### 日本安全保障貿易学会 第15回研究大会

### 「現下の米中関係と投資規制」

## "Vacillating Sino-U.S. Relations and FDI Regulations"

キヤノングローバル戦略研究所 研究主幹 栗原 潤

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# ご報告の構成/Structure of the Study

1. はじめに/Introduction

海外直接投資と国防産業基盤/

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Defense Industrial Base (DIB)

2. 投資規制を巡る政治経済環境/

A Politico-Economic Climate Formulating FDI Regulatory Policies

経済的相互依存の中で高まる相互不信/

**Growing Mutual Suspicions amidst** 

**Pervasive Economic Interdependence** 

3. 米国の対内直接投資規制/U.S. Inward Investment Regulations

最近の米国外国投資委員会(CFIUS)の活動に関する評価/ Evaluations of Recent CFIUS Activities

4. 残された課題:三一重工・華為問題を超えて/Issues on the Horizon: Beyond the Cases of Sany and Huawei

アジアの政治経済制度と中米両国の国内政治/

Asia's Politico-Economic System and Domestic Politics of China and America

1. はじめに Slide No. 3

### 1. はじめに/Introduction

海外直接投資と国防産業基盤/ Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Defense Industrial Base (DIB)

(1) グローバル化の容赦ない深化/Relentless Globalization:

サイバー関連技術・運輸関連技術と規制政策/ Cyber and Transportation Technologies, and Regulatory Policies

(2) 両用技術の適用分野の拡大/ Growing Application of Dual-Use Technologies:

国防政策と産業政策との境界が不明瞭化/ Blurring Distinction between Defense and Commercial Technology Policies

(3) 規制対象領域の拡大と改定期間の短期化/ Expansion of Regulated Areas and Interval Shortening of Regulatory Changes:

> 行政、技術、金融分野の学際的アプローチ/ Interdisciplinary Approaches Combining Administrative, Technological, and Financial Expertise

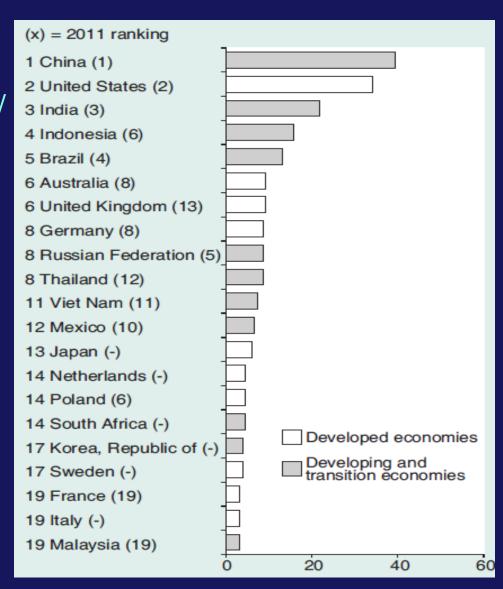
### 直接投資におけるホスト国の筆頭は中米両国/ Largest Host Countries Are China and the United States

世界の多国籍企業が有望視する ホスト国は中国、米国、インド、 インドネシア、ブラジル、オーストラリア/ Top Prospective Host Countries for 2012-2014 Are China, the United States, India, Indonesia, Brazil, and Australia.

有望市場は、BRICSとアジア/ Promising Markets Are BRICS and Asia

"Asean Chief: Southeast Asia Is on the Rise"

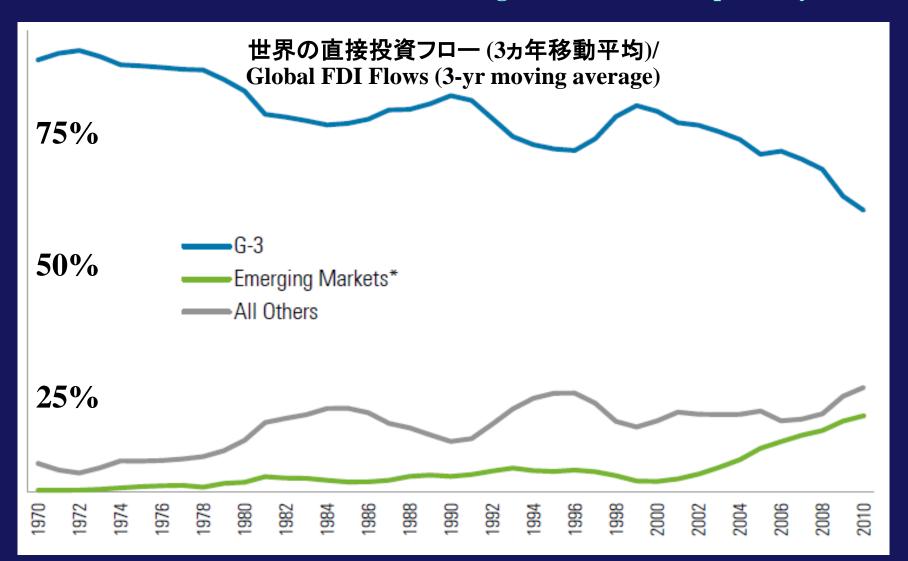
Wall Street Journal, November 29, 2012



### 収斂するG-3(日米欧)と新興市場?/

# G-3 (Japan, U.S. and EU) Converging with Emerging Markets?

薄れゆくG3の経済的優位性/Waning G-3 Economic Supremacy



### 台頭するBRICS?/Rise of BRICS? (1)

薄れゆくG3の経済的優位性/Waning G-3 Economic Supremacy

2012年3月29日: BRICS、ドル依存体質脱却を合意/

Mar. 29, 2012: "BRICS Agree to Local Currency Credits

to Ease Dollar Dependency"

(Mar. 29, 2012) (http://rt.com/business/news/brics-currencies-credit-deal-755/)



Source: http://news.jschina.com.cn/system/2012/12/04/015436531.shtml

### 2012年10月2日: BRICS銀行 設立でBRICSのシンクタンク合意/

Oct. 2, 2012: "Think Tanks Reach Consensus on Setting Up BRICS Bank"

 $(Oct~2,~2012,~02.04 PM~IST)~(http://articles.economic times.indiatimes.com/2012-10-02/news/34218096\_1\_brics-bank-brics-summit-south-africa-brics)\\$ 

"Think tanks of BRICS bloc reached consensus on creating a BRICS development bank to complement existing global financial institutions like World Bank. Liu Youfa (刘友法), deputy director of the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS) (中国国际问题研究所), said, "At the previous forum before the BRICS summit meeting in March, we were still discussing whether to create this bank, but now we are talking about how to create this bank."

### 台頭するBRICS?/Rise of BRICS? (2)

薄れゆくG3の経済的優位性/Waning G-3 Economic Supremacy

### 米コロンビア大学、BRICs関連の国際会議を開催/

Nov. 27, 2012: BRICs:

"The Quest for Global Growth"/
«БРИКС: запрос на глобальный рост»:

Columbia University BRICLab Conference, Columbia University, New York City

### 2012年12月4日: 朱光耀財政副部長、 BRICS間でのマクロ経済協調強化を要請/

Dec. 4, 2012: "Chinese Vice Finance Minister Zhū Guāngyào Call on **BRICS to Strengthen Macroeconomic Coordination** 

(at the First Forum on the Economic Situations of BRICS Countries)"

(2012-12-04 17:12 ) (http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2012-12/04/c\_113904995.htm)

[Chinese Title: "朱光耀呼吁金砖国家加强宏观经济政策协调"]

(2012-12-04 17:12 来源:新华网)

"中国财政部副部长朱光耀4日在北京表示,共同应对全球经济不确定性带来的风险。"

### 経済の相互依存は平和をもたらすか?/ Can Economic Interdependence Bring about Peace?

現在の日中関係と歴史的教訓(20世紀初頭の英独関係)/ Current Japan-China Relationship and Historical Experience (Anglo-German Relationship in the Early 20th Century)

### 領土問題でくすぶる日中関係の中での直接投資動向:

"日本对华投资逆势增长/Japan's Growing Investment in China" «新华网» [Xinhua], Sept. 7, 2012.

### 20世紀初頭の英独関係を振り返りつつ、現在を考える:

"Industry itself was divided: between 1904 and 1914 Britain was Germany's best overseas customer, and Germany was Britain's second best; twenty-two out of forty international producer cartels were Anglo-German organizations."

(Hew Strachan, *The First World War, Volume I: To Arms*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 23; see also, Zara Steiner, *Britain and the Origins of the First World War*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1977, pp. 60-64.)

"The United States and China ... are tied together as never before by flows of goods, services, capital, people, and ideas. ... Unfortunately, there is little reason in theory or historical experience to believe that economic links alone are sufficient to create lasting stability."

(Aaron L. Friedberg, A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia, New York: W.W. Norton, p. 47; see also, Kenneth Waltz, Theory of International Politics, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1979, pp. 129-160.)

### 台頭するBRICS?/Rise of BRICS? (3)

### 近代化を急ぐ中国海軍(PLAN)/Swiftly Modernizing PLA Navy

Shenyang J-15/Flying Shark (歼-15/飞鲨)

### 経済大国中国の空母保有/ Nov. 21, 2012: "Китаю нужны авианосцы (China Needs Aircraft Carriers)"(21 Nov., Взгляд.ру (vz.ru))

Aircraft Carriers) (21 Nov., Взгляд.ру (vz.ru))

"China begins to convert its economic power into military one and building its own aircraft carriers is just one element of

the program."
(По мнению директора Центра мировой торговли оружием (ЦАМТО) Игоря Коротченко (According to the Director of the Centre for Analysis of World Arms Trade (CAWAT) Igor Korotchenko))



the Liaoning ("辽宁"号)

Source: http://chinadailyma il.com/2012/11/26/ china-j-15-fighterssuccessful-takeoff-and-landing-onaircraft-carrier/

the Brazilian NAe São Paulo ("圣保罗"号)



Source: http://www.straitstimes.com/breaking-news/asia/story/china-navy-takes-delivery-first-aircraft-carrier-report-20120923



Source: war.163.com/12/1030/08/8F25T6MJ00014OMD.html

### 原子力エネルギーの将来はアジア/ Future of Atomic Energy Lies in Asia

「福島の悲劇」にもかかわらず、アジアは核エネルギーに熱い視線を注ぐ Despite the Fukushima Tragedy, Asia Remains Enthusiastic about Nuclear Energy The World's Nuclear Reactors (as of January 2013)

		<b>Electricity Generation</b>			
Country	Operable	<b>Under Construction</b>	Planned	Proposed	Billion kWh
World	435	65	167	317	2,518
United States	104	1	13	13	790.4
France	58	1	1	1	423.5
Asia *(Excl. West and Central Asia)	109	43	90	182	415.5
Japan	50	3	10	5	156.2
South Korea	23	4	5	0	147.8
India	20	7	18	39	28.9
China	16	29	51	120	82.6
Vietnam	0	0	4	6	0.0
Indonesia	0	0	2	4	0.0
Thailand	0	0	0	5	0.0
Malaysia	0	0	0	2	0.0
North Korea	0	0	0	1	0.0

# 3. 米国の対内直接投資規制 CFIUSの活動/CFIUS Activities (1) Slide No. 11

**CFIUS notifications and investigations 1996-2011** 

		302207 222 1 33 52 8 50		
	Notification	Investi- gations	Notices withdrawn	Presidential decision
1996	55	0	0	0
1997	62	0	0	0
1998	65	2	2	0
1999	79	0	0	0
2000	72	1	0	1
2001	55	1	1	0
2002	43	0	0	0
2003	41	2	1	1
2004	53	2	2	0
2005	64	1	1	0
2006	111	7	5	2
2007	138	6	5	0
2008	155	23	5	0
2009	65	25	2	0
2010	93	35	6	0
2011	111	40	5	0

Source: Edward M. Graham and David M. Marchick, U.S. National Security and Foreign Direct Investment, 2006, p. 57 and the CFIUS Annual Reports to Congress.

# CFIUSの活動/CFIUS Activities (2) Slide No. 12

**CFIUS notifications 2009-2011: Manufacturing** 

	業 種	NAICS	No. of Notification
2009-2011年計	2009-2011, Total		269
製造業	Manufacturing		106
Computer and F	Electronic Products	334	53
Computer and	Peripheral Equipment Mfg.	3341	4
Communication	ons Equipment Mfg.	3342	16
Semiconductor	Semiconductor and Other Electronic Component Mfg.		
Navigational, Measuring, Electromedical and Control Instruments Mfg.			18
Mfg. and Reproducing Magnetic and Optical Media			1
Transportation Equipment			23
Motor Vehicle Parts Mfg.			5
Aerospace Product and Parts Mfg.			16
Ship and Boat Building			2
Electrical Equipment, Appliance, and Component			10
Machinery			8
Chemical			4

# 3. 米国の対内直接投資規制 CFIUSの活動/CFIUS Activities (3) Slide No. 13

**CFIUS notifications 2009-2011: Non-Manufacturing** 

	業種	NAICS	No. of Notification
2009-2011年計	2009-2011, Total		269
非製造業	Non-Manufacturing		163
Professional, Sc	ientific, and Technical Services	541	52
Architectural,	<b>Engineering, and Related Services</b>	5413	14
Computer Sys	tems Design and Related Services	5415	23
Management,	Scientific, and Technical Consulting Services	5416	8
Scientific Rese	earch and Development Services	5417	5
Other Profess	5419	2	
Publishing Indu	511	18	
Telecommunications		517	15
Wired Telecon	nmunications Carriers	5171	2
Wireless Telec	5172	4	
Satellite Teleco	5174	6	
Utilities	221	25	
Mining and Sup	212/213	13	

Source: CFIUS Annual Report to Congress, 2011, December 2012, pp. 4, 8-11.

# CFIUSの活動/CFIUS Activities (4) Slide No. 14

**CFIUS notifications 2009-2011** 

	Notification 総計	製造業	金融・情報・ サービス	鉱業・公益・ 建設	商業∙運輸
2009-2011年計	269	106	95	48	20
英国	68	32	28	5	3
フランス	27	18	1	4	4
カナダ	27	1	10	14	2
中国	20	12	3	5	0
日本	18	8	6	3	1
イスラエル	18	6	10	0	2
オランダ	14	2	8	2	1
スウェーデン	14	5	9	0	0
オーストラリア	8	1	2	2	3
スペイン	7	0	5	2	0
ドイツ	6	2	4	0	0
ロシア	4	0	2	1	1
シンガポール	3	0	0	3	0
U.A.E.	3	3	0	0	0

# 中国の対力リフォルニア州投資/ China's FDI in California

Chinese Investment in California 2000-2011

	件数	うち M&A	金額 (\$. Mil.)	うち M&A
2000-2011年計	156	47	1,328	1,081
Software and IT Services	21	13	526	517
Leisure and Entertainment	5	3	167	152
Communications Equipment and Services	19	5	139	76
Electronic Equipment and Components	16	1	118	100
Alternative/Renewable Energy	17	1	102	53
Semiconductors	3	3	81	81
Furniture and Wood Products	4	1	22	19
Biotechnology	2	1	21	20
Food, Tobacco, and Beverage	4	3	20	18
Consumer Electronics	5	2	17	14

# 中国の対力リフォルニア州投資の特徴/ China's FDI in California with Chinese Characteristics

## 在米華僑と繋がりを見せる中国の対米投資/ FDI though Cultural and Historical Ties

### 在カリフォルニア華僑の人口集積地における投資の集中:

"It is notable that the most popular Chinese investment destinations in California all possess large populations of individuals with Chinese ancestry. The most popular target of Chinese investment, the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana metropolitan area, has the largest population of individuals of Chinese ancestry in all of California. The second most popular destination by number of deals is the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont metropolitan area, which contains the highest proportion of Chinese residents to total population in all of California. The cultural and historical ties preferred targets for Chinese investor."

4. 残された課題: 三一重工・華為問題を超えて

# 激動するアジアの国際関係/

### **Asia's Volatile International Relations (1)**

### 1. アジアの政治的安定性は維持できるか/

Asia's Political Stability: How to Avoid A Tragedy of the Commons

#### 米中対立の危険性

"How much a prudent U.S. should hedge depends on Chinese intentions, which has been opaque. . . . [I]t has expressed concerns about China's growing threat to American mastery of the sea lanes, including the waters around Taiwan. It has also voiced concerns about Chinese measures [incl. the Běidǒu (北斗)] that could endanger U.S. and GPS satellites in space. Military-to-military contacts can limit misperceptions and misunderstandings." [Graham Allison, 2009]

アジアにおける紛争防止・紛争解決のための国際政治システムの欠如 "ASEAN is going through one of its sweetest moments in its history because it has four suitors [the United States, China, Japan, and India] interested in it. It could be a battlefield if the competition is military, but if it is economic it will be wonderful for south-east Asia. . . ."

[Kishore Mahbubani, Quoted in the Financial Times, 2010]

## 激動するアジアの国際関係/

### Asia's Volatile International Relations (2)

### 2. 未成熟なアジアの政治経済制度/

Asia's Politico-Economic Institutional Framework:

To Develop Amicable Relations among Amiable Persons, or at least, Cooperation without Friendship (as Robert Axelrod suggests).

#### 中国による対外経済制裁の可能性

"[I]n 10 to 20 years, China will be a major exporter of high-technology—it may impose restrictive sanctions on those that previously imposed them on us!" [Shěn Dīnglì (沈丁立), Quoted by David Shambaugh, 2010]

「アングロサクソン化」したアジアの指導者による安定的な制度確立は可能か? "We recognize an undeniable fact that Richard Li, Anthony Salim, . . . Tommy Koh, . . . Asians with Western first names play a prominent role in the world. . . . Globalization, a rising China, and the expansion of crossborder flows of people, goods, capital, and information may lead to "Anglo-Saxonization" of China's communist elite."

[Takashi Shiraishi (白石隆) and Hau Caroline, 2012]

#### 4. 残された課題: 三一重工・華為問題を超えて

# 中国国内における対外姿勢

大別して7つの流れ

	国粋 主義	現実 主義	大国 重視	アジア 重視	途上国 重視	選択的 多国主義	グローバル 派	
対外関係	孤立主義/自立自尊		対外関係に配加			慮した行動		
基本原理	中華主義	便宜主義	大国重視	アジア 重視	南北問題 重視	便宜主義	平和主義	
対米姿勢	反米	反米	一部親米	反米	反米	反米	親米	
支持層	CCP, PLA, 庶民	CCP, PLA, エリート	官僚	実務家	官僚	戦略的 実務家	理想 主義者	
盛衰	多数派 増大	多数派	少数派 衰退	少数派 拡大	少数派 拡大	少数派 拡大	少数派 衰退	

Source: Toshimichi Nagaiwa and Jun Kurihara, "Japan-China Military Confidence Building Measures (Part I) —History, Politico-Economic Environment, and Evaluation—," Cambridge Gazette: Politico-Economic Commentaries No. 7 (October 11, 2011), Tokyo: Canon Institute for Global Studies, p. 9 Table 1. The table is, in principle, based on an analysis in the paper of David Shambaugh, "Coping with a Conflicted China," *Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 7-27.

# 4. 残された課題: 三一重工・華為問題を超えて 米国国内の(概念的)戦略的オプション 米国の中に存在する様々な「中国観」

理論的分類		主張				
楽観 現実主義者		中国の意志も力も限界がある。				
(Realist)	悲観派	中国の意志も力も米国をおびやかす。Security Dilemmaを意識。				
リベラリスト	楽観派	経済的相互依存関係と国際的制度設計を重視。中国の民主化に期待。				
(Liberalist)	悲観派	中国は民主化過渡期の専制主義。米国は犠牲的精神を持つべき。				
歴史•規範	楽観派	中国の漸次的発展に期待。				
尊重派 (Constructivist)	悲観派	米国とは歴史も価値観も違う。				

Source: Jun Kurihara and James L. Schoff, "For Whom Japan's Last Dance Is Saved—China, the United States, or Chimerica?," Cambridge Gazette: Politico-Economic Commentaries No. 4 (March 29, 2010), Tokyo: Canon Institue for Global Studies, p. 7, Table 1.

### 日本安全保障貿易学会 第15回研究大会

# 「現下の米中関係と投資規制」 ''Vacillating Sino-U.S. Relations and FDI Regulations''

ご清聴有難うございました/Thank You!

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