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(4) 國家參與國際事務

(4) Our Country’s Participation in International Affairs

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今天的研討會的主題是「國家參與國際事務」。內容主要分為兩部分，第一部分是現今國際形勢的概況，以及從國家層面如何解讀這個形勢；第二部分是我國在參與國際事務時的一些基本原則，並以一些外交情況作為例子去分析國際形勢。

The theme of today’s seminar is “Our Country’s Participation in International Affairs”. The content is mainly divided into two parts. The first part is an overview of the current international situation and how to interpret this situation from a national perspective; while the second part is about some basic principles of our country’s participation in international affairs, and some diplomatic situations will be used as examples to analyse the international situation.

「百年未有之大變局」

“Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century”

「百年未有之大變局」是國家主席習近平首先在 2017 年提出。既指國際正在經歷的不斷變化的局勢，也指中國面對這變化中的國際形勢。

The “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century” was first proposed by President Xi Jinping in 2017. It refers to the ever-changing situation that the world is experiencing, and also refers to the changing international situation that China faces.

經歷過好幾個世紀，一些曾經在國際上具有很大影響力的國家，例如西班牙、葡萄牙及英國，在國際上的影響力漸漸下降。

Over several centuries, some countries that once had great influence in the world, such as Spain, Portugal and the United Kingdom, have gradually declined in international influence.

自二十世紀，英國經歷兩次世界大戰，國力漸漸下降，從英鎊的地位被美元取代，便可得知一二。兩次世界大戰後，美國的地位越見鞏固。美國除了軍事力量外，也擁有龐大的經濟力量。一方面美國在很多國際組織上有很重要的地位，包括世界銀行、國際貨幣基金組織等等，透過這些國際組織，美元的地位得以越來越鞏固。再加上 1970 年代，石油生產國出口的石油，以美元計價，這些產油國的石油收入統稱為石油美元。由於產油國將石油美元投入股票、債券市場，使美元在國際金融市場上進一步確立了鞏固的地位。

Since the 20th century, Britain had experienced two world wars, leading to a gradual decline in its national strength. This can be seen from the fact that the status of the British pounds was replaced by the US dollars. After the two World Wars, the position of the United States has become increasingly consolidated. Apart from military power, the United States has huge economic power. On the one hand, the United States holds important positions in many international organisations, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, etc. Through these international organisations, the status of the US dollars has been increasingly consolidated. In addition, in the 1970s, the oil exported by oil-producing countries was priced in US dollars, and the oil revenues of these oil-producing countries were collectively referred to as petrodollars. As oil-producing countries invest petrodollars in the stock and bond markets, it has further established the solid position of the US dollars in the international financial market.

「百年未有之大變局」代表著很多事情不斷在變化。以往的世界是比較穩定和按部就班的，但現今往往會出現很多難以預測的事情。

The “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century” means that many things are constantly changing. In the past, the world was relatively stable and predictable, but nowadays many unpredictable things often occur.

以往，年青人認識的香港，可能只限於香港是一個非常國際化的城市，但時至今日，年青人更加要認識國際事務，以及具備國際視野，從而明白未來世界將如何發展，以及分析事情為何會這樣發生。

In the past, young people’s understanding of Hong Kong may have been limited to it being a highly international city. But today, young people need to have greater understanding of international affairs and have an international perspective, so as to understand how the world will develop in the future and analyse why things are happening in particular ways.

「百年未有之大變局」的加速演進，背後有著很多因素，包括兩次世界大戰後，一些歐洲國家漸漸衰落，冷戰時期出現美蘇兩大陣營；自 1990 年後，蘇聯

瓦解，冷戰結束，在國際格局上，由美蘇兩大陣營變成一個「一超多強」的局面，美國在當時成為一個絕對的超級大國。隨著時間的推進，我國開始崛起，從我國的 GDP 上的增長，便可印證這說法。2022 年，中國的 GDP 已經達至 121 萬億人民幣，大概是美國 GDP 的 85% 左右。中國在過去十年的 GDP，平均每兩年增長 10 萬億元人民幣，在 2020 到 2022 年間，增長速度則更加快。

There are many factors behind the accelerated evolution of “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century”, including the gradual decline of some European countries after the two world wars, and the emergence of two major camps of the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Since 1990, the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War ended. In the international situation, the two camps of the United States and the Soviet Union turned into a situation of “one superpower, many great powers” with the United States as an absolute superpower at that time. With time, our country began to rise, as evidenced by its GDP growth. In 2022, China’s GDP reached 121 trillion yuan, which was about 85% of the US GDP. In the past decade, China’s GDP grew at an average rate of 10 trillion yuan every two years, and the growth rate further accelerated from 2020 to 2022.

中國的 GDP 位居世界前列，反映了我國近年整體國力的提升。中國人口眾多，在全球 GDP 佔有一定比例是很自然和合理的。然而卻有人認為中國國力會對美國構成威脅。

China’s GDP ranks among the top economies in the world, which reflects an elevation of our country’s overall national strength in recent years. With its large population, it is natural and reasonable for China to account for a certain proportion of the global GDP. However, it is perceived by some people that China’s elevated national power will pose a threat to the United States.

美國自從二十世紀 80 年代開始，漸漸將產業，以及整個產業佈局轉移至全世界，使全世界都成為美國的經濟體系的一部分。一方面美國的企業有出去投資的需要，另一方面，國際機構亦需要美國的投資。但無論產業佈局如何轉移，美國始終是掌握著最高端的產業。以晶片為例，美國就掌握著晶片設計的那部分。以 iPhone 為例，生產 iPhone 收入最多的是美國的公司，因為這些公司掌握著產業鏈中最頂層、最高端的位置。但對美國政來說，產業佈局的轉移，意味著就業機會也開始從美國轉移出去。從全球產業鏈的分工角度來看，產業佈局的轉移對美國也是一個很大的危機。因為美國發覺有些國家不再局限於美國所定的一套產業鏈分工。這些國家，例如中國，在積累財富後，不再局限於中下游的生產工作，而開始發展高端的生產部分，產品在國際市場上具一定的競爭力。一個由美國控制的全球產業鏈漸被打破，令美國在經濟上感到受到威脅。

Since the 1980s, the United States has gradually shifted its industries and entire

industrial layout to different places around the world, making the whole world an integral part of the US economic system. On the one hand, US companies have the need to invest, and on the other hand, international institutions also need US investment. But no matter how the industrial layout shifts, the United States maintains control over the most high-end industries. Taking chips as an example, the United States dominates the chip design sector. Taking the iPhone as an example, American companies generate the most revenue from iPhone production, because these companies hold the topmost and highest-end positions in the industrial chain. But for the US government, the shift in industrial layout means that job opportunities are also moving away from the United States. From the perspective of global industrial division of labour, the shift in industrial layout is also a big crisis for the United States. The United States found that other countries are no longer limited to the division of labour in industrial chain set by the United States. After these countries, such as China, have accumulated wealth, they are no longer limited to mid- and downstream production work, but have begun to develop high-end production sectors, and their products have certain competitiveness in the international market. The global industrial chain, which was once controlled by the United States, is gradually being disrupted, making the United States feel economically threatened.

如果再往深層次探索「百年未有之大變局」，可追溯到文藝復興時期。自文藝復興以來，整個世界的主流和主要的意識形態，都以西方（特別是歐洲）為主。雖然美國和歐洲並未完全一體，但美國在很大程度上是歐洲文明及文化的一個繼承者。許多文藝復興思想家，例如約翰洛克（John Locke）和馬基雅維里（Machiavelli）的理論都在美國的政治體制中實踐。

If we explore the “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century” at a deeper level, we can trace it back to the Renaissance period. Since the Renaissance, the mainstream and dominant ideologies of the entire world have been Western-centric (particularly focused on Europe). Although the United States and Europe are not completely integrated, the United States is to a large extent an inheritor of European civilisation and culture. Many Renaissance thinkers, such as John Locke and Machiavelli, have had their theories put into practice in the US political system.

一直以來，世界秩序都是由西方國家及美國主導，隨著中國國力上升，加深了美國的擔憂。這套新秩序的出現，可能會動搖美國自二十世紀 90 年代開始建立的超級大國地位。對於這幾年產生的「百年未有之大變局」，很大程度上源於美國兩次的金融風暴。2008 年金融風暴對美國做成很大的打擊，當時中國與美國的關係尚算比較友好，因此能攜手應對危機。

The world order has always been dominated by Western countries and the United

States. As China's national power continues to rise, it has deepened concerns within the United States. The emergence of this new order may affect its superpower status established since the 1990s. The "Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century" that has occurred in recent years is largely due to the two financial crises in the United States. The financial crisis in 2008 dealt a huge blow to the United States. At that time, China and the United States had relatively friendly relations, so they were able to work together to address the crisis.

另一方面，金融風暴在美國國內衍生了另外一些問題，例如「債務上限」的財政危機。由於美國國會為美國的「負債率」定了一個上限，當美國的負債接近上限時，如果美國國會不提高負債上限的話，就意味著美國不能再進一步借貸。部分美國政府部門可能要關閉以節約開支，甚至會令政府停擺等。

On the other hand, the financial crisis has given rise to other problems in the United States, such as the fiscal crisis caused by the "debt ceiling". Since the US Congress has set a limit for the "debt ratio" of the United States, when the debt of the United States approaches that limit, if the US Congress does not raise the debt ceiling, it means that the United States cannot borrow any further. This situation could lead to the partial shutdown of certain government departments to save costs or even a government shutdown.

導致美國現在金融危機的原因之一是美國長期入不敷支，美國需要長期透過發行債券以應付開支。由於美元是國際貨幣，所以很多國家願意購買美國債券。

One of the reasons for the current financial crisis in the United States is that the expenditures of the United States have consistently exceeded its revenues for a long time, and the United States needs to issue bonds for a long time to meet expenses. Since US dollar is an international currency, many countries are willing to buy US Treasury bonds.

中國曾經是美國最大的國債持有者，第二位是日本。但近年來，日本和中國已逐步減持美國國債。美國國債漸漸不太受歡迎，這可以從美國國債的利息反映。美國國債短期債息現在維持一個比較穩定的水平，但長期債息則持續增加。債息越高，意味著美國要用更加高的利息去吸引買家，換句話說，美國國債並不很受歡迎。因為如果受歡迎的話，只需要一個比較低的利息，就已經可以吸引買家。

China was once the largest holder of US Treasury bonds, followed by Japan. However, in recent years, both Japan and China have gradually reduced their holdings of US Treasury bonds. US Treasury bonds are becoming less popular, and this is reflected in the interest rates on US Treasury bonds. The short-term interest rates on US Treasury bonds currently are maintained at a relatively stable level, but the interest rates

on the long-term US Treasury bonds continue to rise. Higher interest rates imply that the United States has to offer higher interest rates to attract buyers. In other words, US Treasury bonds are not very attractive because if they were, relatively lower interest rates would suffice to attract buyers.

同一時間，由於 2008 年金融風暴，美國政府進行量化寬鬆(QE)政策，大量印發美鈔以推動經濟復甦。美國前後推出 4 期量化寬鬆，QE1、QE2 和 QE3 都有一個印鈔上限，但到 QE4 的時候，美國政府撤銷了印鈔上限，換句話說，它可以無限地印鈔去推動經濟復甦。

At the same time, due to the financial crisis in 2008, the US government implemented a quantitative easing (QE) policy and printed a large amount of money to stimulate economic recovery. The United States launched four rounds of QE successively. QE1, QE2, and QE3 all had a limit on money printing, but when it came to QE4, the US government removed the limit on money printing. In other words, it could print money indefinitely to stimulate economic recovery.

在國庫儲備沒有增長的情況下印鈔票越多，鈔票的價值就會越低。此時，要滿足鈔票的原有購買力，通貨膨脹率就會越高。2022 年 8 月，消費者物價指數 (Consumer Price Index)接近 9%。

When more money is printed without a corresponding increase in treasury reserves, the value of the currency decreases. At this time, to maintain the original purchasing power of the currency, the inflation rate will be higher. In August 2022, the Consumer Price Index approached 9%.

美國上一次高通脹時代，已經要追溯到上個世紀 80 年代。80 年代初的時候，美國的通貨膨脹率曾經上升至 14.6%。當時美國政府要將利息口提高至將近 20%，以吸引人存款，從而減少消費，令通貨膨脹率回落。

The last time the United States had such a high inflation was in the 1980s. In the early 1980s, the United States inflation rate rose to 14.6%.The US government raised interest rates to nearly 20% to attract deposits, thereby reducing consumption and bringing down inflation rates.

今日美國政府要壓下通貨膨脹相當困難，因為現美國正處於一個經濟衰退的週期，如果加息，雖然可以壓抑通脹，但同時也會影響經濟增長。美國聯儲局一直都在兩者之間作一個平衡，實在相當困難。從世界的整體格局看，中國此時的崛起無疑對美國的地位造成一定的影響。

It is very difficult for the US government to suppress inflation today because the United States is in a period of economic recession. If the US government raises interest

rates further, inflation can be suppressed, but it will also affect economic growth. The US Federal Reserve has always been trying to strike a balance between the two, which is really difficult. From the overall perspective of the world, the rise of China at this time will undoubtedly have a certain impact on the status of the United States.

「百年未有之大變局」的特徵

The Characteristics of the “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century”

「百年未有之大變局」就發生在我們身邊。這個「變局」有幾個特徵：

The “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century” is happening around us. These “changes” has several characteristics.

激烈的政治鬥爭

Intense Political Struggle

激烈的政治上鬥爭存在於國際治理中，或是價值觀體系上。在國際力量的對上，俄烏戰爭便是一個例子。俄烏戰爭對全球安全形勢帶來了很大衝擊。俄羅斯和烏克蘭的戰爭背後，其實是大國在背後角力，一方面是俄羅斯與北大西洋公約組織（北約）的全面對抗。另一方面是美國進行一個所謂「弱俄控歐」的戰略計劃，通過戰爭削弱俄羅斯的勢力，與此同時控制歐洲。

The intense political struggle exists in international governance or in values systems. In the face of international power struggles, the Russo-Ukrainian war serves as an example. The war between Russia and Ukraine has had a huge impact on the global security. Behind the war between Russia and Ukraine, major powers are actually wrestling behind the scenes. On the one hand, there is a comprehensive confrontation between Russia and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). On the other hand, the United States is conducting a strategic plan known as “Weakening Russia, Controlling Europe” aiming to weaken Russia’s power through war and gain control over Europe at the same time.

在俄烏戰爭發生之前，歐洲一直尋求戰略自主。從「北溪 1 號」和「北溪 2 號」兩條輸氣管道便可反映一二。歐洲所使用的天然氣，很大程度上都是來自於俄羅斯。「北溪 1 號」天然氣管道連接俄羅斯和德國，使用「北溪管道」大大加強了德國和俄羅斯在能源方面的合作，一旦實現能源自主，德國便可以進一步爭取戰略自主，不再需要再靠攏美國。這樣亦解釋到為甚麼美國反對興建「北溪 2 號」管道，因為它會進一步削弱美國對歐洲的掌控。

Before the Russo-Ukrainian war, Europe had been seeking strategic autonomy. This can be seen from the two gas transmission pipelines “Nord Stream 1” and “Nord

Stream 2”. Europe heavily relies on natural gas imports from Russia. The “Nord Stream 1” natural gas pipeline connects Russia and Germany. The use of the “Nord Stream pipeline” has greatly strengthened energy cooperation between Germany and Russia. Once energy independence is achieved, Germany can further strive for strategic autonomy and reduce its reliance on the United States. This also explains why the United States opposes the construction of the “Nord Stream 2 pipeline”, because it will further weaken the United States’ control over Europe.

自俄烏戰爭爆發，俄羅斯和北約已經發生全面對抗，而且這個對抗對於全球格局和人類歷史來說，將會帶來深遠的影響。短期來說，歐洲會面對能源危機；長期來說，俄羅斯與歐洲的關係，甚至各樣物資和能源輸送應該如何處理是另一個問題。俄羅斯是全球其中一個最主要的能源供應國，包括石油和天然氣，與此同時，俄羅斯亦是一個很重要的糧食供應地。俄烏對外的糧食供應量多，相對廉價，而且很多時候都會供應到非洲，戰爭的爆發限制了烏克蘭東部和俄羅斯的糧食出口，對非洲國家有很大的影響。

Since the Russo-Ukrainian war broke out. Russia and NATO have entered into comprehensive confrontation, and this confrontation will have far-reaching implications for the global situation and human history. In the short term, Europe will face an energy crisis; in the long term, the relationship between Russia and Europe, as well as the handling of various material and energy transportation, is another issue. Russia is one of the world’s most important energy suppliers, including oil and natural gas. At the same time, Russia is also a very important source of food supply. Russia and Ukraine have been significant exporters of food, and are often supplied to African countries due to their abundance and relatively low prices. The outbreak of the war has restricted the food exports from eastern Ukraine and Russia, which has a great impact on African countries.

追溯歷史，俄羅斯與歐洲從來不是同一個陣營。曾經在某一段時間，俄羅斯與歐洲的關係有一個很好的緩解機會。就是在二十世紀 90 年代初，前蘇聯瓦解後，至普京在 2000 年開始署任總統初期，俄羅斯曾經走過一條比較親歐洲的路線，希望能融入西方世界。時至今日，美國著眼的安全形勢的威脅，其實不單限於歐洲，美國亦希望在亞洲創立一個類似北約的一個亞太版軍事同盟，希望拉攏日本、南韓、澳洲，以至台灣地區，藉此建構一個亞太版的北約以圍堵中國，很明顯這個圍堵有其戰略考慮。

Looking back in history, Russia and Europe have never belonged to the same camp. There was a time when there was a chance to ease the tension between Russia and Europe. In the early 1990s, after the dissolution of the former Soviet Union, and in the early days of President Putin’s assumption of the presidency in 2000, Russia took a

more pro-European route, hoping to integrate into the Western world. Today, the security threats that the United States focuses on are not limited to Europe. The United States also aims to establish a NATO-like Asia-Pacific military alliance in Asia, hoping to win over Japan, South Korea, Australia and even Taiwan region, thereby constructing an Asia-Pacific version of NATO to contain China. Obviously, this containment has its own strategic considerations.

在國際地緣政治的理論裏，有一個「世界島」的理論。「世界島」就是指亞歐大陸是這個世界的中心，如果一旦亞歐大陸的國家能夠融合在一起，就會成為世界的中心。因為美國處於美洲，位於「世界島」的邊緣，一旦「世界島」形成，就會削弱美國在全球霸權的地位。因此，「世界島」理論經常成為美國在制定外交政策時的思考模式。回溯至希拉里出任美國國務卿的時代，美國已經基於「世界島」理論開始插手亞洲事務。現今美國對中國的對抗是源於奧巴馬總統時期，2010 年之後美國對中國已有對抗跡象。當時美國已經提出「重返亞太」的戰略。實際上，「重返亞太」就是美國希望締造亞太版北約，以包圍中國。

In the theory of international geopolitics, there is a theory called the “World Island”. “World Island” refers to the Eurasian continent as the centre of the world. If the countries in the Eurasian continent can unite together, they will become the centre of the world. Because the United States is located in the America continent and on the periphery of the “World Island”, once the “World Island” is formed, it may weaken the United States’ position as a global power. Therefore, the “World Island” theory often serves as a thinking framework for the United States when formulating foreign policy. Going back to the time when Hillary Clinton served as the United States Secretary of State, the United States had already assumed a role in Asian affairs in response to the “World Island” theory. The current confrontation between the United States and China can be traced back to the Obama administration. After 2010, there were already signs of confrontation between the United States and China. At that time, the United States had already proposed the “pivot to Asia” strategy. In fact, “pivot to Asia” means that the United States hopes to create an Asia-Pacific version of NATO to contain China.

在這個世界動盪期，安全形勢萬變、政治鬥爭激烈。這種情況下，世界經濟其實已經無法再像過去 20 年般，強調「地球村」、「世界融合」等。我們習以為常的環境將難以再現。世界經濟的復甦，會很脆弱地進行。全球將步入一個高通脹、高利率、高債務，但低增長的經濟模式。現今美國仍然是世界最主要的金融中心，大概由前蘇聯瓦解後至今，美國在過去 20 年的經濟增長是不錯的，而且，美國一直處於低通脹、低利率、低債務的經濟環境。

In this turbulent period in the world, the security situation is constantly changing and political struggles are intense. In such circumstances, the world economy can no

longer emphasise the concepts of “global village” and “world integration” as it did in the past two decades. It will be difficult to replicate the world situation which we have become accustomed to. The recovery of the world economy will be very fragile, and the world will go into an economic mode of high inflation, high interest rates, high debt, but low growth. Nowadays, the United States remains the world’s primary financial centre. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the United States has experienced good economic growth over the past 20 years. Moreover, the United States has always been in a low inflation, low interest rate and low debt economic environment.

造就美國低通脹、低利率、低債務的經濟環境，主要有兩個原因，第一，中國以廉價的產品供應美國市場；第二，俄羅斯以廉價的能源供應美國。如果美國想長遠維持自己世界第一的地位，便需要就戰略考慮作出取捨，例如減少入口中國的廉價產品和俄羅斯的廉價能源，以減少對中國產品及俄羅斯能源的依賴，但接著要面對的，就是成本上漲，這是美國實踐全球戰略的代價。

There are two main reasons for the low inflation, low interest rates and low debt economic environment in the United States. First, China has supplied the US market with cheap products. Second, Russia has supplied the United States with cheap energy. If the United States wants to maintain its number one position in the world in the long term, it will need to make strategic trade-offs, such as reducing its imports of cheap products from China and cheap energy from Russia, so as to reduce its dependence on Chinese products and Russian energy. But then the consequence of such choices will be rising costs, which is the price the United States has to pay to implement its global strategy.

過去二十年，美國的利率大概維持在 2% 左右，但現在世界局勢轉變，可以預計美國將會步入一個長期利率比較高的時代，整體來說，世界經濟將會步入一個脆弱的復甦時期，特點是「三高一低」的狀態，即高通脹、高利率、高債務及低增長。

Over the past 20 years, the US interest rates have remained at around 2%. However, with the changing global situation, it can be expected that the United States will enter an era of relatively higher long-term interest rates. Overall, the world economy will enter a fragile recovery. This period is characterised by a state of “three highs and one low”, namely high inflation, high interest rates, high debt and low growth.

全球治理機制正在下滑，包括聯合國的作用也在下滑。例如國際法院或者是世界貿易組織（WTO）轄下有一些委員會轄下的一些法官、在退休或離職後，遲遲未能補足空缺。原因是各國在當中都有一己利益考量，希望相關的委員會能夠在有利己方的情況下運作。法官的出缺，進一步令全球治理失衡。

The mechanisms of global governance are currently in decline, including the diminishing role of the United Nations. For example, there are vacancies in certain committees under the International Court of Justice or the World Trade Organization (WTO) that have not been filled even after judges retire or leave their positions. The reason is that each country has its own interests to consider and hopes that relevant committees can operate in a way that benefits their own interests. The absence of judges further contributes to the imbalance in global governance.

在這動盪的時期，亞洲經濟一直在增長中。2016 至 2021 年，亞洲經濟佔世界經濟總量比重分別為 47.6%、48.3%、48.9%、49.5%、47.3%和 47.4%。回望二十年前，當時亞洲經濟只佔全球經濟不足 20%。今時今日亞洲所佔的經濟比率，已經超越 G7 國家的比率，而且亞洲一直保持經濟增長，成為全球經濟增長率最高的地區。

During this turbulent period, the Asian economy has been growing. From 2016 to 2021, the Asian economy accounted for 47.6%, 48.3%, 48.9%, 49.5%, 47.3% and 47.4% of the global economy respectively. Looking back at 20 years ago, the Asian economy accounted for less than 20% of the global economy. Today, the economic share of Asia has surpassed that of the G7 countries, and Asia has maintained economic growth and has become the region with the highest global economic growth rate.

在過去一段很長的時間，美國都是中國最大的貿易夥伴，但最近三年，中國最大貿易夥伴的第一位變為東盟國家，第二位是歐盟，第三位才是美國，第四位是日本。亞洲已成為全球經濟增長率最高的地區。從股票市場成交量以及資產總值計算，金融市場上也有很大的轉變。全球十大國際金融中心當中，亞洲已佔四個席位，當中包括香港、新加坡、上海和深圳。這些指標或數據，正顯示著全球經濟力量慢慢開始發生轉變，不再集中於西方發達國家或者 G7 國家的手中。

For a long time in the past, the United States has been China's largest trading partner. However, in the past three years, China's largest trading partners were ASEAN countries, followed by the European Union, the United States and Japan. Asia has become the region with the highest global economic growth rate. In terms of stock market trading volume and total asset value, there have been great changes in the financial market. Among the top 10 international financial centres in the world, Asia already occupies four seats, including Hong Kong, Singapore, Shanghai and Shenzhen. These indicators or data are showing that global economic power is slowly beginning to change and is no longer concentrated in the hands of Western developed countries or the G7 countries.

除了亞洲外，我們亦不能忽略「南方國家」。政治學上一般來說，「北方」代

表發達國家，「南方」就是一些發展中國家，包括非洲和拉丁美洲等。自從「金磚國家」（巴西、俄羅斯、印度、中國、南非）冒起，一些「南方國家」（包括巴西）的經濟開始逐步增長，而亞洲東盟國家的經濟發展特別明顯。與此同時，經濟發展的動力，在亞洲亦都慢慢出現。例如高科技的成果，中國的太陽能產業現在已經雄霸全球，全世界使用的太陽能板，超過 80%都是由中國生產，其新能源汽車的發展亦走向世界。

In addition to Asia, we should not ignore the “Southern Countries”. In political science, generally speaking, “the North” represents developed countries, and “the South” represents some developing countries, including Africa and Latin America. Since the rise of the “BRICS” countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), the economies of some “Southern Countries” (including Brazil) have begun to grow gradually, and the economic development of ASEAN countries in Asia is particularly obvious. At the same time, the momentum of economic development is slowly emerged in Asia. For example, as a result of high-tech achievements, China’s solar energy industry has now dominated the world. More than 80% of the solar panels used worldwide are produced in China, and its development of new energy vehicles is also expanding globally.

2023 年第一季度最新數據顯示，不論新能源電動車抑或傳統能源的汽油車的生產，中國已經超越日本，成為世界最大的汽車出口國。汽車產業一方面能帶動其他相關產業，例如工程、設計、塑膠製作等等，形成一條很長的產業鏈。另一方面，汽車產業是一個就業人口最多、對經濟影響最大的一個產業。這幾年，中國在汽車出口發展得很快，實際上，中國汽車出口的數據反映著中國整個經濟體近年在世界上的變化。中國是全球汽車產量最多的國家。2022 年，中國汽車產量為 2,700 萬輛。2023 年第一季，中國出口汽車 106 萬輛，日本為 104 萬輛，這意味著中國已正式超越日本，成為世界第一大汽車出口國。

The latest data for the first quarter of 2023 shows that China has surpassed Japan to become the world’s largest exporter of automobiles, in both categories of new energy electric vehicles and traditional gasoline-powered vehicles. On the one hand, the automobile industry can drive other related industries, such as engineering, design, plastics manufacturing, etc., forming a long industrial chain. On the other hand, the automobile industry is an industry that employs the largest number of people and has the greatest economic impact. In recent years, China has developed rapidly in automobile exports. In fact, China’s automobile export data reflects the changes in China’s entire economy in recent years. China is the world’s largest producer of vehicles. In 2022, China’s automobile output was 27 million vehicles. In the first quarter of 2023, China exported 1.06 million vehicles, while Japan exported 1.04 million vehicles. This means that China has officially surpassed Japan and become the

world's largest automobile exporting country.

中國內部市場龐大，加上著重研發，產品不斷累積經驗及加以改良，產業都在內地市場站穩陣腳後，再對外出口。中國很多出口產品都是循著這條路線發展。新能源汽車在國內市場做大做強後，便開始出口。太陽能板、高鐵的情況亦一樣，很多產業的發展都跟從同一的方程式。

China's domestic market is huge. With its emphasis on research and development, China constantly accumulates experience and undergoes improvements in product production. Many industries have established themselves in the domestic market before exporting their products. Many Chinese export products follow this development model. After becoming established in the domestic market, new energy vehicles have begun to be exported. The same goes with solar panels and high-speed rail. The development of many industries follows the similar approach.

經濟競爭影響著很多不同國家之間的關係。例如日本作為第一汽車出口大國的地位被中國取代後，日本的外交政策也會有不同考慮。同樣地，中東的沙特阿拉伯和美國有著深厚的盟友關係。但隨著美國的科技進步，美國國內已經可以生產大量的頁岩氣後，美國已經不是沙特最大的石油買家，取而代之的是中國。沙特對美國和中國的外交關係上，自然會有新的考量。由此可見，經濟和政治是密切掛鈎的。

Economic competition affects the relationships between different countries. For example, after Japan's status as the largest automobile exporter is replaced by China, Japan will have different considerations when formulating its foreign policy. Likewise, Saudi Arabia in the Middle East and the United States have been strong allies. However, with technological advancements in the United States and the ability to produce large quantities of shale gas domestically, the United States is no longer Saudi Arabia's largest oil buyer which and has been replaced by China. This naturally leads to new considerations in Saudi Arabia's diplomatic relations with both the United States and China. This illustrates the close link between the economy and politics.

無論如何，世界經濟發展動能已在亞洲慢慢開始冒起，亞洲很多國家的經濟以實業為基礎。例如中國具有「全產業鏈」優勢，是世界上唯一擁有聯合國國際產業標準分類中全部工業門類的國家。這是亞洲國家的一個特色，致使發展動能慢慢地轉移向亞洲。

Nevertheless, momentum of the world's economic development has been gradually emerging in Asia, and many Asian countries have their economies based on industry. For example, China has the advantage of having the "complete industrial chain" and is the only country in the world that encompasses all industrial categories in the

United Nations' International Standard Industrial Classification. This is a characteristic of Asian countries that has led to the gradual shift of development momentum towards Asia.

思想的影響

Influence of Ideology

「百年未有之大變局」的第三項特徵，是一種思想上的影響。就是指西方式民主自由的思想慢慢被質疑。前蘇聯瓦解後，一位美籍日裔教授法蘭西斯·福山（Francis Yoshihiro Fukuyama），在他 1992 年的著作《歷史的終結及最後之人》（*The End of History and the Last Man*）中提出：人類歷史的前進與意識形態之間的鬥爭正走向終結，冷戰的結束，1990 年代蘇聯解體，自由民主和資本主義被定為權威標準。西方民主政治體制被認為是世界最佳的終極制度。但中國堅持不走西方的體制道路，並沒有依美國所定的道路去發展，而中國仍然取得一定的成功，至少在經濟上的進步顯然易見。這是對西方「歷史的終結」論調的一個頗大衝擊。

The third characteristics of the “Global Changes of a Magnitude Not Seen in a Century” is the influence of ideology. It means that the ideas of Western-style democracy and freedom are gradually being questioned. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Francis Fukuyama, an American-Japanese professor proposed in his 1992 book *The End of History and the Last Man* that the progression of human history as a struggle between ideologies was coming to an end. With the end of the Cold War and the disintegration of the Soviet Union in the 1990s, liberal democracy and capitalism are being established as the dominant systems. Western democratic political systems are regarded as the ultimate and best system in the world. However, China has not followed the path defined by the United States in its development, and yet China has still achieved a certain level of success, particularly evident in its economic progress. This poses a significant challenge to the Western theory of “the end of history”.

進入廿一世紀，美國學界不斷提出「中國崩潰論」。其實「中國崩潰論」的基礎就是源自福山教授，他認為中國並非行使西方模式，最終只會崩潰。但現實中中國的發展與學者提出的理論有很大的差距。究其原因，可能是這些在美國或者西方研究中國的學者，未能全面了解及接收與中國發展相關的信息，影響分析及推論的準確性。

In the 21st century, the academic community in the United States has continuously put forward the “China collapse” theory. The foundation of the theory is derived from Fukuyama's proposition that China, not adhering to the Western model, would inevitably collapse. However, there is a big gap between China's development in reality and the theory proposed by scholars. The reason may be that these scholars who study

China in the United States or other Western countries fail to fully understand and receive information related to China's development, which affects the accuracy of the analysis and inference.

此外，在美國政界或者學界中，有一部分聲音指中國欺騙美國，即所謂「戰略欺騙」(strategies of deception)。前總統特朗普特別支持這種主張。其中一個原因就是，美國認為 2001 年時讓中國加入 WTO，是希望中國加入 WTO 之後會朝著美國希望出現的方向作出轉變。在美國的角度來說，中國「欺騙了美國」，以獲得美國的支持加入 WTO，但中國根本從沒打算將自己轉變成為美國模式。

In addition, in the US political or academic circles, some voices accuse China of deceiving the United States, that is, the so-called “strategies of deception”. Former President Trump was particularly supportive of this assertion. One of the reasons is that the United States believed that when China joined the WTO in 2001, China would undergo a transformation towards the direction desired by the United States. From the US perspective, China “deceived” the United States and gained its support in joining the WTO, but China had never intended to transform itself into the US model.

只有明白歷史背景，我們才能了解事情為何會這樣發生，為何西方國家及美國與中國在理念上有如此大的差異。

Only by knowing the historical background can we understand why things happen in this way, why there are such big differences in ideas between Western countries, the United States and China.