

国际大变局下中国的角色

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摘要

新冠疫情爆发后，各地实施间歇性的封城措施，导致生产停顿、供应链无法正常运作及失业率飙升，全球经济陷入了较 2008 年金融危机更为严重的衰退，促使各地政府推出空前的经济救助。中国成功控制疫情，是 G20 成员国中唯一在 2020 年取得增长的国家。全球经济当前面对严峻的挑战，亟需中美加强合作对疫情严重的发展中国家提供援助，推动疫苗护照国际互认，引领世界经贸活动恢复增长，加快全球经济复苏。

近年全球贫富差距日益扩大，导致民粹主义和保护主义抬头，对社会稳定及地缘政治构成重大威胁。中国的“双循环”发展战略，将推动更高水平的开放和高质量的经济的发展。在维护多边主义方面，中国积极提倡区域经济合作和全球化发展，与东盟签署了 RCEP 并推动中欧全面投资协议落地，表明了加入 CPTPP 的意向，对推动全球经贸合作提供了急需的动力。

在后疫情时期，发展中国家对外来投资需求殷切，而近期低息环境将有利这些国家加大投资特别是基础设施。“一带一路倡议”正是当前世界需要的宏伟计划！中国可牵头带动全球资源为“一带一路”沿线国家提供资金、经验和专业技术，有效引导量化宽松所释放的流动资金投向“一带一路”沿线国家有经济效益的基础设施项目，帮助东道国创造就业、促进经济增长、增加居民收入，开创更美好的未来。

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新冠疫情对全球经济造成严峻的冲击，导致发达经济体及新兴经济体同时出现衰退。尽管各地政府推出史无前例的财政救助计划和量化宽松政策，世界仍陷入了较 2008 年全球金融危机更为严重的经济衰退。根据国际货币基金组织（IMF）的测算，截至 2020 年底，累计全球财政刺激金额已达到 14 万亿美元，约占 2020 年全球 GDP 的 13.5%。政府财政救助缓解了失业和消费疲弱的压力，但同时也加剧了全球经济失衡，表现在贫富差距进一步扩大，政府及企业债务上升，资产价格泡沫等问题。

为了防控疫情，世界各国采取了封城锁国和保持社交距离等措施，导致生产停顿和失业人数骤增。酒店和旅游业受到沉重的打击，破产和失业的情况最为惨重。世界旅游业理事会（WTTC）的数据显示，2020 年国际游客数量下降了 65%，全球旅行的限制使旅游业 1.43 亿个工作岗位陷入困境。

中国对疫情的迅速应对和成功控制在全球是独一无二的。世界银行的预测显示，2020 年全球 GDP 将收缩 4.3%，其中发达经济体负增长 5.4%，中国是唯一在 2020 年取得正增长的 G20 国家，而应对危机能力不足的新兴市场国家受到了重创。全球经济当前面对严峻的挑战，亟需中美加强合作对疫情

严重的发展中国家提供援助，推动疫苗护照国际互认，引领世界经贸活动恢复增长，加快全球经济复苏。

早在新冠疫情爆发前，持续扩大的贫富差距已导致民粹主义和保护主义抬头。英国脱欧、美国退出跨太平洋伙伴关系协定（TPP），以及中美摩擦加剧，显示逆全球化势头正愈演愈烈。国际贸易数据所反映的逆全球化和民族主义趋势也非常明显，全球商品贸易额占 GDP 的比重从 2008 年的 51.4% 降至 2019 年的 44.0%。世界贸易组织（WTO）认为新冠疫情将严重妨碍了国际贸易活动，预期 2020 年全球商品贸易额下降 9.2%。

民族主义和民粹主义滋生的仇外心理，对区域和平及社会稳定构成重大威胁。桥水基金（Bridgewater Associates）发布的民粹主义指数在 2017 年已经升至二战以来的最高水平。当前复杂多变的政治形势容易引发动荡，新冠疫情更是加剧了这一风险。经济复苏不均衡势将导致国际关系紧张，并加剧地缘政治冲突。值得注意的是，中美两国近期在科技和网络安全问题上的争端，使全球两个最大经济体合作带领全球复苏的情景变得渺茫。一旦中美关系继续恶化，经济衰退风险将会上升，并延迟全球复苏的进程。

世界各国应更团结地反对逆全球化，它损害跨境贸易并阻碍经济增长，有需要通过协调共赢的政策来巩固多边贸易体系，减少全球经济失衡。伴随改革开放稳步深化，消费市场和中产群体不断扩大，后疫情时期中国仍将是

全球总需求及经济增长的重要引擎。近日，已与东盟签署了 RCEP 并推动中欧全面投资协议落地。在维护多边主义和全球化发展方面，也表明了加入 CPTPP 的意向。中国应积极提倡全球化，促进区域经济合作，维护良好的全球贸易和投资环境。

过去一年，中美争端从贸易、金融、科技领域延伸至军事领域。特朗普政府的冷战思维加剧了紧张局势，使两国关系进一步复杂化，这种状态可能在拜登政府上台后仍占据主流。新冠病毒肆虐、地缘政治紧张，全球处于极其动荡敏感的大变局时期，亟需高瞻远瞩的规划和强大的领导力帮助世界经济回到正轨，开创更美好的未来。这个时候是大力推动落实“一带一路倡议”最适当和最好时机！

自 2013 年“一带一路倡议”提出以来，中国已与 171 个国家和国际组织，签署了 205 份共建“一带一路”合作文件。为了摆脱新冠疫情导致的经济衰退，“一带一路”沿线国家对外来投资的需求殷切，而近期美元疲弱和低息环境有利于这些国家加大基础设施投资。中国可牵头带动全球资源为“一带一路”沿线国家基建项目提供资金、经验和专业技术，并在拥有 103 个成员国（地区）的亚洲基础设施投资银行（AIIB）的支持下，促进中国企业和国际企业参与一些具有经济效益的项目。东南亚海上丝绸之路国家处理新冠疫情恰当，经济基础较稳固，在推动“一带一路”基建投资项目更有条件为

该等项目吸引投融资，进一步加强亚洲沿线国家的联系。这些项目将有助东道国扩大就业、增加居民收入，同时也可更有效地利用央行量化宽松所释放的巨额资金。在条件成熟时，投资项目的范围可以从基础设施扩展至医疗保健、5G 等领域，并推广到东欧和非洲等“一带一路”沿线国家。

后疫情时期，全球经济将面临不同步复苏及深度的调整，外部环境仍将持续动荡。中国推出的“双循环”发展战略能更灵活应对外部冲击。为取得更高质量经济增长，中国需加快改革开放、扩大内需市场。在推动消费成为经济增长主要引擎的同时，加快内循环亦会增加进口需求，创造更多市场机遇吸引外资，从而带动外循环的发展。建议加大力度推动区域一体化快速发展，加强城市群互联互通，以提供更多引进资金和技术的机会；增加与“一带一路”沿线国家的经贸往来，引导一些劳动密集型产业向低成本国家转移，鼓励国内企业向战略新兴产业过渡；借推动产业升级，提升自身在全球产业链的位置。

创新引领和科技自立自强是“十四”五时期的发展战略，国家将致力建设区域创新平台和全国科学中心，推动发展人工智能、集成电路、数字经济等核心技术，为未来科技产业开创巨大的蓝海。中国需倡导国际团结合作，与世界各国，特别是“丝绸之路经济带”和“21 世纪海上丝绸之路”沿线国家，共享新冠疫苗和治疗药物，这将有助巩固和加强中国与“一带一路”成

员国的经贸联系。中国在疫情后若能加快带领世界资源投向“一带一路”沿线国家，将对全球经济复苏作出巨大的贡献，并有利于世界的和平与稳定。

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China's Global Role in Times of Turbulence and Change

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Abstract

Following the outbreak of COVID-19, intermittent city lockdown measures were implemented worldwide which led to production stoppages and supply chain disruptions. The ensuing unemployment surge and global economic recession that is more severe than the 2008 financial crisis have prompted governments around the world to roll out unprecedented economic rescue programs. China succeeded to bring the pandemic under control, and was the only G20 member country that achieved economic growth in 2020. The world currently faces severe challenges which need stronger China-US collaboration to assist the pandemic-inflicted developing countries, promote mutual recognition of vaccine passports, spur resumption of world economic and trade growth, in order to expedite global economic recovery.

In recent years, widening income disparity between the rich and the poor has led to a rise in populism and protectionism, posing enormous threats to social and geopolitical stability. China's "dual circulation" development strategy will result in higher level opening-up and high-quality economic development. In upholding multilateralism, China has taken tangible actions to promote regional economic cooperation and globalization, through signing of RCEP and the EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment, as well as expressing an intention to join the CPTPP. These actions have provided the urgently needed push to foster global trade and economic cooperation.

In the post-pandemic era, developing countries will be eager to seek inward investment, taking advantage of the prevailing low interest rate environment to increase investment particularly in infrastructure. The "Belt and Road Initiative" is the grand plan that the world needs! China can take the lead to coordinating and channeling global resources including capital, experience and technical expertise to the "belt and road" countries, channeling the funds released by quantitative easing to invest into "belt and road" infrastructure projects that are economically sound

and feasible, thereby helping the host countries to create employment, promote economic growth, increase people's income, and to build a better future.

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COVID-19 has dealt a severe blow to the global economy, resulting in concurrent downturn of the advanced and emerging economies. Despite unprecedented fiscal rescue programs and quantitative easing rolled out by governments around the world, the global economy tumbled into a recession deeper than the 2008 financial crisis-induced downturn. According to the IMF, cumulative global fiscal stimulus reached USD14 trillion in 2020, equivalent to around 13.5% of global GDP. While these funds were primed to provide relief for unemployment and falling consumption, the stimulus packages have further aggravated global imbalances, evidenced by widening income disparity between the rich and the poor, rising government and corporate debt burden, and asset price bubbles.

Worldwide city lockdown and social distancing measures to control the pandemic have resulted in production stoppages and a surge in unemployment. The hospitality

and travel industries were particularly hit hard, where insolvency and job losses had been the most pronounced. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), worldwide travel restriction has put 143 million jobs in the global travel and tourism sector at risk, with international tourist arrivals declining by 65% in 2020.

China's rapid policy response and success to bring COVID-19 under control stood out as a notable global exception. The World Bank projects global GDP contraction of 4.3% in 2020, with advanced economies to register a decline of 5.4%. China is set to be the only G20 member country to achieve positive economic growth in 2020, while many emerging economies, ill-equipped to deal with the crisis, will suffer major setbacks. Currently the world faces severe challenges which need stronger China-US collaboration to assist the pandemic-inflicted developing countries, promote mutual recognition of vaccine passports, spur resumption of world economic and trade growth, in order to expedite global economic recovery.

Before the pandemic outbreak, the widening wealth gap had already caused a rise in populism and protectionism. Brexit, United States' withdrawal from the TPP, and

escalating China-US frictions are symbolic events of globalization in reverse. The trend towards nationalism and deglobalization is also apparent in the international trade statistics. While merchandise trade accounted for 51.4% of global GDP in 2008, the ratio had fallen to 44.0% in 2019. The World Trade Organization (WTO) expects severe impairment to international trade flow as a result of COVID-19, predicting that global merchandise trade will fall by 9.2% in 2020.

Nationalism and populism breed xenophobia, which poses significant threats to social stability and regional peace. The populism index tracked by Bridgewater Associates rose to a post-World War II high in 2017, is an indication of a complex, volatile political landscape susceptible to rising turbulences. The pandemic crisis further exacerbates these trends, and a sluggish economic recovery will strain international relations and increase geopolitical risks. Episodes of US-China disputes over technology and cybersecurity issues paint a dismal outlook for the world's two largest economies working together to spearhead global recovery. On the contrary, mishaps and deterioration in US-China relation would delay economic recovery and prolong the downturn.

The world should rally against deglobalization because it undermines cross border trade and creates headwinds against global recovery. There is a need to revitalize the multilateral trading system through coordinated policies and concerted efforts to reduce imbalances in the global economy. With continued reform and market opening, China's expanding middle class and huge consumer market will remain an important source of demand and growth engine for the post-pandemic world. Recently, China signed the RCEP (Regional comprehensive Economic Partnership) with ASEAN countries and brought the negotiation of EU-China Comprehensive Agreement on Investment to a close. In upholding multilateralism and globalization China also expressed an intention to join the CPTPP (Comprehensive Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership). China should proactively champion globalization, foster regional economic cooperation, and help to safeguard a sound environment for global trade and investment.

In the past year, US-China confrontation has intensified from trade, finance, technology issues and spilling over to military arena. US-China tension has been accentuated by cold war rhetoric from the Trump administration in recent years, further complicating bilateral relationship. This situation will likely prevail with the

Biden administration. The world is currently in a very volatile and sensitive situation, with geopolitics and the coronavirus pandemic playing havoc at the same time. It needs a bold vision and program to bring the world back on track, and farsighted leadership to steer a better future for all mankind. This is an appropriate and best time to vigorously promote and implement the “Belt and Road Initiative”!

Since the inception of “Belt and Road Initiatives” in 2013, China has signed 205 “belt and road” cooperation agreements with 171 countries and international organizations. The pandemic-inflicted downturn has created pressing needs for inward investments in the “belt and road” countries to bring their economies out of recession. The soft US dollar and low interest rate environment are advantageous for expanding infrastructure investment in these countries. China can take the lead to guiding global resources including capital, experience and technical expertise to the “belt and road” countries, and with the help of Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) which has 103 member countries/regions, to facilitate Chinese and international enterprises to participate in economically sound and feasible projects. Southeast Asian Maritime Silk Road countries, having managed COVID-19 relatively well, possess solid economic foundation to attract investment and

financing for “belt and road” infrastructure projects that will strengthen connectivity among the participating Asian countries. These projects, which are beneficial to job and income growth of the host countries, can also provide venues to channel the massive funds unleashed by central banks’ quantitative easing. Similar investment in infrastructure, healthcare and 5G projects can be rolled out to other “belt and road” countries in Eastern Europe and Africa in due course.

In the post-pandemic era, the global economy will undergo profound changes, and the external environment will remain turbulent. China intends to pursue a “dual circulation” strategy of development which is more resilient to external disruptions and shocks. To achieve higher quality growth, China should speed up reform and opening up, and to expand its domestic market. While greater reliance will be placed on promoting consumption as a key economic growth engine, a boost to domestic circulation will also increase demand for imports and create market opportunities for attracting inward investment that fuels external circulation. A strong push to accelerate regional integration and strengthen connectivity among the city clusters to create more market opportunities to attract capital and technology inflow is recommended. Greater efforts should be made to increase

economic and trade flows with the “belt and road” countries and guide diversification of some labor-intensive industries to the low cost countries, while encouraging domestic enterprises to expand into strategic emerging industries, to enable industrial upgrading and advancing the position on the global supply chain.

Innovation and self-reliance in science and technology are key components of the 14th Five-Year Plan development strategy. China will strive to build regional innovation platforms and national science centers, promote development of core technologies related to artificial intelligence, integrated circuit, and the digital economy, which will create immense nascent market opportunities for the science and technology industries. As the world emerges from the pandemic, China will have the opportunity to advocate solidarity and prioritize the sharing of vaccines and therapeutic drugs with other nations, particularly with member countries along the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st-century Maritime Silk Road. This will help to cement and enhance trade and economic ties with “belt and road” member countries. In the post-pandemic period, if China can guide and expedite global resources to invest in the “belt and road” countries, it will make a huge contribution to global economic recovery, while bringing benefits towards global peace and

stability.

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