

西方民主模式陷入危機

由於美國國會民主黨議員拒絕同意川普的 57 億美元修築美墨邊境圍牆的預算，部分聯邦政府機構關門五周之後終於朝野同意撥臨時款，休兵三周希望達成協議，但已經創造了聯邦政府關門的最長紀錄，再一次反映了美國內部的政治分裂。同時 1 月 15 日英國下議院以 432 票反對，202 票支持的差距否決了首相 Theresa May 的脫歐協定，創造了英國百年來首相政策遭到拒絕的最高紀錄。加上德國、法國最近也政局不穩，不禁讓世人驚醒而檢視西方民主模式是否出了大問題？而這又將對兩岸華人有什麼啟示？

時代週刊的創辦人，亨利魯斯，在二戰正酣時預言 20 世紀將被稱為「美國的世紀」。戰後美國為首的西方國家與蘇聯為首的共產國家展開了意識形態的對立，美國世紀變成了「自由民主政治價值的世紀」。隨著 1991 蘇聯共產集團的瓦解，西方的民主自由變成了普世價值。1992 年當時還是新保守主義學者的 Francis Fukuyama 發表了《歷史的終結及最後之人》一書，認為西方國家實行的自由民主制度將是「人類意識形態發展的終點」和「人類最後一種統治形式」，並因此構成了「歷史的終結」。

這種華麗意識型式的包裝主要是為了替控制美國的金融利益集團的全球化掠奪鋪路。然而，最大的傲慢就會帶來最壞的災難，美國的擴張政策造成世界各地的動亂，本身

也陷入泥沼，更在西方各國，包括美國境內造成經濟停滯，收入兩極化，加速庶民的反精英階級運動，導致政治動蕩。

2018 年 6 月美國外交事務雜誌刊登 Yascha Mounk and Roberto Stefan Foa 的「民主世紀的終結」一文，該文成爲此雜誌的年度最佳文章。這篇文章指出經濟繁榮和合理分配是西方模式以往吸引世界各地人民的重要原因，經濟的富庶又支撐了強大的武力，而這些實力的綜合運用遏制了其他競爭模式的競爭力。然而，近卅年錯誤的政策造成經濟成長的減慢，分配的不均，而「非自由民主國家」的總生產力卻迅速上升，從 1990 年代的不到全球 12% 到今天的 33%，預計 5 年後將超過西方「自由民主國家」的總和。非西方模式的吸引力將在世界各地得到更多的認同，預示著西方的自由民主世紀的終結。

美國聯邦政府的局部關門清晰的說明美式民主所面臨的困境。2019 年美國聯邦政府的總預算是 4.4 萬億，除去社安、健保等強迫性的支出 2.74 萬億，和債務利息外可支配的總預算是 1.2 萬多億。為了區區 57 億的造牆費用，不僅直接衝擊 80 萬聯邦雇員（1/4 聯邦平民雇員）的生活，而且將帶給全體美國百姓從安全、旅行到貧困百姓救濟等等的諸多問題，如果不能迅速妥

協將重大傷害美國的經濟成長。政治人物因爲黨爭和意識形態不顧全民的根本利益如何能帶領國家前進？

美式民主在運行了超過 200 年後，既得利益階層已經形成了一個牢固的關係網，造成行政部門效率低落，不論是救災、減貧、修法、公共工程等等領域。國會效率更低，無論是制定法律或批准總統提名的官員，連全國人民多年關注的如何抑制國債飆升的問題都找不出任何對策。選出的議員和官員往往選前說一套選後做一套，而且選舉被金權操縱，當選的人往往不能治國，整個制度失去選賢與能的功效。偶而碰到想大刀闊斧革新的人又受到長期磐據在政府部門內的隱形政府牽制難以做爲。百姓普遍感到如今的民主制度空有形式已經失去民主的真正本意。

政府的存在是為了促進人民的利益，民主是手段不是目的，西方民主制度更只是許多手段之一。歷史告訴我們沒有永恆的制度，這就是任何朝代、任何霸權都逃不過生、長、壯、老、死的自然規律。

戊戌政變之後，中國開始全盤西化，教育的主旋律完全受西方思潮的影響，中國得到新生，但也失去了自我認同，因此可以理解許多華人迷信西方民主自由價值，並以此排拒大陸的許多成就。在世界格局面臨重大變革的今天，也許是拿下有色眼鏡睜開眼睛看世界發展的時候了！

中國製造對美國製造 (反制美國不實論述)

近些年來隨著美國對中國迅速上升的國力感到恐懼，美國官方、媒體、甚至學界都發出一些不實的指控，本文對常見的指控提供回應。

1. The Chinese steal millions of our Jobs (True?):

是美國跨國企業，為追求更多利潤，遷廠到中國及墨西哥，是他們背棄美國勞工，不是中國人偷了美國人工作。

2. The Chinese steal our technology (True?):

如果有，請提出有被起訴的例證，反之，幾十年來，來自中國、韓國、台灣、印度等國家，最優秀的人才到美國來留學，投入美國科技，工程的發展，此千百萬的留學生和美國青年們，共同努力，建造了美國領先，和美國偉大，這些留學生，沒有偷美國科技，而對美國經濟及發展，作出重大貢獻，是否應給予掌聲？

3. China forced technology transfer (True?)

市場換取技術，這是很普通的商業行爲，沒有逼迫，對雙方都有利，美國公司在獲取利潤後，再投資研發，發展下一代的科技。如美方不認同此一作法，不同意就好了，沒強迫，很單純的事。

4. Huge trade deficit (Whom to blame?)

a. 物美、價廉的中國製造貨品，提供美國中產階級及低所得階級優質生活，這點是正面的。
b. 美國對外貿易逆差，早在中國

工業興起前就有，問題不在中國，而在美國本身。

c. 美國國家不斷舉債，及國民不斷舉債，可能是大量貿易逆差的原因。
d. 對中國的貿易，如將服務貿易，及美商在華投資的利益計入，實際逆差不大。

e. 再說，美國是全球唯一可印鈔向國際發行的國家，繼續印鈔，平衡收支，其實是不錯的策略。
5. Government subsidy, 環保及勞動條件：

美方指中國大陸補貼出口廠商，多年前可能有，現今已少有，但反之美方對赴美投資的廠商給予優惠地價，稅捐減免等。在環保方面，中國對未達標的廠商，予以停工，停產處分，時有所聞，大陸各地農民工紛紛返鄉發展，各地都缺工，勞動條件，焉能不好？

6. 真正使大陸製造能降低成本的在於

f. 優良的基礎建設，如港口、機場、通訊、及綿密的鉄、公路網，充分的水、電供應。

g. 完整，及集中的產業供應鏈。

h. 勤奮，努力工作的勞動者。

i. 進一步的智慧型無人工廠，能 24 小時不停運作，更會進一步降低中國製造的成本，BRI 擴大了中國國際市場空間，大大擴大需求及產能，再進一步降低成本，未來對中國的競爭者，美國最好及早做好心

理調適，打壓不能取回優勢，妥協才能取得生存空間。

7. 穩定的政府政策，及安定的社會秩序：

能促使企業能長期投入研發及願意培植未來人才，幾十年來，中國做到了，但近年美國是否持續穩定的重要政策及對外關係？這點美國要再思考。

以上說明為何中國製造，能更具競爭力，美國在貿易談判時，在指別人前，應該先自我檢視一下，培養自我競爭力，其實不是很難，只要少打仗，少干預別國的事，搞好各項建設，美國再度偉大，是可預期的。

快的小心！慢的倒楣！

在台灣服過兵役的朋友，這句話是耳熟能詳吧？當年服役的時候正是郝柏村當陸軍總司令，他規定了包括各級幹部到士兵，每天早上都得跑 5000 公尺。當時做教育班長的我也必須扮著晚娘的面孔喊著慣用語「快的小心！慢的倒楣！」「快的小心」是為了安全考量而有的善意提醒，也同時可保持隊伍的整齊一致！「慢的倒楣」可是一種警告！意思就是想打混的可就要倒大楣了！

這些年時常心想著這簡單的話還挺有哲理的，無論是在齊家治國平天下都有異曲同工可引用之處。跑得太快！他可要注意路上的障礙和正確方向，不小心踢到了石頭還要冒著「壯志未酬身先死」的危險。跑得太慢或是摸魚的就等的中午去清理廁所吧！

來看看現在台灣局勢走向已是很明朗了！民進黨政府不但拒絕了善

論中

壇美

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刊頭設計 劉學武
每星期六出刊
第 286 期

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

介紹新民叢報空中講座

在世界局勢風起雲湧、中華復興面臨百餘年來最好的機遇時，中美論壇社很高興接受黃光國教授和何步正兄的邀請參加了新民叢報空中講座。

《新民叢報》由黃光國教授領軍的文化中國論壇社發起，中美論壇社與新大學網站協辦，欲承梁啟超先生維新精神，從「文化中國」的角度探討教育、文化、政治、社會與經濟等各類議題，希冀在不同角度的討論中，探索「視域融合」的可能性，構築出最能集思廣益，探討文化中國各類議題的平臺。這裡彙聚海峽兩岸關注文化中國議題的知識份子，大家的知識背景與成長脈絡不見得相同，卻對我們華夏未來前景有著相同的熱望。歡迎認同文化中國理念的同仁關注公眾號，加入我們的微信群，並惠賜相關議題的稿件，我們會擇優發佈。來稿請寄：huaology@126.com

講座於 2018 年 12 月中正式開播以來，已經有超過 30 個視頻上傳，中美論壇社的理事們貢獻了每集 15 分鐘左右的 14 集：

1. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (一) 美國的危機：貧富兩極化和國債危機
2. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (二) 貿易赤字，自由主義經濟和美元國際化
3. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (三) Glass-Steagall 法案的廢除和權責資本主義
4. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (四) 2016 年美國人民的覺醒和川

普的承諾

5. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (五) 新保守主義者綁架了川普的對外政策
6. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (六) 美國獨霸政策造成世界性的災難
7. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (七) 不忘初心中美才能共創未來
8. 美國華人看臺灣九合一選舉 (上) 回應庶民帶來希望
9. 美國華人看臺灣九合一選舉 (下) 促成兩岸人民心靈交流
10. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (八) 加拿大執法過當拘留孟晚舟事件
11. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (九) 華為如何威脅了美國？
12. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十) 孟晚舟事件的可能發展
13. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十一) 美式民主的起源與特點
14. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十二) 從私人擁槍權談沒有永恆的制度

已經錄好像準備循序播出的 有下列各集：

15. 中美論壇談兩岸 (1) 韓流濤濤沖出大道
16. 中美論壇談兩岸 (2) 蔡英文不可扭曲「九二共識」
17. 中美論壇談兩岸 (3) 臺灣人民須正面回應談話的善意
18. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十三) 美式民主的衰亡？
19. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十四) 美式民主的普世價值？
20. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十五) 大陸改革開放的見証
21. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十六) 美中建交的見証者談上海公報
22. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十七) 美中建交的七年歷程
23. 從歷史和現實角度看中美問題 (十八) 尊重一中是美中建交的基石

有三個方法可以觀看這些錄影：1. 透過 YouTube，打 m.youtube.com，搜索「新民叢報空中講座」，進入後選擇你要看的視頻。2. 大陸地區讀者可以透過微信，WeChat 搜索「新民叢報」，進入網站後，可以點擊想看的題目，就可看到簡體文字稿，文字稿的盡頭可依指示點擊進入優酷的相關視頻。3. 打入 www.youku.com 搜索「中美论坛系列讲座」，進入後選擇想看的視頻。

Analysis of Xi's New Year Speech to Taiwan and her reaction

Chinese leader has been delivering a New Year speech to the people in Taiwan ever since 1980. Xi's 40th Anniversary speech to Taiwan contains a lot of sincere words and rational statements. He emphasized China's unwavering goal of reunification across the strait and offered concrete suggestions for a peaceful reunification. Xi's speech, to every Chinese people, is a speech of compassion, moral and justice and full of Chinese national sentiments. He explained the history of Taiwan as an inseparable part of China. He warns sternly against the external interference about the cross-strait affairs. Xi thoughtfully explained the international situation, the significance of the Chinese cultural revitalization and the resolve of reunification in the hearts of Chinese. He recalled the political changes in the past 70 years and pointed out 'the 1992 Consensus' and 'seeking common ground and tolerating differences' is the only right approach. He also pointed out the mutual benefits achieved since the three links of post, commerce and travel opened across the strait. He said from now on the mainland's Taiwan policy would be more mutual help, mutual win and mutual exploration of development opportunities, offering young people chances to achieve peaceful reunification.

However, as an observer of Taiwan issues, I noticed Taiwan's political changes towards anti-China and pro-independence and the current Tsai Administration's rejection of 'the 1992 Consensus'. The world witnessed China's rise despite of the suppression attempts from the U.S., especially in her military development and industrial accomplishments. It seems that the 'Taiwan Card' which the U.S., Japan and Korea played had become uncoordinated and unsynchronized strategy probably futile but confusing. All of the above make the peaceful reunification very remote and uncertain. So, Xi's speech although contained sincere words and compassion but also delivered an ultimatum. If Taiwan would not stop the independence push, reunification by military force would become the necessary alternative to peaceful reunification.

In Xi's speech, there were five concrete points. We condense them below to facilitate our discussion on Taiwan's response to them:

Pt. 1, work together for national revitalization and to realize peaceful reunification.

Pt. 2, research 'a second political system' for Taiwan (different from that of the Mainland) and enrich the possibility of peaceful

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

reunification.

Pt. 3, insist on One China Principle and protect the future of peaceful reunification.

Pt. 4, deepen cooperation and integration across the strait and build the foundation of peaceful reunification.

Pt. 5, realize heart to heart and soul to soul reunion between people and increase acceptance of peaceful reunification.

Xi called for open-arm interaction with any party, any business and any person for peaceful reunification but did not rule out using force if pro-independence activities would persist. The above points obviously aimed at achieving a peaceful reunification. However, whether the people in Taiwan will understand and accept these points or not really depends on I. how the Taiwanese feel as they are a part of China, II. how strongly they believe that their 'West' value system and liberal democracy will be forever superior, III. how deeply they believe that the U.S., Japan and South Korea will protect Taiwan in case of a military force reunification occurring, and IV. whether the Taiwanese have a Chinese national sentiment and a growing trust in Chinese communist party's grand plan of revitalization and joint development. Unfortunately, The Taiwanese so far are fuzzy and unclear on these issues. The official response from Taiwan to Xi's speech was rapid as if they had prepared for it. Tsai Ying Wen for the first time delivered a New Year speech and she also made immediate response to Xi's speech. In 2016 during her campaign and after she won the presidential election, she made fuzzy statements regarding cross-strait issue but her actions were clear, avoiding discussion of 'the 1992 Consensus' but gearing up more anti-China and divorcing Chinese activities, following her party's (DPP) strategy of buying time and deepening 'Taiwan Independence' policy. The 2018 local elections turned out a big defeat to DPP. Tsai regrettably resigned her party chairmanship but seemingly leaning more towards the deep-green pro-independence faction. Her response to Xi's speech had revealed her political intention. For the first time, she openly denied 'the 1992 Consensus'. Although her words (four yes and four no conditions) were soft but she elected to take harder approach. Being afraid that

Taiwan's political parties, businesses and individuals would respond to Mainland China's call for dialogue and cooperation, she declared that the cross strait issue and interaction is within national government jurisdiction, any dialogue must be between governments, 'endorsed by the Taiwan people'.

In reality, the last local election in GaoXiong and other municipalities had already shown people wanting increased economic activities with Mainland and endorsing 'the 1992 Consensus'; candidates accepted that got elected. But the national government may try to stop the interaction. Tsai and DPP still believe that more Taiwanese are pro-independence; they can be relied on though a risky call. Recently, some DPP members had voiced to replace Tsai for the 2020 election, that may be DPP's plan of buying time to get another term under another Deep-Green pro-independence candidate. I think when Tsai used the words, 'endorsement by the people of Taiwan', she wasn't very sure, but nevertheless, whether or not the people in Taiwan will have the will and guts to over-throw the DPP hold is still doubtful and deserve careful studies.

The former President Ma Ying Jie of Taiwan had also responded to 'the 1992 Consensus' and Xi's speech, that is one China with two different views, to him it means the Republic of China (ROC). This has been Ma's claims all along but without the 'promoting reunification' which Hong Xiu Zhu advocated. Ma as a law student and practitioner like to interpret issues on legal grounds. The U.S. and China relation of course was with ROC, tracing back before WW II (Potsdam Declaration and San Francisco Peace Treaty, although ROC was not a signatory). But KMT party (Ma's party) can no longer represent ROC especially as an opposition party, thus in its contest with DPP, it had become a fuzzy party with no clear 'reunification' policy. In reality, the Constitution of ROC had lost its significance. Taiwan's education and textbook revision had destroyed Taiwan's history for young people. Legislature Yuan can only represent Taiwan, Penghu and King and Ma tiny islands, in no way supporting the Constitution's claim of the entire China. Under the circumstance that most Taiwanese have no strong attachment to their country name, ROC, nor its jurisdiction issue, and most of the international community do not recognize ROC, Taiwan's current political system clinging to ROC for fuzzy interpretation is a fool's game. That is why, Taiwan had been played by others, so called allies and friends, as a chess piece or an ATM card for quick cash. In Xi's speech, he said correctly, today belongs to young people, the young people across the strait must carry the burden to work for national revitalization and for reunification. But do the young people in Taiwan have that inspiration? Can the people in Taiwan correctly assess the chances and consequences of peaceful reunification versus reunification by force?

Xi's 2019 New Year speech deserves all Taiwanese and Chinese people to read and ponder carefully!