

特朗普與俄國：糾結與吊詭

起初，我們完全無法了解，為什麼特朗普自去年競選之初就不斷對普京表示賞識和讚美；也不了解為什麼他手下的一批幕僚裡，包括他的兒子和女婿，至少有九位跟俄國有著晦暗不明的關係。去年，在他競選團隊堅持下，共和黨居然刪除了黨綱中制裁俄國的部分。他在德國參加G21會議的晚宴時，忽然拉了一把椅子往普京旁邊一屁股坐下，一聊就聊了一個多小時，搞得當時的所有貴賓傻眼。他還在第五大道的寓所中會晤俄國外交部長和大使，卻不讓國務院提供翻譯，只有俄方的翻譯在場……種種表現難免予人一個印象：這個傢伙是不是在“裡通外國”？如果是，那麼，這是不是叛國呢？總統叛國？雪亮眼睛的人民選出了叛國總統？這是什麼世界？

英國《衛報》的探秘記者Luke Harding於今年11月出版了Collusion一書。我們乾脆就把它譯為《裡通外國》。書中指出，特朗普和他手下一批幕僚，如曾任競選主席的

Manafort, 安全顧問Flynn等，都跟俄國有著長期的利益關係。據報導，Manafort從俄國和烏克蘭親俄派處總共收到酬金高達7500萬美金。Flynn不但曾經在莫斯科發表表演說領取酬金，在餐會上坐在普京身旁，並且在奧巴馬對俄國干預選舉而施以制裁之後幾次打電話給俄國駐美大使。就在特朗普發表就職演講的時候，Flynn打信息給他同僚說，“制裁會很快解除”。最驚人的大概是去年6月26號，在特朗普大廈中，特朗普的兒子，女婿，Manafort跟俄國的一位女律師和其他俄方代表就索取希萊莉的黑材料的進行了談判。

Harding曾經是《衛報》駐莫斯科記者，曾經揭發了世界足球界的腐敗和俄國謀殺在倫敦的俄裔巨富事件的來龍去脈，所以他的可信度頗高。他引用英國退休特務Steele寫的一份爆料文件和其他各方資料，相當戲劇化地說明了特朗普與俄國的各種糾纏不清的關係，包括2013年特朗普在莫斯科舉行的選

美大會，以及俄國巨富和黑社會向特朗普的地產提供巨額貸款（由於特朗普破產多次，美國銀行拒絕給他貸款），其中有一部分可能是利益輸送一幫助他當選，希望他當選後廢除對俄制裁。

由於這個複雜的糾結，特朗普對FBI調查所謂的“通俄門”非常在意。他曾跟FBI局長科米講悄悄話，希望他停止調查。被拒之後，他炒了科米的魷魚，這就把事情鬧大了，因為他可能觸犯了“干預司法程序”罪。副司法部長乃設立了特別檢察官來審查這個通俄門，而這位檢察官曾經擔任過FBI局長，是一絲不苟，打破沙鍋查到底的羅伯特·穆勒。這就突出地引發出許多弔詭，其中最有趣的是：穆勒可能發掘出特朗普裡通外國的確鑿證據，這樣他就有被彈劾的危險；可是，他身為總統，他有權炒穆勒魷魚。那麼，到底是他炒穆勒的魷魚呢？還是穆勒炒他的魷魚呢？

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推進中美相互瞭解合作 促成海峽兩岸和平統一 倡導和諧平等多元世界

北京市大興區火災的教訓

◎陳立家

2017年11月18日，北京大興區--一個聚居眾多所謂低端人口的小村--發生了一起大火，燒死了19人，8人受傷，包括兒童。在這兒的居民幾乎全部都是外地來的。他們被稱為低端人口，因為他們收入低，又享受不到北京市民享受的各種權利，諸如醫保、退休金、子女在公立學校接受免費的義務教育等等。即使他們已經在北京工作多年，也無資格享受。他們的工作大都是建築工人，送貨員，街頭小販，清潔工，經營小吃店等。

北京市政當局以防止將來類似事件的再發生為由，立即在極短限期內展開了全市各區縣（有些過分到當天就立馬動手）強拆違章建築的措施，因而導致上百萬所謂低端人口在嚴冬酷寒已至時節，流離失所，無地容身的困境。此一事件迅速導致人大校友會於十一月二十四日致函北京市抗議請願。二三天後，接著又有全國知識份子多達5000人聯名上書。海外媒體稱之為北京市的排華事件（不禁使人聯想到昔日「華人與狗禁止入內」的恥辱標誌）。

北京市政當局不僅用粗暴手段強行拆除這些違章建築，還進一步阻止同情這些人痛苦遭遇者，為他們提供食宿的公益人士和慈善機構。這是十多年來中國大都市施政惡行

Organization」，「BBC World Service」，「World Value Survey」，及全球公關公司「Edelman」，等對大陸所做之類似民調，其滿意度略低於PEW，但相互間都有相當高之一致性，也顯示這些民調結果，具一定可信度。

PEW於近年來就大陸人民對國家主席習近平之滿意度調查，所得數值也在八成以上。

依據PEW於2002至2014年逐年分別對中、美兩國人民調查，對本國政府未來發展方向之認同，可見中國歷年皆高於美國，結果中共的政體較之美國，可能有更高的合理性。

3. 中國人民最關心的問題：依其關心程度排列，順序為「貪腐」、「貧富不均」、「犯罪」、「醫藥安全」及「食品安全」。對政府未來處理這些問題的能力，人民的看法仍以正面居多。

在基礎建設方面，中國的成就就可以說享譽世界，尤其是公路網、高速鐵路網、機場、港口、橋樑、通訊網路等。現在。它不僅在國內有快速發展，現在更推動宏偉的一帶一路計畫，其成果將造福歐亞大陸，甚至非洲。

此外，從貧窮落後，中國大陸目前已經在許多方面領先世界，包括超級計算機，北斗系統，雷達技術，超級鋼，人工智能，量子衛星，激光，綠能等。

談談中國的制度還是美式民主更適合中國？

——且讓資料說話——（四之一）

一·緣起

近期網路平台有不少關於中國共產黨所實施的制度及西方民主制度之優劣的比較及辯論。如美國Aspen播之李世默與裴敏欣以及『交鋒錄見』節目播出復旦大學教授宋魯鄭與美國公民力量創辦人楊建利之辯論，裴與楊皆認為中國政績不彰，不改行民主政治政權難以持久。

這些論述引起我的興趣，我想要瞭解：

1. 中共改革開放後的政績如何？人民幾十年來的生活有無改善？
2. 全世界民主政體運作的狀況如何？
3. 中國適合採取民主政體嗎？

以下是我上網尋得的一些結果：

二·中共政績的相關資料

（一）經濟方面：

1. 中國大陸『人均GDP』：包括中情局，貨幣基金組織，聯合國N,世界銀行及Nation Master等，都有人均GDP歷史資料。但是在長時期，多國家之間做比較的只有世界銀行的資料，它涵蓋自1960至2016世界及各國之『人均GDP』。

1960年中國大陸『人均GDP』（美金現值）為\$ 89.5，2016年為\$ 8123.2。而全世界『人均GDP』分別為\$ 462.327及\$ 10130.182。

由上述資料可以看到，中國56年來『人均GDP』成長了90倍，年平均成長率為8.3%，同期間全世界之成長率約22倍。年平均成長率為5.6%。因此中國大陸之逐年『人均GDP』成長率遠高於世界平均值。近年來，中國實質『人均GDP』年成長率均高於6%以上。

2. 中國大陸國家脫貧人口：

另一重要指標是國家脫貧的人口數。依據世界銀行的資料，中國的貧窮人口（依照聯合國標準，每人每日所得低於美金1.9元）佔總人口的比值從1981年的88%降至2012年

的6.5%，2014年更降至4.1%，（遠低於美國同年之14.5%）。

3. 中國大陸財富分配狀況：財富分配常用的指標是基尼指數（GINI），其值越高，則貧富不均的狀況越嚴重。另外可以比較的是一個國家最富10%人口占其全部財富之比值。

但財富分配資料由於內涵不一致，不同機構之資料彼此差異頗大。聯合國，中情局，及世界銀行發佈之各國基尼指數均不相同。此外，依據2015年Allianz的報告，美國基尼指數高達80.56，為世界分配最不均的國家。但依據Credit Suisse發佈之報告，財富分配最不均之國家為俄國。可見這些資料可靠性的爭議頗大。

比較可用的是同一機構的長期資料。此處採用的是世界銀行發佈的大陸1981至2012年的基尼指數。隨著經濟成長，貧富不均的程度逐漸擴大。2012年為42.16，高於全世界平均值38。在154個國家中，中國貧富不均排名60，依據聯合國資料，中國大陸最富10%人口掌控全國21.6%之財富，也高於全世界平均之12%。

（二）人口動態方面：

1. 平均壽命：一個國家人民的平均壽命，能反映它的生活水準，醫藥及衛生條件等。1960年世界平均壽命為52歲，2015年為71.5歲，中國分別為36.3歲及76.1歲。在全世界排名，中國也自162名，進步為55名。五十餘年來，中國人壽命增加近40年，遠超過世界平均值。

2. 識字率：1982年世界平均為75%，2015年為86.3%。而中國大陸分別為65%及96.5%。中國大陸識字率之成長也遠超過世界平均值。目前中國大陸年輕人之識字率已接近100%。

3. 中國大陸出國留學及移民狀況：

◎何崇嫩

中共統治大陸初期，嚴格控制人民出境，改革開放後放寬移民，早期移民以勞工為主，後期則留學及投資移民增多，目前中國大陸留學人數高居世界之冠，2016年留學生人數為五十四萬餘人。近年來歸國之學生漸增。目前留學生歸國率超過80%。

據世界銀行的資料，2010-2011年間中國大陸受過高等教育人口的外移人口總數的1.8%（以千人計），同年亞洲受過高等教育人口的移民占總數的3.3%。大陸一般及高技術人員的移民人數均不高。

4. 中國大陸觀光及入境旅客狀況：大陸經濟改善，出國觀光人數，近年來急速增加，2016年出國觀光人次為1.27億，為世界第一，今年人數更高。入境大陸之旅客，2016年為1.43億。

（三）政府清廉度：一般常用的是Transparent International發佈的CPI，其值越高，代表政府清廉度越高。以2016為例，在全世界176個國家中，大陸CPI值為40，排名為79，屬中等。依據Transparent International估計，於2020年大陸之排名將惡化至90名。

（四）民意趨向：

長期於世界各國進行民調的PEW，對大陸做了以下幾項調查：

1. 對政府掌握經濟情勢之信心：自2007至2016，其信心度在82%與90%之間，顯示民眾對政府經濟措施的信心甚高，並高於一般國家。

2. 對政府施政之滿意度：自2005至2016大陸民眾對政府施政之滿意度在88%於97%之間，亦遠高於一般國家民調結果。

Pew民調的品質如何？不免有人存疑。但Pew長期對中國大陸進行民調，其結果自有一定之可信度。此外其他機構如「World Public

American First and New World Stacking Order

Since the United States established her independence from the British Empire, it took over one hundred years to get her onto the world stage as a world power. The American foreign policy like that of every other nation has always placed her own interest first, i.e. American First. Even her first major foreign policy doctrine, the Monroe doctrine, was designed to be American First. Since clearly it was to the U.S. interest to stop the various imperial powers to expand their influence especially occupation into the North and South American Continents. As a nation, the U.S. has applied the American First principle very well through the WW I and WW II eventually achieving the number one superpower status. Since the end of WW II, the U.S. has become the strongest nation in the world unchallenged.

Today, the U.S. is still the strongest nation; however, she does face a number of serious challenges in maintaining her world number one status, especially regarding her ability to control the stacking order of the world powers. The fact that President Trump got elected based on the campaign slogan, America First, is simply a reflection of the situation that the current American domestic issues and international relations have shaken the U.S. ability to control the stacking order of the world, even possibly losing her number one status. Therefore, it is necessary to retune the American First principle to revitalize America through reconstruction of the U.S. infrastructure, recharge her national productivity and redraft the US international trade agreements. President Trump's campaign victory is basically a confirmation of the need of retuning the American First principle.

In the past 70 years post WW II, the U.S. was able to conduct her foreign policies not only in maintaining her superpower status but also in controlling the world stacking order, especially determining which nation be a distant second, a third, etc. The U.S. rightly recognized the threat of the Soviet style communism, expansionistic in nature, right after WW II; hence anti-communism has been adopted as the principal pillar of the American First principle. During the post WW II recovery period, the U.S. was suppressing the Soviet Union and reconstructing the UK, Japan, Germany and France with an obvious goal to prevent the Soviet from challenging the U.S. and to arrange a distant second, third, fourth and fifth world power. It made all the sense to offer a

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

Marshall plan in Europe and to conduct a rebuilding Japan blue print for such a goal. In order to contain the Soviet Union, a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established.

Asia was so devastated by the Japanese aggression throughout WW II. Controlling Japan was essential for controlling Asia since China and India were very weak. Even though Japan was bombed by atomic bombs, Japan was still a far more developed nation which had looted all sorts of resources from other Asian nations prior to and during WW II. It was expected that Japan could recover fast in Asia. Indeed, her economy had risen to be number two in the world next to the U.S. in the 1980's. Will Japan ever threaten the U.S. was never out of the question in the minds of world statesmen, however, Japan had played a loyal second role honoring the American First principle especially after her economy experienced an asset bubble collapse (1986-1991) bringing her economy down to stagnation even to this date.

The post WW II anti-Soviet policy evolved into a Cold War lasted four decades or more. Eventually, the dual strategy of economic sanction and arms race between the US led NATO and Soviet led WARSAW resulted in the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. The U.S. economy started its boom from 1991, after the first Gulf War (1990-1991, oil price crisis), a high inflation spike (1988-89) and recession (1989-1991). The boom lasted for ten years, initially a jobless recovery then an investment in dot.com propelling the stock market boom until the dot.com collapsed in 2000 resulting in a recession (2001). The 9-11 terrorists attack on the New York World Trade Center occurred in 2001 and subsequently Second Gulf War (Iraq war) took place from 2003 to 2011 with the global financial crisis happened in 2008 which resulted in a slow recovery for the U.S., not yet fully recovered today.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, while Japan was in a stagnant state, her 'lost decades', and the U.S. was mounting huge national debt, dealing with war expense, explosive financial crisis and slow recovery, China maintained a high economic growth ranging from a double digit to an enviable 6-7% over nearly three decades. One cannot say that China's

economic performance has escaped the notice of the U.S. or Japan, rather it has been put in the back burner so to speak while dealing with their own issues, centered around decreasing national productivity related to an aging population for Japan and national debt issue caused by the Middle East War for the U.S. The Chinese government has gradually embraced the Western capitalism since the 1980's and her economic growth indeed has generated wealth for the nation but it also has brought the typical problems of wealth gap and inequitable distribution as well as asset bubble and inflation.

Since 2011, the U.S. has advocated a 'Pivot to Asia', later renamed 'Rebalancing in Asia', presumably a policy based on American First and a goal to maintain the number one position of the U.S. and to retain control of stacking order of the world. However, the risings of China, India and even smaller nations in Asia such as Malaysia and Vietnam have changed the scenario. Controlling Japan and keeping her as a dependable number two is becoming somewhat an outdated idea. In fact, Japan's right-wing faction currently in power is eagerly trying to revive Japan's pre-War glory, thus the US-Japan relation even bonded by a mutual defense treaty will likely not to support a permanent US first and China distant second status quo. On the other hand, China, with her own China First principle (Chinese Dream), was concerned with the threatening neighbors such as Japan. China would not accept a stacking order prescribed by the U.S. In fact, the more the U.S. is pursuing the legacy approach of maintaining world stacking order, the more likely China will challenge such an order. When the U.S. is courting India and Australia as a part of the legacy strategy to suppress China, it only provokes China's distrust of the U.S. and her intentions.

Both the U.S. and China do understand that a stable world order is in the interest of global peace and prosperity. The goal of American First, to maintain the U.S. at the number one position and keep a manageable world order is actually achievable, if the U.S. would respect China as the number two power in the world not treat it as an enemy. The G2 relationship touted before makes a lot of sense. China is a big country with 1.4 billion people but with only 800 million people lifted from poverty line. China has a long way to bring her people to middle class. On the other hand, the U.S. is a big nation having the richest resources in the world and possessing the most advanced technology and military power. China is following the U.S. footsteps to transform from a manufacturing based economy to a consumption based economy whereas the U.S. is rejuvenating her manufacturing to lessen her dependence on foreign imports. Wouldn't you think that the U.S. and China can maintain a stable G2 relationship allowing America First and China First to coexist so that a peaceful and prosperous world would be maintained?