

# 《关于中美经贸磋商的中方立场》白皮书

国务院新闻办公室 6 月 2 日发表《关于中美经贸磋商的中方立场》白皮书。全文如下：

## 关于中美经贸磋商的中方立场 中华人民共和国国务院新闻办公室 (2019 年 6 月)

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### 前言

中美经贸关系是两国关系的“压舱石”和“推进器”，事关两国人民根本利益，事关世界繁荣与稳定。两国建交以来，双边经贸关系持续发展，合作领域不断拓宽，合作水平不断提高，形成了高度互补、利益交融的互利共赢关系，不仅两国受益，而且惠及全球。

由于发展阶段、经济制度不同，两国在经贸合作中难免出现分歧和摩擦。在中美经贸关系发展历程中，也曾多次出现波折、面临困难局面。两国本着理性、合作的态度，通过对话协商解决问题，化解了矛盾、缩小了分歧，双边经贸关系更趋成熟。

2017年新一届美国政府上任以来，以加征关税等手段相威胁，频频挑起与主要贸易伙伴之间的经贸摩擦。2018年3月以来，针对美国政府单方面发起的中美经贸摩擦，中国不得不采取有力应对措施，坚决捍卫国家和人民利益。同时，中国始终坚持通过对话协商解决争议的基本立场，与美国开展多轮经贸磋商，努力稳定双边经贸关系。中国的态度是一贯的、明确的。中美合则两利，斗则俱伤，合作是双方唯一正确的选择。对于两国经贸分歧和摩擦，中国愿意采取合作的方式加以解决，推动达成互利双赢的协议。但合作是有原则的，磋商是有底线的，在重大原则问题上中国决不让步。对于贸易战，中国不愿打，不怕打，必要时不得不打，这个态度一直没变。

为全面介绍中美经贸磋商基本情况，阐明中国对中美经贸磋商的政策立场，中国政府特发布此白皮书。

## **一、美国挑起对华经贸摩擦损害两国和全球利益**

现任美国政府奉行“美国优先”政策，对外采取一系列单边主义和保护主义措施，动辄使用关税“大棒”，将自身利益

诉求强加于他国。美国启用尘封多年的“201 调查”“232 调查”等手段，对各主要贸易伙伴频频出手，搅乱全球经贸格局。美国还将矛头对准中国，于 2017 年 8 月启动单边色彩浓厚的“301 调查”，无视中国多年来在加强知识产权保护、改善外资营商环境等方面的不懈努力和取得的巨大成绩，对中国作出诸多不客观的负面评价，采取加征关税、限制投资等经贸限制措施，挑起中美经贸摩擦。

中华民族富有创新精神,勇于吃苦耐劳,在5000多年文明发展进程中,创造了高度发达的文明,为人类进步作出重要贡献。新中国成立以来特别是改革开放以来,中国的科技事业在艰难中起步,在改革中发展,在创新中突破,取得了举世瞩目的成就。历史和事实充分证明,中国在科技创新方面取得的成就不是偷来的、不是抢来的,而是通过自力更生、艰苦奋斗得来的,指责中国发展靠“盗窃”知识产权,完全是无中生有、极其荒谬。

中国高度重视知识产权保护,已建立起符合国际通行规则和适应中国国情的知识产权法律体系;重视发挥知识产权司法保护的主导作用,取得显著成效。中国民众和企业知识产权保护意识显著提高,对外支付知识产权使用费大幅提升,知识产权申请和登记量快速增长。中国的知识产权保护成效获国际广泛认可。世界知识产权组织前总干事阿帕德·鲍格胥博士对中国的知识产权法律体系予以高度评价:“这在知识产权发展史上是独一无二的”。美国商会指出,中国在建设面向21世纪的知识产权环境方面正在取得实质性进展<sup>①</sup>。中国美国商会《2018年中国商务环境调查报告》显示,其会员企业在华运营的主要挑战中,知识产权侵权行为已由2011年的第5位降低到2018年的第12位。《外交官》杂志文章指出,中国将成为全球知识产权的领军者。在中国开展业务的外国公司所提出的担忧,许多已通过司法改革和加强执法机制得到解决。

中国尊重市场经济规律,积极完善创新政策体系,持续增加研发投入,大力培养创新人才,全方位加强国际科技创新合作。目前,中国的主要创新指标已进入世界前列,重大科技创新成果不断涌现,引领产业向中高端迈进,国际影响力显著提升。2017年,全社会研发投入达1.76万亿元,规模居世界第二位;发明专利申请量达到138.2万件,连续7年居世界首位;发明专利授权32.7万件,同比增长8.2%,有效发明专利保有量居世界第三<sup>②</sup>。

中国始终以互利共赢作为基本价值取向开展国际技术合作,中国经济发展受益于国际技术转让和传播,国际技术持有者也从中获得了巨大利益。中国鼓励和尊重中外企业按照市场原则自愿开展技术合作,坚决反对强制技术转让,严厉打击侵犯知识产权的违法犯罪行为。指责中国强制技术转让没有事实依据,完全站不住脚。

美国无视中美经济结构、发展阶段特点和国际产业分工现实，坚持认为中国采取不公平、不对等的贸易政策，导致美国出现对华贸易逆差，在双边经贸交往中“吃了亏”，并对华采取单边加征关税措施。事实上，在经济全球化时代，中美两国经济高度融合，共同构成完整的产业链，两国经济连骨带筋、互利共赢，把贸易逆差当作“吃亏”是算错了账。美国对中国采取的贸易限制措施不利于中国，也不利于美国，更不利于全球。

## 专栏2 中美经济相互融合,贸易投资惠泽双方

中美互为最大贸易伙伴国和重要投资来源地。2018年,双边货物和服务贸易额超过7500亿美元,双向直接投资累计近1600亿美元。中美经贸合作给两国和两国人民带来了实实在在的利益。

在双边贸易方面,根据中国海关统计,中美货物贸易额从1979年建交时的不足25亿美元,增至2018年的6335亿美元,增长了252倍。2018年,美国是中国第一大贸易伙伴国、第一大出口市场、第六大进口来源地。根据美国商务部统计,2018年,中国是美国第一大贸易伙伴、第三大出口市场、第一大进口来源地。中国是美国飞机、大豆、汽车、集成电路、棉花的主要出口市场。2009年至2018年十年间,中国是美国货物出口增长最快的市场之一,年均增速为6.3%,累计增长73.2%,高于美国对世界其他地区56.9%的平均增幅<sup>③</sup>。

中美服务贸易蓬勃发展、互补性强,两国在旅游、文化、知识产权等领域开展了广泛、深入、有益的合作。中国成为美国在亚太地区第一大旅游目的地,美国成为中国学生出国留学第一大目的国。根据中方统计,中美服务贸易额从统计开始的2006年274亿美元增至2018年的1253亿美元,增长了3.6倍。2018年,中国对美服务贸易逆差达485亿美元。

过去40年,中美双向投资由几乎为零到累计近1600亿美元,合作卓有成效。根据中国商务部统计,截至2018年底,中国企业在美国直接投资金额731.7亿美元。中国企业在美国的投资迅猛增长,为促进当地经济发展,增加就业和税收作出了积极贡献。美对华投资方面,根据中国商务部统计,截至2018年底,美国对华实际投资851.9亿美元。2017年,美资企业在华年销售收入7000亿美元,利润超过500亿美元。

因此,如果把中美双方在货物贸易、服务贸易和双向投资等方面综合考虑,双方经贸往来是惠泽彼此的关系,而非所谓美国“吃亏”的结果。

## **（一）美国加征关税措施损人不利己**

美国政府对从中国输美商品加征关税，阻碍双边贸易投资合作，影响两国乃至全球市场信心和经济平稳运行。美国的关税措施导致中国对美出口额下滑，2019年1月至4月同比下降9.7%（注4），连续5个月下降。同时，由于中国不得不针对美国加税采取加征关税应对，美国对华出口连续8个月下降（注5）。中美经贸摩擦带来的不确定性使两国企业对开展投资合作持观望态度，中国对美投资持续下滑，美国对华投资增速也明显降低。据中国有关方面统计，2018年中国企业对美直接投资57.9亿美元，同比下降10%（注6）。2018年美国实际对华投资金额26.9亿美元（注7），增速从2017年的11%大幅回落至1.5%。由于中美经贸摩擦前景不明，世界贸易组织将2019年全球贸易增长速度由3.7%下调至2.6%（注8）。

## **（二）贸易战没有给美国带来所谓的“再次伟大”**

加征关税措施不仅没有推动美国经济增长，反而带来了严重伤害。

一是提高美国企业生产成本。中美制造业相互依存度很高，许多美国制造商依赖中国的原材料和中间品，短期内难以找到合适的替代供应商，只能承担加征关税的成本。

二是抬升美国国内物价。进口中国物美价廉的消费品是美国通胀率长期保持低位的重要因素之一。加征关税后，中

国产品最终销售价格提高，实际上美国消费者也承担了关税成本。美国全国零售商联合会研究显示，仅对中国家具征收 25% 关税一项，就使美国消费者每年多付出 46 亿美元的额外支出（注 9）。

三是影响美国经济增长和民生。美国商会和荣鼎集团 2019 年 3 月联合发布的报告显示，受中美经贸摩擦影响，2019 年及未来 4 年美国国内生产总值将可能每年减少 640 亿至 910 亿美元，约占美国国内生产总值总额的 0.3% - 0.5%。如美国对所有中国输美商品征收 25% 关税，未来 10 年美国国内生产总值将累计减少 1 万亿美元（注 10）。美国智库“贸易伙伴”（Trade Partnership）2019 年 2 月发布的研究报告显示，如美国对所有中国输美商品加征 25% 的关税，美国国内生产总值将减少 1.01%，就业岗位将减少 216 万个，一个四口之家每年支出将增加 2294 美元（注 11）。

四是阻碍美对华出口。美中贸易全国委员会 2019 年 5 月 1 日发布的《各州对华出口报告——2019》指出，2009 年至 2018 年十年间，美国对华出口支撑了超过 110 万个美国就业岗位，中国市场对美国经济至关重要。在此十年中，美国 48 个州对华货物出口实现累计增长，其中 44 个州实现两位数增长，但在中美经贸摩擦加剧的 2018 年，美国仅有 16 个州对华货物出口实现增长，34 个州对华出口下降，其中 24 个州出现两位数降幅，中西部农业州受损最为严重。受关



税措施影响的美国农产品对华出口同比减少 33.1%，其中大豆降幅近 50%，美国业界担心从此失去培育了近 40 年的中国市场。

### （三）美国贸易霸凌行径殃及全球

经济全球化是不可阻挡的时代潮流，以邻为壑的单边主义、保护主义不得人心。美国采取的一系列贸易保护措施，违反世界贸易组织规则，损害多边贸易体制，严重干扰全球产业链和供应链，损害市场信心，给全球经济复苏带来严峻挑战，给经济全球化趋势造成重大威胁。

一是损害多边贸易体制权威。美国依据国内法发起“201”“232”“301”等一系列单边调查，并采取加征关税措施，严重违反世界贸易组织最基本最核心的最惠国待遇、关税约束等规则。这种单边主义、保护主义行为不仅损害中国和其他成员利益，更损害了世界贸易组织及其争端解决机制的权威性，使多边贸易体制和国际贸易秩序面临险境。

二是威胁全球经济增长。全球经济尚未完全走出国际金融危机的阴影，美国政府升级经贸摩擦、提高关税水平，相关国家不得不采取相应措施，导致全球经贸秩序紊乱，阻碍全球经济复苏，殃及各国企业发展和人民福祉，使全球经济落入“衰退陷阱”。2019 年 1 月，世界银行发布《全球经济展望》报告，将 2019 年全球经济增长预期进一步降至 2.9%，贸易关系持续紧张是主要下行风险之一（注 12）。国际货币

基金组织 2019 年 4 月发布的《世界经济展望》报告，将 2019 年全球经济增长预期从 2018 年预计的 3.6% 下调至 3.3%，并表示经贸摩擦可能会进一步抑制全球经济增长，继续削弱本已疲弱的投资（注 13）。

三是扰乱全球产业链、供应链。中美都是全球产业链、供应链的重要环节。中国对美出口的最终产品中包含大量从外国进口的中间产品和零部件。美国对来自中国的进口产品加征关税，受害的将是包括美国企业在内的与中国企业合作的众多跨国公司。加征关税措施导致供应链成本人为增加，影响供应链的稳定和安全。部分企业被迫调整供应链全球布局，全球资源无法实现最佳配置。

可以预见，美国最新采取的对华关税升级措施，不但解决不了问题，还将进一步损害各方利益，中国对此坚决反对。近期，美国政府以所谓国家安全的“莫须有”名义，连续对华为等多家中国企业实施“长臂管辖”制裁，中国同样坚决反对。

## **二、美国在中美经贸磋商中出尔反尔、不讲诚信**

美国挑起经贸摩擦后，中国不得不采取应对措施，两国贸易、投资关系受到影响。双方从两国人民福祉需要、从各自经济发展需要出发，都认为有必要坐下来进行谈判，通过磋商解决问题。自 2018 年 2 月经贸磋商启动以来，已取得很大进展，两国就大部分内容达成共识，但磋商也经历了几

次波折，每次波折都源于美国的违背共识、出尔反尔、不讲诚信。

### **（一）第一次出尔反尔**

中国从一开始就主张，中美经贸摩擦应通过谈判磋商解决。2018年2月初，美国政府提出希望中国派高级别代表团赴美进行经贸磋商。中国展示了极大诚意，作出积极努力，先后与美国举行了数轮高级别经贸磋商，重点就贸易不平衡等问题深入交换意见，并就扩大自美国进口农产品、能源产品等初步达成共识，取得重要进展。但是，2018年3月22日，美国政府抛出所谓对华“301调查”报告，对中国提出“盗窃知识产权”“强制技术转让”等不实指责，并基于此宣称将对从中国进口的价值500亿美元商品加征25%关税。

### **（二）第二次出尔反尔**

中国政府以两国关系大局为重，再次派出工作团队同美国进行了认真磋商。2018年5月19日，中美发布联合声明，达成了“双方不打贸易战”的共识，同意继续保持高层沟通，积极寻求解决各自关注的经贸问题。美国公开表示，暂停推进对华加征关税计划。2018年5月29日，美国政府不顾国内工商界和广大民众的反对，在双方发布联合声明仅10天后就推翻磋商共识，对中国的经济体制、贸易政策横加指责，宣布将继续推进加征关税计划。自2018年7月初以来，美国分三次对500亿美元中国输美商品加征25%的关税、对

2000 亿美元中国输美商品加征 10% 的关税，并称自 2019 年 1 月 1 日起将税率提高至 25%。美国还威胁要对剩余所有中国输美商品加征关税，导致两国间的经贸摩擦快速升级。中国为捍卫国家尊严和人民利益，不得不作出必要反应，累计对 1100 亿美元美国输华商品加征关税。

### **（三）第三次出尔反尔**

2018 年 11 月 1 日，美国总统特朗普同习近平主席通电话，并提议举行两国元首会晤。12 月 1 日，中美两国元首在阿根廷二十国集团领导人峰会期间举行会晤，就双边经贸问题达成重要共识，同意停止相互加征新的关税，在 90 天内加紧开展磋商，朝着取消所有加征关税的方向努力。此后 90 天里，中美工作团队在北京和华盛顿举行 3 轮高级别磋商，就中美经贸协议的原则内容达成许多初步共识。2019 年 2 月 25 日，美方宣布推迟原定的 3 月 1 日起对价值 2000 亿美元中国输美商品提高关税的期限。3 月底至 4 月底，两国工作团队又进行 3 轮高级别磋商，取得实质性进展。经过多轮磋商，两国已就大部分问题达成一致。针对遗留问题，中国政府提出，双方要互谅互让，共同寻找解决分歧的办法。

然而，美国政府得寸进尺，采取霸凌主义态度和极限施压手段，坚持不合理的高要价，坚持不取消经贸摩擦以来加征的全部关税，坚持在协议中写入涉及中国主权事务的强制性要求，导致双方迟迟未能弥合剩余分歧。2019 年 5 月 6 日，

美国不负责任地指责中国立场“倒退”，企图将谈判迄未完成的责任归咎于中国，并不顾中国坚决反对，自5月10日起将2000亿美元中国输美商品加征关税税率由10%提高至25%，导致中美经贸磋商严重受挫。5月13日，美国宣布启动对剩余约3000亿美元中国输美商品加征关税的程序。上述举动与中美元首通过磋商化解摩擦的共识相悖，与两国和世界各国人民的期待相悖，给双边经贸磋商和世界经济增长前景蒙上了阴影。为捍卫自身利益，中国不得不采取加征关税的措施予以应对。

#### **（四）中美经贸磋商严重受挫，责任完全在美国政府**

美国政府指责中国在磋商中“开倒车”完全是无稽之谈。在双方磋商仍在进行的过程中，就文本内容及相关表述提出修改建议、做出调整，这是贸易谈判的通常做法，美国政府在过去十余轮谈判中曾不断调整相关诉求，随意指责中方“倒退”是不负责任的。历史经验证明，试图通过泼脏水、拆台、极限施压等手段达成协议，只会破坏双方合作关系，错失历史机遇。

君子之国，先礼后兵。美国提出新的关税威胁后，国际社会普遍担忧中国可能取消赴美磋商计划，关注中美经贸磋商何去何从。中国从维护中美经贸关系的大局出发，保持理性、克制的态度，按照双方此前约定，于2019年5月9日至10日派出高级别代表团赴美进行第十一轮经贸磋商，展

示与美国通过对话解决经贸分歧的最大诚意和负责任态度。中美双方进行了坦诚、建设性的交流，同意努力管控分歧，继续推进磋商。中国对美国单边加征关税的做法表达强烈反对，阐明严正立场，表示将不得不采取必要措施予以回击。中国再次强调，经贸协议必须是平等、互利的，在涉及中国核心利益的重大原则问题上决不会让步。双方达成协议的前提是美国取消全部加征关税，采购要符合实际，同时确保协议文本平衡，符合双方共同利益。

### **三、中国始终坚持平等、互利、诚信的磋商立场**

中国政府始终认为，以贸易战相威胁，不断加征关税的做法无益于经贸问题的解决。中美应秉持相互尊重、平等互利的精神，本着善意和诚信，通过磋商解决问题，缩小分歧，扩大共同利益，共同维护全球经济稳定和发展。

#### **（一）磋商要相互尊重、平等互利**

作为世界上最大的两个经济体和贸易大国，中美经贸合作中存在一些分歧是正常的，关键是如何增进互信、促进合作、管控分歧。中国从维护两国共同利益和世界贸易秩序大局出发，坚持通过对话协商解决问题，以最大的耐心和诚意回应美国提出的关切，以求同存异的态度妥善处理分歧，克服各种困难，提出务实解决方案，为推动双边经贸磋商作出艰苦努力。磋商过程中，中国始终秉持相互尊重、平等互利的原则，致力于推动达成双方都能接受的协议。

相互尊重，就是要尊重对方社会制度、经济体制、发展道路和权利，尊重彼此核心利益和重大关切，不挑战“底线”，不逾越“红线”，不能以牺牲一方的发展权为代价，更不能损害一国的主权。平等互利，就是双方磋商的地位是平等的，磋商成果是互利的，最终达成的协议是双赢的。如果一方强压另一方进行谈判，或者谈判结果仅让单方得利，这样的谈判不会取得成功。

## **（二）磋商要相向而行、诚信为本**

磋商需要双方相互理解和共同努力。磋商是当事的相关方通过讨论，对面临的问题寻求共识或者相互妥协的过程。磋商期间的变量很多。各方从自身利益出发，在不同阶段对各种变化做出不同反应，这是磋商的常态。中国政府认为，经贸磋商是寻求解决问题的有效途径。各方只有在磋商过程中都抱着善意的态度，充分理解对方立场，才能为磋商获得成功创造良好条件。否则，就无法形成达成长期有效协议的基础，难以达成可持续、可执行的协议。

诚信是磋商的基础。中国政府始终以诚信为本，抱着极大的诚意与美国政府进行磋商。中国高度重视美国关切，努力寻找化解双方分歧的有效途径和办法。双方已举行的 11 轮高级别经贸磋商取得重大进展，这些磋商成果既符合中国利益，也符合美国利益，是双方共同努力、相向而行的结果。

中国在磋商中讲信用重承诺，并多次强调，如双方达成协议，中国对所作的承诺一定会认真、切实履行。

### **（三）中国在原则问题上决不让步**

任何国家都有自己的原则。磋商中，一国的主权和尊严必须得到尊重，双方达成的协议应是平等互利的。对于重大原则问题，中国决不退让。中美双方都应看到并承认国家发展的差异性、阶段性，尊重对方发展道路和基本制度。既不能指望通过一个协议解决所有的问题，也需要确保协议同时满足双方的需求，实现协议的平衡性。

美国近期宣布提高对华加征关税，不利于解决双边经贸问题，中国对此强烈反对，不得不作出反应，维护自身合法权益。中国的立场和态度是一贯的、明确的，中国希望通过对话而不是关税措施解决问题。为了中国人民的利益，为了美国人民的利益，为了全世界人民的利益，中国会理性对待，但是中国不会畏惧任何压力，也做好准备迎接任何挑战。谈，大门敞开；打，奉陪到底。

### **（四）任何挑战都挡不住中国前进的步伐**

中国的发展不会一帆风顺，必然会有艰难险阻甚至惊涛骇浪。面对各种风险和挑战，中国有信心迎难而上，化危为机，开拓一片新天地。

无论形势如何发展变化，中国都坚持做好自己的事情。通过改革开放发展壮大自己，是应对经贸摩擦的根本之道。



中国国内市场需求巨大，供给侧结构性改革的推进将带来产品和企业竞争力的全面提升，财政和货币政策有充分空间，中国能保持经济持续健康发展的良好态势，经济前景非常乐观。

中国将继续深化改革开放，中国的大门不会关上，只会越开越大。习近平主席在第二届“一带一路”国际合作高峰论坛开幕式主旨演讲中宣布，中国将采取一系列重大改革开放举措，加强制度性、结构性安排，促进更高水平对外开放，包括更广领域扩大外资市场准入、更大力度加强知识产权保护国际合作、更大规模增加商品和服务进口、更加有效实施国际宏观经济政策协调、更加重视对外开放政策贯彻落实。一个更加开放的中国，将同世界形成更加良性的互动，带来更加进步和繁荣的中国和世界。

### **结束语**

合作是中美两国唯一正确选择，共赢才能通向更好的未来。在中美经贸磋商总的方向上，中国不是向后看，而是向前看。双方在经贸领域的分歧和摩擦，最终需要通过对话和磋商来解决。中美达成一个互利双赢的协议，符合中美两国利益，顺应世界各国期待。希望美国同中国相向而行，本着相互尊重、平等互利的精神，管控经贸分歧，加强经贸合作，共同推进以协调、合作、稳定为基调的中美关系，增进两国和世界人民福祉。

(注 1) 2018 年 2 月, 美国商会全球创新政策中心发布的《2018 年国际知识产权指数报告》称, 2018 年, 中国以 19.08 分位居 50 个经济体的第 25 位, 较 2017 年上升 2 位, [http://www.theglobalipcenter.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/GIPC\\_IP\\_Index\\_2018.pdf](http://www.theglobalipcenter.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/GIPC_IP_Index_2018.pdf)。

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(注 13) 国际货币基金组织网站: World Economic Outlook, <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/Issues/2019/03/28/world-economic-outlook-april-2019>, 2019 年 4 月 2 日。

**China's Position on the China-US Economic and Trade  
Consultations**

**The State Council Information Office of  
The People's Republic of China**

**(June 2019)**

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## **Preface**

The China-US commercial relationship serves as both the ballast and the propeller of the overall bilateral relationship. At stake are the fundamental interests of the two peoples, and the prosperity and stability of the world. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the US, bilateral trade and economic relations have come a long way, with expanding fields of cooperation at higher levels. A mutually beneficial and win-win relationship with strong complementarity and interlinked interests has been forged, benefiting not only the two countries but also the entire world.

Given the differences in stage of development and economic system, it is inevitable that the two countries will experience differences and friction in their commercial cooperation. The history of China-US trade and economic relations has seen twists and turns and difficult situations. By adopting a rational and cooperative attitude, the two countries have managed to resolve previous conflicts, bridge differences, and render the bilateral commercial relationship more mature through dialogue and consultation.

Since it took office in 2017, the new US administration has threatened additional tariffs and other measures and provoked frequent economic and trade friction with its major trading partners. In response to the economic and trade friction unilaterally initiated by the US since March 2018, China has had to take forceful measures to defend the interests of the nation and its people. At the same time, committed to resolving disputes through dialogue and consultation, China has engaged in multiple rounds of economic and trade consultations with the US in an effort to stabilize the bilateral commercial relationship. China's position has been consistent and clear – that cooperation serves the interests of the two countries, that conflict can only hurt both, and that cooperation is the only correct choice for both sides. Concerning their differences and frictions on the economic and trade front, China is willing to work together with the US to find solutions, and to reach a mutually beneficial and win-win agreement. However, cooperation has to be based on principles. There are bottom lines in consultations. China will not compromise on major issues of principle. China does not want a trade war, but it is not afraid of one and it will fight one if necessary. China's position on this has never changed.

To provide a comprehensive picture of the China-US economic and trade consultations, and present China's policy position on these consultations, the Chinese government hereby issues this White Paper.

## **I. Economic and trade friction provoked by the US damages the interests of both countries and of the wider world**

Trumpeting "America First", the current US administration has adopted a series of unilateral and protectionist measures, regularly wielded tariffs as a "big stick" and coerced other countries into accepting its demands. The US has initiated frequent investigations under the long-unused Sections 201 and 232 against its main trading partners, causing disruption to the global economic and trade landscape. Specifically targeting China, in August 2017 it launched a unilateral investigation under Section 301. Turning a blind eye to China's unremitting efforts and remarkable progress in protecting intellectual property and improving the business environment for foreign investors, the US issued a myriad of slanted and negative observations, and imposed additional tariffs and investment restrictions on China, provoking economic and trade friction between the two countries.



**Box 1: China's technological innovation is based on self-reliance. Accusing China of intellectual property theft and forced technology transfer is utterly unfounded.**

China is an innovative and diligent nation. It has created a highly-sophisticated civilization and contributed significantly to human progress over the course of 5,000 years. Since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949, and in particular since the beginning of reform and opening up in 1978, China's scientific and technological undertakings have passed through a series of phases. They started from a difficult beginning, forged ahead in the course of reform, and have now achieved multiple breakthroughs featuring a variety of innovations. These achievements have won worldwide recognition. Historical records confirm that China's achievements in scientific and technological innovation are not something we stole or forcibly took from others; they were earned through self-reliance and hard work. Accusing China of stealing intellectual property to support its own development is an unfounded fabrication.

China is fully committed to intellectual property protection. It has established a legal system for the protection of intellectual property that is consistent with prevailing international rules and adapted to China's domestic conditions. China values the leading role of judicial measures in protecting intellectual property, and has achieved impressive results. The understanding of the importance of intellectual property among the general public and business community in China has increased, the value of royalties paid to foreign rights-holders has risen significantly, and the number of intellectual property applications and registrations has surged.

The effective impact of China's intellectual property protection has won broad international recognition. Former WIPO Director General Arpad Bogsch spoke highly of China's legal framework for intellectual property protection, noting that China's achievements are "unmatched in the history of intellectual property protection". The US Chamber of Commerce recognized that China is making concrete progress in creating an intellectual property environment appropriate to the 21st century.<sup>1</sup> In its 2018 China Business Climate Survey Report, the American Chamber of Commerce in China noted that among the main challenges facing its member companies operating in China, concern over intellectual property dropped from 5th place in 2011 to 12th place in 2018. An article in *The Diplomat* predicted that China will become a leader in global intellectual property. Many of the concerns raised by foreign firms doing business in China have already been addressed through judicial reform and a strengthened enforcement mechanism.

Respecting the laws of the market economy, China has been actively improving the policy system for innovation, continuously increasing investment in research and development, accelerating the development of innovators, and

strengthening international cooperation on technological innovation in an all-round way. In terms of some key innovation indices, China is already among the world's leading players. As China continues to witness a series of major scientific and technological achievements, its industries are gravitating toward the middle and high end, and the country's international influence is markedly increasing. In 2017, total R&D investment in China reached RMB1.76 trillion, ranking second in the world. The number of patent applications reached 1.382 million, ranking No. 1 in the world for the seventh consecutive year. The number of invention patents granted reached 327,000, up by 8.2 percent year-on-year. China ranks third in the world in terms of valid invention patents held.<sup>2</sup>

China has always pursued international technical cooperation with mutual benefit and win-win as the basic value orientation. China's economic development has benefited from international technology transfer and dissemination. International holders of technology have also reaped enormous benefits from this process. China encourages and respects voluntary technical cooperation between Chinese and foreign firms based on market principles. It strongly opposes forced technology transfer and takes resolute action against intellectual property infringement. Accusations against China of forced technology transfer are baseless and untenable.

Turning a blind eye to the nature of the economic structure and the stage of development in China and the US, as well as the reality of the international industrial division of labor, the US insists that China's "unfair" and "non-reciprocal" trade policies have created a trade deficit in bilateral commercial exchanges that constitutes "being taken advantage of", leading to unilateral imposition of additional tariffs on China. In fact, in today's globalized world, the Chinese and American economies are highly integrated and together constitute an entire industrial chain. The two economies are bound in a union that is mutually beneficial and win-win in nature. Equating a trade deficit to

being taken advantage of is an error. The restrictive measures the US has imposed on China are not good for China or the US, and still worse for the rest of the world.

**Box 2: The Chinese and American economies are interlinked, and bilateral trade and investment are mutually beneficial**

China and the US are each other's largest trading partner and important source of investment. In 2018, bilateral trade in goods and services exceeded US\$750 billion, and two-way direct investment approached US\$160 billion. China-US commercial cooperation has brought substantial benefits to both countries and both peoples.

According to China Customs, the trade in goods between China and the US grew from less than US\$2.5 billion in 1979 when the two countries forged diplomatic ties to US\$633.5 billion in 2018, a 252-fold increase. In 2018, the US was China's largest trading partner and export market, and the sixth largest source of imports. According to the US Department of Commerce, in 2018 China was the largest trading partner of the US, its third largest export market, and its largest source of imports. China is the key export market for US airplanes, soybeans, automobiles, integrated circuits and cotton. During the ten years from 2009 to 2018, China was one of the fastest growing export markets for American goods, with an annual average increase of 6.3 percent and an aggregate growth of 73.2 percent, higher than the average growth of 56.9 percent represented by other regions in the world.<sup>3</sup>

Trade in services between China and the US is flourishing and highly complementary. The two countries have conducted extensive, in-depth, and mutually-beneficial cooperation in tourism, culture, and intellectual property. China is the largest destination for US tourists in the Asia-Pacific and the US is the largest overseas destination for Chinese students. According to Chinese figures, two-way trade in services rose from US\$27.4 billion in 2006, the earliest year with available statistics, to US\$125.3 billion in 2018, a 3.6-fold increase. In 2018, China's services trade deficit with the US reached US\$48.5 billion.

Over the past forty years, two-way investment between China and the US has grown from near zero to approximately US\$160 billion, and this cooperation has proved fruitful. According to MOFCOM, by the end of 2018 accumulative Chinese business direct investment in the US exceeded US\$73.17 billion. The rapid growth of Chinese business investment in the US has contributed to local economic growth, job creation, and tax revenues. According to MOFCOM, the paid-in investment by the US in China was US\$85.19 billion by the end of 2018. In 2017, the total annual sales revenues of US-invested companies in China were US\$700

billion, with profits exceeding US\$50 billion.

Therefore, if trade in goods and services as well as two-way investment are taken into account, China-US trade and economic relations are mutually beneficial, rather than the US “being taken advantage of”.

### **(I) The tariff measures the US imposed harm others and are of no benefit to itself**

The US administration has imposed additional tariffs on Chinese goods exported to the US, impeding two-way trade and investment cooperation and undermining market confidence and economic stability in the two countries and globally. The US tariff measures lead to a decrease in the volume of China’s export to the US, which fell by 9.7 percent year-on-year in the first four months of 2019<sup>4</sup>, dropping for five months in a row. In addition, as China has to impose tariffs as a countermeasure to US tariff hikes, US exports to China have dropped for eight months in a row<sup>5</sup>. The uncertainty brought by US-China economic and trade friction made companies in both countries more hesitant about investing. China’s investment in the US continues to fall and the growth rate of US investment in China has also slowed down. According to Chinese statistics, direct investment by Chinese companies in the US was US\$5.79 billion in 2018, down by 10 percent year-on-year<sup>6</sup>. In 2018, paid-in US investment in China was US\$2.69 billion<sup>7</sup>, up by

only 1.5 percent year-on-year compared with an increase of 11 percent in 2017. With the outlook for China-US trade friction unclear, the WTO has lowered its forecast for global trade growth in 2019 from 3.7 percent to 2.6 percent<sup>8</sup>.

## **(II) The trade war has not “made America great again”**

The tariff measures have not boosted American economic growth. Instead, they have done serious harm to the US economy.

**First, the tariff measures have significantly increased production costs for US companies.** The Chinese and US manufacturing sectors are highly dependent on each other. Many American manufacturers depend on China’s raw materials and intermediary goods. As it is hard for them to find good alternative suppliers in the short term, they will have to bear the costs of the tariff hikes.

**Second, the tariff measures lead to domestic price hikes in the US.** The import of value-for-money consumer goods from China is a key factor behind the long-term low inflation in the US. After the additional tariffs were imposed, the final selling

price of Chinese products increased, leaving American consumers effectively bearing some tariff costs. According to research by the US National Retail Federation, the 25 percent additional tariffs on furniture alone will cost the US consumer an additional US\$4.6 billion per year<sup>9</sup>.

**Third, the tariff measures have an impact on US economic growth and people's livelihood.** A joint report by the US Chamber of Commerce and the Rhodium Group in March 2019 showed that, under the impact of China-US economic and trade friction, US GDP in 2019 and the next four years could decrease by US\$64-91 billion per year, about 0.3-0.5 percent of total US GDP. If the US imposes 25 percent tariffs on all Chinese goods exported to the US, US GDP will decrease by US\$1 trillion in the next ten years cumulatively<sup>10</sup>. According to a research report in February 2019 by Trade Partnership, an American think-tank, if the US imposes 25 percent additional tariffs on all imported Chinese goods, US GDP will decrease by 1.01 percent, with 2.16 million job losses and an additional annual burden of US\$2,294 on a family of four<sup>11</sup>.

**Fourth, the tariff measures lead to barriers to US exports to China.** The 2019 State Export Report, published by the US-China Business Council on May 1, 2019, stated that in the ten years from 2009 to 2018, US exports to China supported over 1.1 million jobs. The Chinese market continues its importance to US economic growth. Forty-eight states of the US have increased their goods exports to China during the last decade – 44 of them by double digits – while in 2018, when economic and trade friction worsened, only 16 states increased their goods exports to China. Thirty-four states exported fewer goods to China, with 24 of them seeing a double-digit decrease. The Midwestern agricultural states were hit particularly hard. Under tariff measures, exports of American agricultural produce to China decreased by 33.1 percent year-on-year, including a 50 percent drop in soybeans. US businesses are worried that they might lose the Chinese market, which they have been cultivating for nearly 40 years.

### **(III) US trade bullying harms the world**

Economic globalization is a firmly-established trend of the times. Beggar-thy-neighbor unilateralism and protectionism are unpopular. The trade protectionist measures taken by the US go

against the WTO rules, damage the multilateral trading system, seriously disrupt global industrial chains and supply chains, undermine market confidence, and pose a serious challenge to global economic recovery and a major threat to the trend of economic globalization.

**First, the US measures are undermining the authority of the multilateral trading system.** The US has launched a series of unilateral investigations, including those under Sections 201, 232 and 301, and imposed tariff measures. These are a serious breach of the most fundamental and central WTO rules, including most-favored-nation treatment and tariff binding. Such unilateralist and protectionist actions have harmed the interests of China and other WTO members. More importantly, they have undermined the authority of the WTO and its dispute settlement system, and exposed the multilateral trading system and international trade order to peril.

**Second, the US measures threaten global economic growth.** With the shadow of the international financial crisis still lingering over the global economy, the US government has escalated economic and trade friction and hiked additional tariffs, provoking corresponding measures by the countries



involved. This disrupts global economic and trade order, dampens world economic recovery, and undermines the development of companies and the well-being of people in all countries, plunging the world economy into the “recession trap”.

Global Economic Prospects released by the World Bank in January 2019 revised its forecast for global economic growth down further to 2.9 percent, citing continuous trade friction as a major downward risk<sup>12</sup>. The International Monetary Fund also marked down its projection of world economic growth for 2019 to 3.3 percent from the 2018 estimate of 3.6 percent in its World Economic Outlook report published in April 2019, suggesting that economic and trade friction could further depress global economic growth and weaken already anemic investment<sup>13</sup>.

**Third, the US moves disrupt global industrial and supply chains.** China and the US are both key links in global industrial and supply chains. Given the large volume of intermediary goods and components from other countries in Chinese end-products exported to the US, US tariff hikes will hurt all the multinationals – not least those from the US – that work with Chinese companies. The tariff measures artificially drive up the costs of supply chains, and undermine their stability

and security. As a result, some businesses are forced to readjust their global supply chains at the expense of optimal resource allocation.

It is foreseeable that the latest US tariff hikes on China, far from resolving issues, will only make things worse for all sides. China stands firm in opposition. Recently, the US administration imposed “long-arm jurisdiction” and sanctions against Huawei and other Chinese companies on the fabricated basis of national security, to which China is also firmly opposed.

## **II. The US has backtracked on its commitments in the China-US economic and trade consultations**

In response to the economic and trade friction started by the US, China has been forced to take countermeasures, as bilateral trade and investment relations took a hit. For the well-being of the Chinese and American people and the economic development of the two countries, both sides deemed it necessary to come to the negotiating table to seek a solution through consultation. Since they were launched in February 2018, the economic and trade consultations have come a long way with the two sides agreeing on most parts of the deal. But the consultations have not been free of setbacks, each of them

being the result of a US breach of consensus and commitments, and backtracking.

### **(I) The first US backtracking**

China had advocated resolving economic and trade friction through negotiation and consultation from the start. In early February 2018, the US government expressed the wish that China send a high-level delegation to the US to engage in economic and trade consultation. Demonstrating great goodwill and positive efforts, China held several rounds of high-level economic and trade consultations with the US, characterized by in-depth exchanges of views on trade imbalance among other major issues. The two sides made substantial progress as they reached preliminary consensus on expanding China's imports of agricultural and energy products from the US. However, on March 22, 2018, the US government unveiled the so-called report on Section 301 investigation of China, falsely accusing China of "IP theft" and "forced technology transfer", and subsequently announced an additional tariff of 25 percent on US\$50 billion of Chinese exports to the US.

### **(II) The second US backtracking**

Taking a big-picture view of the bilateral relationship, the Chinese government sent a working team again to the US to engage in genuine consultations. On May 19, 2018, China and the US issued a joint statement, agreeing to refrain from fighting a trade war, to continue high-level communications, and to actively seek solutions to respective economic and trade concerns. The US publicly announced that it would suspend the plan for additional tariffs on Chinese goods. On May 29, 2018, despite the opposition of its domestic business community and the general public, the US administration tore up the consensus just ten days after the joint statement, gratuitously criticizing China's economic system and trade policy, while announcing the resumption of the tariff program. Starting from early July 2018, in three steps, the US imposed additional tariffs of 25 percent on Chinese exports worth US\$50 billion, and additional tariffs of 10 percent on US\$200 billion of Chinese exports, which, according to the US, would be raised to 25 percent on January 1, 2019. In addition, the US threatened further tariffs on all remaining Chinese exports, leading to quick escalation of the economic and trade friction between the two countries. In defense of its national dignity and its people's interests, China

had to respond in kind and raised tariffs on imports worth US\$110 billion from the US.

### **(III) The third US backtracking**

On November 1, 2018, US President Donald Trump had a telephone conversation with Chinese President Xi Jinping and proposed a summit meeting. On December 1 the two presidents had a meeting on the margins of the G20 Summit in Argentina. In accordance with their important consensus on economic and trade issues, the two sides agreed to halt new additional tariffs for 90 days to allow for intensive talks geared toward the full elimination of all additional tariffs. In the ensuing 90 days, the working teams of China and the US held three rounds of high-level consultations in Beijing and Washington D.C., reaching preliminary consensus on many matters of principle for the China-US economic and trade deal. On February 25, 2019, the US announced the postponement of the additional tariffs scheduled for March 1 on US\$200 billion of Chinese exports to the US. From late March to early April, the working teams of the two countries held another three rounds of high-level consultations and made substantial progress. Following numerous rounds of consultations, the two countries had agreed

on most of the issues. Regarding the remaining issues, the Chinese government urged mutual understanding and compromise for solutions to be found.

But the more the US government is offered, the more it wants. Resorting to intimidation and coercion, it persisted with exorbitant demands, maintained the additional tariffs imposed since the friction began, and insisted on including mandatory requirements concerning China's sovereign affairs in the deal, which only served to delay the resolution of remaining differences. On May 6, 2019, the US irresponsibly accused China of backtracking on its position to shift the blame for the inconclusive talks onto China. Despite China's fierce opposition, the US raised the additional tariffs on US\$200 billion of Chinese exports to the US from 10 percent to 25 percent, which represented a serious setback to the economic and trade consultations. On May 13 the US announced that it had launched procedures to slap additional tariffs on remaining Chinese goods, which are worth around US\$300 billion. These acts contradicted the agreement reached by the two presidents to ease friction through consultation – and the expectations of people around the world – casting a shadow over the bilateral economic and trade consultations and world economic growth.

In defense of its own interests, China had to take tariff measures in response.

**(IV) The US government should bear the sole and entire responsibility for this severe setback to the China-US economic and trade consultations**

The US government accusation of Chinese backtracking is totally groundless. It is common practice for both sides to make new proposals for adjustments to the text and language in ongoing consultations. In the previous more than ten rounds of negotiations, the US administration kept changing its demands. It is reckless to accuse China of “backtracking” while the talks are still under way. Historical experience has proved that any attempt to force a deal through tactics such as smears, undermining and maximum pressure will only spoil the cooperative relationship. Historic opportunities will be missed.

A civilized country turns to forceful measures only when gentler approaches have failed. After the US issued the new tariff threat, the international community was widely concerned that China might cancel the consultation visit to the US. It kept a close watch on the future direction of the China-US trade negotiations. Bearing in mind the broader interests of trade and

economic relations between the two countries, China remained cool-headed, exercised restraint, and sent a senior delegation to the US, as agreed, for the 11th round of economic and trade consultation from May 9 to 10. In doing so, China demonstrated the greatest sincerity and a strong sense of responsibility for resolving trade disputes through dialogue. In the following candid and constructive discussions, the two sides agreed to manage differences and continue consultations. China expressed strong opposition to the unilateral tariff increase by the US and stated its firm position that it would have to take necessary countermeasures. China emphasized once again that trade deals must be based on equality and mutual benefit. China will never compromise on major principles concerning China's core interests. One prerequisite for a trade deal is that the US should remove all additional tariffs imposed on Chinese exports and China's purchase of US goods should be realistic while ensuring that a proper balance in the text of the agreement is achieved to serve the common interests of both sides.

**III. China is committed to credible consultations based on equality and mutual benefit**



The Chinese government rejects the idea that threats of a trade war and continuous tariff hikes can ever help resolve trade and economic issues. Guided by a spirit of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit, the two countries should push forward consultations based on good faith and credibility in a bid to address issues, narrow differences, expand common interests, and jointly safeguard global economic stability and development.

**(I) Consultations should be based on mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit**

It is only natural for China and the US, the two largest economies and trading nations in the world, to experience some differences over trade and economic cooperation. What truly matters is how to enhance mutual trust, promote cooperation and manage differences. For the good of the common interests of the two countries and global trade order, and in a strenuous effort to push forward the economic and trade consultations, China remains committed to resolving issues through dialogue and consultation, responding to US concerns with the greatest patience and sincerity, properly handling differences while seeking common ground, and overcoming obstacles to practical

solutions. During the consultations, in accordance with the principle of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit, China's only intention is to reach a mutually acceptable deal.

Mutual respect means that each side should respect the other's social institutions, economic system, development path and rights, core interests, and major concerns. It also means that one side should not cross the other's "red lines". The right to development cannot be sacrificed, still the less can sovereignty be undermined. As regards equality and mutual benefit, we must ensure that the two sides in the consultations operate on an equal footing, that results are mutually beneficial, and that any final agreement is a win-win one. Negotiations will get nowhere if one side tries to coerce the other or if only one party will benefit from the outcomes.

## **(II) Consultation involves working toward the same goal in good faith**

Consultation calls for mutual understanding and genuine effort from both sides. Consultation is a process where the parties concerned seek consensus or make compromise through discussion. Many factors are at play in consultation. It is perfectly normal during consultations for the parties to react

differently to various changes at different stages based on their own interests.

The Chinese government believes that economic and trade consultation is an effective way to solve issues. None other than engagement with goodwill and a full understanding of the other's position can contribute to success. Otherwise, it will be hard to reach a sustainable and enforceable deal as the parties will not find the ground for a long-term and effective agreement.

Good faith is the foundation of consultation. The Chinese government has engaged in these consultations with the US with the utmost credibility and the greatest sincerity. Attaching great importance to US concerns, China has worked hard to look for effective paths and find ways to address differences. The 11 rounds of high-level consultations have made significant progress. The outcomes of the consultations have not only served the interests of China, but also those of the US, as a result of both sides' efforts to pull in the same direction. China has kept its word during the consultations. China has emphasized repeatedly that if a trade agreement is reached, it will honor its commitments sincerely and faithfully.

**(III) China will not give ground on issues of principle**

Every country has its own matters of principle. During consultations, a country's sovereignty and dignity must be respected, and any agreement reached by the two sides must be based on equality and mutual benefit. On major issues of principle, China will not back down. Both China and the US should see and recognize their countries' differences in national development and in stage of development, and respect each other's development path and basic institutions. While no one expects to resolve all issues through one single agreement, it is necessary to ensure that any agreement will satisfy the needs of both sides and achieve a balance.

The recent US move to increase tariffs on Chinese exports does not help to solve bilateral trade issues. China strongly opposes this and has to respond to safeguard its lawful rights and interests. China has been consistent and clear on its position, that it hopes to resolve issues through dialogue rather than tariff measures. China will act rationally in the interests of the Chinese people, the American people, and all other peoples around the world. However, China will not bow under pressure and will rise to any challenge coming its way. China is open to negotiation, but will also fight to the end if needed.

#### **(IV) No challenge will hold back China's development**

China's development may not be all smooth sailing. Difficulties or even perils are inevitable. Whatever the future might bring, China is confident of meeting challenges head on, turning risks into opportunities, and opening new chapters.

China remains committed to its own cause no matter how the external environment changes. The fundamental solution to economic and trade tensions is to grow stronger through reform and opening up. With the enormous demand from the domestic market, deeper supply-side structural reform will comprehensively enhance the competitiveness of Chinese products and companies. We still have sufficient room for fiscal and monetary policy maneuvers. China can maintain sound momentum for sustainable and healthy economic development, and its economic prospects are bright.

China will continue to deepen reform and opening up. China's door will not be closed; it will only open even wider. President Xi Jinping announced in his keynote speech at the opening ceremony of the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation that China would adopt a number of major reform and opening-up measures, strengthen institutional

and structural arrangements, and promote opening up at a higher level. Measures to be taken include expanding market access for foreign investment in broader areas, strengthening international cooperation on intellectual property protection, increasing imports of goods and services, implementing more effective international coordination on macro-economic policies, and putting more focus on the implementation of opening-up policies. A more open China will have more positive interactions with the world, which in turn will advance the development and prosperity of both China and the world.

### **Conclusion**

Cooperation is the only correct choice for China and the US and win-win is the only path to a better future. As to where the China-US economic and trade consultations are heading, China is looking forward, not backward. Disputes and conflicts on the trade and economic front, at the end of the day, need to be solved through dialogue and consultation. Striking a mutually beneficial and win-win agreement serves the interests of China and the US and meets the expectations of the world. It is hoped that the US can pull in the same direction with China and, in a spirit of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit, manage

economic and trade differences, strengthen trade and economic cooperation, and jointly advance China-US relations based on coordination, cooperation and stability for the well-being of both nations and the world.

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12 World Bank: Global Economic Prospects,  
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