for negotiating trade agreements and a dispute resolution process aimed at enforcing participants' adherence to WTO agreements. Most of the issues that the WTO focuses on were derived from previous trade negotiations, from the Uruguay Round (1986-1994) to Doha Round (2001 to present). For example, the average tariff levels for GATT participants was 22 percent in 1947, reduced to 15% in 1960's and further reduced to below 5% after the Uruguay Round. The economic historian Douglas Irwin at Dartmouth attributed the prosperity of the world economy, the growth of world trade, over the past half century to the creation of GATT and WTO. Now the U.S. is threatening to pull out of WTO, unilaterally imposing tariffs (25% on steel, 10% on Aluminum imports and 10% on Chinese imports and threatening to apply new tariffs on 500 billion Chinese goods), rejecting existing trade agreements and seeking unilateral preference negotiation. Granted, President Trump might have a point that the US economy and her trade relations with the

world were the result of previous US Administrations, however, any change of policy must be well thought out and debated. The current US action seems to be random and impulsive, certainly disturbing to the world economy and the stability WTO was created to maintain.

China first gained observer status in GATT in1986, working towards joining that organization. China hoped to be a WTO founding member but her attempt was thwarted by the U.S., European countries, and Japan. When China later joined the WTO, she had to agree to considerably harsher conditions than other developing countries. She was required to reform various tariff policies, including tariff reductions, open markets and industrial policies. China also had to deal with transparency and intellectual property issues. These changes were difficult steps for China as they were conflicting with her prior economic strategy. Accession required China to engage in global competition according to rules that she did not make. China's admission was a collective decision symbolizing a clear commitment towards <u>multilateralism</u>. After China joined WTO, her service sector was considerably liberalized and foreign investment in previously prohibited areas was allowed; restrictions on retail, wholesale and distribution ended. Banking, financial services, insurance and telecommunications were also opened up gradually to foreign investment. China's economic growth is definitely helped by her membership in WTO, but it was her decades of hard work contributed to her success and benefitted herself as well as other WTO members.

The issue of deteriorating US-China trade relations is not the problem of WTO nor caused by it. The US-China trade imbalance can be summarized in one phrase, 'mismatch of economic development policy', no one especially WTO should be blamed for it. The U.S. has been favoring service sector, particularly the financial service sector, over manufacturing. Her technological lead is also heavily applied to the financial sector. Thus, domestically, the U.S. suffered job loss in manufacturing which could not be made up numerically by the thriving financial industry. This economic trend also contributed to widened income gap and less goods export. On the other hand, China has been focused on manufacturing thriving in an export oriented economy. China is slow perhaps planned so purposely in pumping her service sector growth, particularly in financial services. Therefore China was not a ripe environment to receive financial services from the U.S. This mismatch of economic development policies between the two great nations created a trade imbalance solvable only by policy adjustment. As China is moving more into consumption based economy and a more service demanding country, she will import more services including the financial services. China's strategy to upgrade her manufacturing (China Manufacture 2025) will need more technology imports from the advanced nations like the U.S. The above two areas are both strong suits of the U.S. Looking forward, the mismatch will be disappearing. The US-China trade relations will ensure a more balanced trade. This can be achieved under the sound WTO umbrella.