# 中國還是發展中國家嗎？

◎水秉和

我站在蘇州火車站高鐵的月臺上，等車前往杭州。遠處隱約傳來火車賓士的聲音，可是很快聲音就變成了雷鳴。瞬間，它不停蘇州站，因為瞬息之間它就從中間的軌道疾馳而過，卷起一陣狂風，裹住了我的身體，令我震驚，好像發生了大事一般。但是，陣風很快就平息了。驚詫之餘，我不禁自問：這，中國，你還是發展中國家嗎？

四萬多公里的鐵道，復興號以350公里，和諧號以300公里，動車以250公里的時速，在上面飛馳，日夜不息。全世界只此一家，別無分號。這哪是一個發展中國家能夠做到的呢？

五十個城市擁有地鐵，根據我在其中5個城市的體驗，除了北京2號地鐵沒有做到，可能還道的早，其他的所有地鐵站都有升降梯，電梯，和非常乾淨的洗手間。環顧世界，試問，有幾個發達國家做到了？更不要提發展中國家了。

每次乘坐地鐵，看到少說也有一半的乘客，很可能高達80%的乘客，都在看手機。所有地鐵都有互聯網覆蓋，所以大家看得津津有味，不必擔心斷網。

公路和橋樑，加上飛機場，都修的比美世界標準，或者為世界樹立了新標準。簡言之，中國，以其基礎設施建設而言，無可爭辯，絕對不是發展中國家，並且還超越了大多數發達國家。

不過，中國很謙虛，仍然堅持自己是發展中國家。官方立場是，以人均GDP計算，2023年中國還不到13,000美元，低於當前被認為是發達國家的最低標準：2萬美元。

考慮到中國在非常多的領域，如探月，太空船，北斗衛星，5G覆蓋率，製造飛機大炮，艦艇和無人機等等，都進入世界前沿，我們可以問：對於像中國這樣的國家，發達國家，發展中國家，這樣的分類還有意義嗎？

重點就在這裡了。西方國家發展在先，所以，根據它們自己的經驗為世界上無數新生事物進行了分類，下定義，然後據此搭起了無數的理論框架。後來者向他們學習，很自然地就接受了這些分類，定義和理論架構。這些分類和定義裡面隱藏著許多價值觀，連當初制定者都不自覺，更何況後來的追隨者呢？例如：什麼是發達？多麼含混籠統的字眼！工業發達是發達，民主自由是不是也是發達呢？富達是不是若要工業化就必須民主化呢？

坦白說，即便中國的人均GDP超越最低門檻的韓國，它會被大多數發達國家接受為發達國家嗎？恐怕未必。那時，隱含在發達兩字裡面的其他意義可能就要浮出水面了，如普選，言論自由，人權標準等。發達國家會指稱，中國非我族類！

另一方面，中國可能會繼續拒絕承認它是發達國家。中國的外交政策就是要作發展中國家的代言人，一旦被視為發達國家，中國站到發展中國家的對立面了，那就會使中國變得相當尷尬和被動。例如：在發展中國家中推動一代一路就會遭遇到較大的阻力。

也就是說，對中國而言，討論發達國家和發展中國家的差別已經失去了意義，緊咬著這種西方世界制定的數字框架不但沒有意義，並且使我們慢慢總是低別人一等，因此也就跳不出西方的文化和學術框架。這不是說西方知識界著意用他們的框架來忽悠我們，而是說他們有他們的局限性，而我們有責任為

了我們自身的利益去突破他們的局限性。這並不容易，但是，這是為了擺脫西方文化霸權，是在精神上和思想上追求獨立自主所必須做的事。

這裡說的只是個人感受。我的看法是，幾千年來，中國的政治體制是家國一體，以家的結構作為國家的模型，是一個超大型的家庭結構。大家長只能有一位，不論稱他為皇上，總統，或者總書記，他的話就是家規。毛澤東的家規極其複雜，總結起來就是階級鬥爭，把追求平等當作最終目的。他的細節，一位馬克思主義者。接下來，小平同志經過長時期思考和根據他的行政經驗，認為發展經濟是第一要務，而腳踏實地，走自己的道路，認真改善人民生活才是共產黨的使命，所以提出了改革開放的中心思想。

作為一個大家庭的家長，每一位元領導人都需要立家規，並且要寫進黨章，江澤民有"三個代表"，胡錦濤有"科學發展"。到了習近平，他的志向遠大，所以，大陸的每個書店裡都有他大量地署名的著作。他一上臺就對黨制定了八項規定，非常徹底地改變了共產黨在江，胡時期逐漸養成的貪腐惡習，為他的反腐運動奠定了基礎。他提出"不忘初心，牢記使命"的告誡，標示了中共建黨之初的目標，那就是中華民族的偉大復興。大陸隨處都能看到了他制定的家規，稱之為社會主義的價值觀，一共24個字："富強，民主，文明，和諧，自由，平等，公正，法治，愛國，敬業，誠信，友善"。如果用西方社會學的理論來評斷，這一系列的美好價值互相間充滿著矛盾，缺乏

## 論中美 US-CHINA FORUM

理論支撐。可是，從中國大家庭的家長制定家規的傳統來看，這就是習氏家訓。

數千年來，中國是以一個獨特的文化實體存在，被一些中外學者稱之為"文明國家"。中國和一些亞洲和阿拉伯國家，例如日本，泰國，伊朗等，不是有了憲法，組成了政府，才成為國家。文明國家是一個現代國家的概念還不存在的時候就已經存在的政治實體。目前，到底有多少國家可以被稱為文明國家，可能還不甚清楚，可是中國肯定是其中最具代表性的一個。它的存在不局限於憲法條文，其實憲法對它不那麼重要，它可以隨時修改，也不限於地域差別，因為它的面積特大時小。它是被一種文化認同托住的政治實體。中國非常獨特的地方是，它是一個以家庭模式組建，以儒家思想為本的實體。

說中國共產黨建立的人民共和國其實是傳統的大家庭制，說它根子裡越來越承繼了中國的傳統文化，絕大多數的人，不論是擁中的還是仇中的，可能都很不喜歡。但是，筆者相信，我們必須用自己的分類，定義和理論框架來認識自己，不要再人云亦云地去吹捧發達國家和西方的優越性。因為，從一個旁觀者的視角，"發達"已經變味了。LGBTQ，發達國家的人民，經過幾個世紀的放飛自我，崇尚自由，已經開始選擇自己的性別了！發達，是不是已經走進了一個死胡同？

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# 淺談國家認同

◎呂學同

國家認同對於生長在一個長期統一的國家國民，譬如美英曰的大多數國民來說，應該不是問題。國家認同對於長期生活在被分割的殖民統治地區，譬如台灣香港的百姓來說，卻存在或大或小的問題，因為殖民統治本身的屬性會培養給台灣香港的百姓百姓，必定存在若干奴隸對奴隸主的效忠，殖民統治也產生一批既得利益者，嚴重顛覆了這些人的國家認同感。

東西德分治45年，東西柏林高築圍牆。但是德國自150年前成立現代國家之後，長期統一，東西德分治是二戰戰敗被迫形成的。兩德民眾的德國意識依然存在。所以1990年，西德做出姿態，兩德統一水到渠成，東德的默克爾擔任總理多年。

朝鮮自從被滿清割讓日本以後不曾統一獨立，如今北朝鮮和南韓分離分治70多年，不知何時統一。原來的朝鮮百姓同文同種，經過類似台灣的50年日本殖民統治，本來薄弱的國家認同感在有意無意中因為長期分離產生了差異分裂，統一也不知誰統一誰，統一遙遙無期。

越南也類似朝鮮，存在中國藩屬國的長期歷史。被滿清割讓法國殖民統治直到二戰結束。元帥統領的越南軍隊在抗法援越顧問團幫助下於1954年在奠邊府擊敗法軍。但在南北分裂，美國支持南方接管南越，成立傀儡政府打越戰，直到1974年西貢陷落，美國在越南製造了數不清的悲劇，但是也製造了一群類似中國國民黨的親美反共勢力和既得利益者，留在南越的親美派的國家認同和越戰受害者的國家認同不盡相同。認同感不同雖不至於國家分裂，但是認同感的搖擺造成國家性格是親美還是親中外交政策的搖擺不定。中越不同心還因為越南企圖霸佔老撾東埔寨，強估南海島嶼與美國石油公司開挖油氣。

香港在割讓到回歸所經歷的99年比台灣的50年要長久得多，但是香港和大陸唇海相望，如今珠澳大橋通車，羅湖與深圳的陸上交通從未真正間斷。

美英自背後慫恿造成的港獨鬧事暴亂，在駐港解放軍未出動前已經因為《反分裂國家法》一紙令下，煙消雲散。鬧事份子不是鼠竄流落英美就是就地坐牢。有一位到台灣被唾漆！

香港的大多數居民其實具有對大陸祖國的認同感，深懷愛國心。

台灣省和大陸泅水可及的地方是金門，但是金門是福建省的一個離島，金廈即將建橋通車。台灣和大陸卻隔著不近不遠的百浬海峽。

1945年台灣光復兩岸相通一時，但是因為內戰又使兩岸隔絕40年，1987兩岸三通才達到兩岸之間的藕斷絲連。

搞台獨的民進黨上臺，幾乎又堵死兩岸交流。一度呼喊兩岸一家親的柯P現在被教實台獨工作者拘捕在案，下場可悲。

民進黨接續國民黨搞抗中保台，汙衊中國共產黨的統治，惡搞去中國化。

台灣人的國家認同感，或者說越來越多人說自己是台灣人不是中國人，充分展示了八十年來的恐共反中教育對三代人思想洗腦的惡果。台灣的思想教育只是形成台灣人國家認同意識的因素之一，外來的日美西方資本反共思想更是起到滋長作用的重要因素。

兩岸交流對溝通感情的作用其實有正有反，十年前的大陸景觀和人文建設遠不如今，對台灣人不具吸引力。十年前甚至今日到大陸通過有色眼鏡走馬看花觀黑暗大陸的台灣客，會說大陸不如台灣，但相對大陸高鐵4萬公里，台灣也有350公里高鐵，相對於跨海的杭州灣大橋、港珠澳大橋、深中大橋、跨長江的南京大橋、武漢大橋，還有許多高跨度大橋，一二三線的高樓大廈。台灣也有跨濁水溪的西螺大橋及101高樓。大陸建設不算什麼，沒有夜市沒有台積電。

非旅遊項目有大陸嫦娥登月，核彈能夠無阻飛降美國，擁有三航母艦隊，中國也能造艦造機造出停靠船塢的潛艇和誤打台灣漁船的雄三飛彈。台灣花費鉅資窮兵黷武，也不能像以色列稱霸一方，只想作為美國圍堵中國的島鏈一環，步島克蘭後塵，何苦來哉？

十年前的大陸旅台團隊為了節省開支，住便宜商務旅館、包租便宜旅遊車（以致發生司機橫車殺死陸客恐怖事件）。雖然陸客的個人購買力、消費力超強，還是被惡質汙衊為吃不起菜葉蛋的窮光蛋。確實當時的大陸團客大多數是首度出境旅遊的中下層鄉巴佬，因為台灣相對又近又便宜語言相通，是首選旅遊地，穿著言行不講究。在美國電視上看見的早年台灣旅遊觀光團，也不很光鮮體面。

這些旅行團造成的印象，就像當初台灣光復時來台的大陸阿兵哥穿著刺瑙，家家戶戶人人稱為襤褸兵，不能與穿著整齊的日本兵相比所造成的壞印象影響一模一樣。

可以預期解放軍來台，必定軍容齊整，軍威震懾人心。

大陸政府短期內不可批准廉價的旅遊團隊來台造成大陸落後的錯誤印象，形成不利於兩岸融合的離心力。

形成正面國家認同感的是向心力。民進黨賴清德只會造成國家分裂彼此兄弟分而治之的惡果。難道這是台灣人真心想要的嗎？

中國歷史有分久必合 合久必分的傳統，大陸台灣分治已久，目前已到統一團圓的時刻。不管武統也好和統也好，終將統一。

我相信中國政府寄希望於台灣人民，不是空想，而是基於對華夏民族共同深具的國家認同，共同的國家認同終將發揮偉大的正面力量，避免國家長期分裂或外強挑撥離間，使台灣落得像烏克蘭成為美西方操弄的犧牲品。

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# Can Trump Accomplish MAGA? Yes, with an MTG view

## Mainstream Media and Organic Views
### Dr. Wordman

Trump won the 47th U.S. Presidency with flying colors. He won the national popular vote by 2.5 million or more, electoral vote 312 to 220, Senate 49R to 47D (4 Independents), House 220R to 212D (3 Vacancies), and governorship 27R to 23D. No matter how you look at it, Trump came back better in 2024 than in 2016 and 2020. Trump created the slogan, "Make America Great Again (MAGA)" and the MAGA movement spoke out in 2024 and gave him a mandate. Although MAGA may sound the same to everyone, it means different objectives with specific goals to everyone. For example, for those believing that the U.S. unemployment issue is due to (1) jobs stolen by China, (2) the U.S. education system produced unwanted skills, or (3) illegal immigrants flooded into the U.S. The specific goals may be (a) applying tariffs and technology sanctions and restricting investment to China, (b) overhauling education, including demolishing DOE, or (c) building border walls and deporting all illegal immigrants. Therefore, Trump has a tough job to satisfy MAGA's many competing and often conflicting goals. So, one may question, can Trump accomplish MAGA? In the following, the author shall attempt to answer this question.

Trump has observed many problems challenging the U.S., both domestic and foreign, such as dragging down the U.S. economy and tarnishing its reputation and influence on the world stage. Trump has been successful in his campaigns using the slogan MAGA to create resonance among Americans from 2016 to 2024 despite Trump's mannerisms pissing off some people and his narrow defeat in the 2020 election. Now that Trump is back with a MAGA mandate, he must establish clear presidential goals to show results in his first two years so that his next two years will not be a lame-duck president but can extend some influence for the 48th U.S. President. His presidential policies should be upheld for more than a couple of decades. The U.S. political system gives the president great power but is limited to two four-year terms. So, Trump must establish his presidential goals (MAGA Goals) and efficiently accomplish them to the point that his successors can carry them on.

Trump must define his MAGA goals to avoid a confused and divergent MAGA movement. Competing and contradicting goals are difficult to accomplish within his term. First, Trump must take a realist approach to define his MAGA goals. Trump must accept the world as it is today, a world fast developing and desiring a multi-polar world. China has risen rapidly under its "Make China Great Again (MCGA)" to become the world's second-largest economy, the world's manufacturer, and the number one trading partner with 135 nations. In this situation, Trump should recognize China's MCGA accomplishment and engage her in his MAGA goals. China has risen peacefully in the world with rules and order defined by the

U.S. China poses no security threat to the U.S. other than being a fast-growing economy due to its large but hard-working population and authoritarian but effective political system. China's policies of placing lifting poverty as a top priority not only benefit China but also help any country willing to collaborate with her. China's rapid economic growth and ever-expanding international relations are observable in the UN, G20, BRICS SCO, APEC, and RCEP international organizations and platforms. Biden's 'Alliance Strategy' essentially failed since it forced her allies to give up beneficial trading relationships with China to adopt the U.S. anti-China policy.

Trump entered the White House as a dark horse, he was not a part of the establishment, such as the military-industrial complex or the deep state. However, the establishment has a legacy hegemony strategy of maintaining U.S. supremacy by preventing any nation from challenging its number one position in the world. There is nothing wrong with this strategy except the tactics employed have made the U.S. rely on its military might to (1) export military arms for huge profit in the name of offering defense and security, (2) set rules for maintaining global trade and world order, and (3) force the world to use the U.S. dollar as the currency for trade settlement. This practice allowed the U.S. to rip a profit from every transaction involving currency exchanges. However, the above practice has transformed the U.S. economy to favor financial services more than industrial manufacturing. This allowed China to get into industrial manufacturing, initially taking advantage of its vast and low-cost labor force and gradually moving to higher technology productions. In the MAGA movement, the stories of blaming China or illegal immigrants for U.S. job loss are groundless. China did what every industrial nation (including the U.S.) did (import technology and build its industries). Illegal immigrants came because there was a sharp shortage of manpower for low-level labor work.

Trump must realistically define his achievable MAGA, first to tone down the rhetoric about deporting all the illegal immigrants. The estimated number of illegal immigrants is about ten million. The bulk of them are working on low-wage labor jobs which Americans don't want to take. Employers hire illegal immigrants simply because of cost considerations. Deporting all illegal immigrants is not only a costly government job, but it may create a serious social problem: creating labor shortage, tearing families apart, and facing diplomatic issues of finding countries to accept them. Similarly, Trump needs to tone down the rhetoric against China about trade tariffs and technology sanctions. Tariffs may be effective in dealing with

small trading countries, but it is essentially a failure when applied to China. During Biden's Administration, tariffs were added, but the trade volume and surplus both went up in China's favor. Adding heavy tariffs is equivalent to adding high taxes to American consumers, it may or may not reduce China's exports to the U.S., but it sure will cost American consumers more to get what they need. The U.S. cannot engage in a trade war against China alone, coercing allies to join forces has also been proven ineffective. China, having good trade relations with over one hundred nations and holding over $3.25 trillion in foreign exchange reserves, is far more secure than the U.S. in a trade war.

Trump's strategy should be based on a set of achievable MAGA goals, including pumping up the U.S. economy, modernizing U.S. infrastructure, reforming the U.S. government for efficiency, and raising U.S. prestige and influence in the world arena. For these goals, China could be a useful partner rather than an adversary. Trump inherited the U.S. legacy China policy, but he could reset his China policy with MAGA in mind. By collaborating with China and improving trade relations, the U.S. economy would be benefited. China could be a valuable partner for U.S. infrastructure projects. (China is leading in high-speed rail/trains, port construction and automation, communication, and electricity transmission) Collaborating with China could allow the U.S. to play a significant role in many international platforms China initiated. (The recent G20 and APEC meetings held in Beirut and Brazil were clear examples of China's increase in influence in South America while the U.S. is missing in action.) Even in pumping government efficiency, China's experience in 'Making China Great Again (MCGA)' could be used as a cheerleader if not a role model, barring the ideologic nonsense.

Trump's election victory gave him a national MAGA mandate. He wisely selected his key cabinet members, many having hawkish views towards China, although no rational basis, anti-China was a theme in the MAGA movement, generating a patriotic spirit. I venture to suggest that Trump wants to have loyal staff to accomplish his MAGA goals, not people to influence his mind. Trump should have understood that campaign slogans do not equate one hundred percent to the goals he set to achieve to deliver to his people. The Trump administration is in a good position to continue the 'white face and red face (or dark face)' strategy practiced in U.S. diplomacy. The administration staff plays the white face (being tough, hawkish, and mean), and the president plays the red face (nice, reasonable, and achiever) to conclude deals. For example, Marco Rubio is a white face with a vicious anti-China background, but in the end, it is Trump who will conclude deals with China. Trump should get the credit for turning China into a useful partner in helping him accomplish his MAGA goals. Rubio will be loyal to Trump, serving obediently. Trump had a more hawkish team in his 45th U.S. Presidency, but he fired those who disagreed with him. I venture to say that in Trump's 47th U.S. Presidency, he will build his MAGA team to accomplish his MAGA goals, which will make Trump great (MTG).