

奨励金No.1564

# 米中技術貿易に対する西側諸国の競争と協力の影響： コンピューター技術を中心に（1969-2001年）

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## The Influence of Western Competition and Cooperation on U.S.-China Technology Trade: from the Perspective of Computer Technology (1969-2001)

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本研究は、米、英、日、中四カ国からの史料を利用して、冷戦期における資本主義国家の対中技術輸出に焦点を当て、科学技術の流通と世界秩序の変動との関連性を検討するものである。特に1969年から2001年にかけて、中国市場における資本主義陣営内の協力・競争関係が米国のコンピューター対中輸出に対してどのような影響を与えたかという問題を明らかにする。本研究は、冷戦期の米中技術貿易に対する理解を深め、冷戦史と米中関係史の研究に貢献したい。更に、科学技術と国際政治の関係に対する新たな知見を提供し、特定の時代や地域を超える普遍的法則性を見出すことを目指す。

This research, by analyzing primary materials from the United States, the United Kingdom, Japan, and China, focuses on the technology export of capitalist countries to China during the Cold War and explores the correlation between the transfer of science and technology and the changes in the world order. Particularly, it explores how cooperation and competition in the capitalist bloc over the Chinese market influenced U.S. computer exports to China from 1969 to 2001. This research expects to deepen the understanding of Sino-U.S. technology trade during the Cold War and contribute to the scholarship of the history of the Cold War and Sino-U.S. relations. Furthermore, it aims to provide new insights into relations between science and technology and international politics and unveil universal laws that transcend specific times and regions.

### 1. 研究内容

#### 1.1 Research Question and Significance

The government of the United States has made efforts to ease tensions with the People's Republic of China since 1969. To deliver a positive signal of rapprochement to Beijing, Washington liberalized export controls on China and promoted bilateral trade from the 1970s onward. Meanwhile, U.S. allies, such as France, the United Kingdom, West Germany, and Japan, restored their relations with

China and reinforced commercial ties with the Chinese. While competing with allies in the Chinese market, Washington cooperated with these countries to relax trade restrictions on China through the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM), an international organization that capitalist countries established in 1950 to impose trade restrictions on commodities and technologies on communist countries. Scholars who study the U.S.-China

rapprochement in the 1970s have discussed the role of trade in the normalization of U.S.-China diplomatic relations. They have investigated bilateral interaction between Americans and the Chinese, both at governmental and non-governmental levels, but they seldom explore the multilateral nature of U.S.-China trade. This research fills the gap in the literature on U.S.-China relations. It explores the influence of competition and cooperation in the capitalist bloc on the U.S. relaxation of export controls towards China and U.S.-China economic relations since the 1970s through the case of computer trade. Capitalist countries had heated debates over computer trade in the COCOM during the Cold War. Given the dual-use nature of computers, capitalist countries were concerned about security risks in transferring computers to China, but at the same time, they desired to profit from the Chinese market.

## 1.2 Methodology and Structure

Drawing on recently declassified governmental documents from the United States, Japan, China, and the United Kingdom, this research examines Washington's liberalization of export controls on China and the development of U.S.-China computer trade between 1969, the beginning year of the U.S.-China rapprochement, and 2001, the year when China joined the World Trade Organization.

Chapter 1 examines the U.S. policy-making process from Washington's lift of the China embargo in the early 1970s to its implementation of evenhanded policies of export controls toward China and the Soviet Union regarding computer exports in the middle of the 1970s. In the case of IBM's export of Cyber 172 to China, fierce competition in the capitalist bloc prompted Washington to cooperate with other COCOM

members in licensing exports of sophisticated computers to China.

Chapter 2 traces the shift of the U.S. export control policy from an evenhanded one between China and the Soviet Union to a "China tilt" from 1977 to 1980. To safeguard against Soviet aggression, Washington, supported by its allies, offered favorable treatment in trade with China, particularly in computer exports, while strengthening trade restrictions on the Soviet Union.

Chapter 3 explores the relaxation of U.S. export controls on China between 1981 and 1983. Washington expedited the licensing review of computer exports to China and sought cooperation with its allies to simplify the COCOM licensing procedures for exports to China.

Chapter 4 investigates how the United States cooperated with its allies to assist China in modernization through technology transfer between 1984 and 1988. Washington dramatically relaxed export controls of high technology toward China, including drawing a green line—the lowest level of technology export controls on computers. Washington also won the support of other COCOM members for a package of policies to liberalize export controls on China.

Chapter 5 studies China's positions in the capitalist export control system and the world trade system between 1989 and 2001. Washington and its allies, though refusing China to become one member of the post-COCOM export control system, absorbed China into the World Trade Organization. Capitalist countries' decisions did not hinder U.S. exports to China but promoted U.S. companies' business in China.

### 1.3 Conclusion

This research investigates U.S. computer exports to China under the influence of competition and cooperation in the capitalist bloc. Based on the examination of the preceding five chapters, it argues that the United States competed to penetrate the Chinese market and cooperated with its allies to liberalize trade restrictions, which erased the obstacle for U.S. companies to trade with the Chinese and advanced U.S.-China economic relations. As one of the significant premises for cooperation, both the United States and its allies perceived that developing cordial relations with China was in the common interest of the capitalist bloc. The relations between China and the entire capitalist bloc have greatly improved since the 1970s. The Chinese government opened its market to capitalist countries. Capitalist countries, in turn, willingly assisted in China's modernization through technology transfer. In such a positive atmosphere, the United States easily reached a consensus with its allies in relaxing export controls on China. U.S.-China trade, especially in the field of advanced technology like computers, therefore expanded rapidly after the normalization of bilateral diplomatic relations.

The positive effect of capitalist competition on U.S.-China trade cannot be neglected in this research. At the beginning of the competition, the United States left behind its allies in trading with the Chinese. Since the second half of the 1960s, businesspeople from countries like Japan and France had already established steady commercial ties with the Chinese, particularly in the field of turkey plants and advanced technologies. To win over the Chinese market, Washington, under the pressure from domestic commercial community, accelerated its license review process and gave the

green light to certain high technologies such as computers in exports to China. In addition, the United States and its allies protected their economic and security interest in negotiations in the COCOM. These frictions, in the eyes of the Chinese, were convenient points for them to bargain with capitalist businesspeople. The Chinese skillfully negotiated with their trade partners for lower prices and better-quality technologies. If a U.S. company refused to offer a favorable condition for the transaction or failed to obtain the license of exports from Washington, the Chinese simply turned to other capitalist countries to purchase their commodities and technologies as substitutes. Capitalist competition prompted Washington to promote U.S.-China trade.

This research, furthermore, illuminates complex relations between technology, security, and modernization. The United States, as well as its allies, prioritized security in technology trade by improving the export control system. The growing relaxation of export controls on China reflected a shift in the capitalist security perception of China, from an enemy to a partner. Besides, there was an incentive regarding security for Washington to assist the Chinese in modernization through technology transfer. Modernization in China facilitated stability and prosperity in Asia, which benefited external security for the capitalist bloc. The history of U.S.-China computer trade between 1969 and 2001 unveils the U.S. statecraft to safeguard national security and retain its leadership in the world while promoting modernization in China.

## 2. 発表（研究成果の発表）

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