

蔡英文就職講稿的現實吊詭

即將於5月20日正式就職總統的民進黨魁蔡英文，事實上自勝選之日始，即成為華盛頓、東京、北京三方角力的交匯點。原因在於美國、日本與中國大陸之間過制與崛起的矛盾摩擦關係下，所形成的幾個有可能激化決裂升級成熱戰的危險區域中，台海/台灣正是爆炸能量最大的一個。蔡英文沒有選擇地被這個背景安置為火藥桶上的引爆器。而掌握住這一引爆器等於掌握住讓這個火藥桶爆炸或不爆炸的主動權，在現況下，華盛頓、東京、北京都必然/必須用心用力爭奪到手。

但是，觀察與理解了民進黨蔡英文2016年開年後的「全勝」，可以明確地看到之前八年國民黨馬英九政權的操作，對外是以假希望(false hope)安撫住北京，為台灣走上「下一階段」爭取寶貴時間；對內則幾乎是在為民進黨的輪替執政助選，到了不惜終結國民黨的地步。這個詭異的「台灣民主」現實，讓人們得以合理的推論，它應該是華盛頓—東京—台北三邊協作下的成果，其目的仍在為針對21世紀中國的崛起復興，打造一個「與時俱進」的可以牽制/傷害它的台灣。

美國在台灣法外無邊 希望海峽兩岸與全世界的愛國同胞，能夠警覺到，兩蔣父子在台去世後，國民黨迅速地異化淪為霸權主義帝國的工/棋手。爾後所謂的「本土化」、「民主化」發展，不過是持續與深化「去中國化」施政，以對岸的大陸中國為外國/敵國，鞏固「實質台獨」分離意識，徹底地作為服從/服務於美國霸權在西太平洋「制中」戰略的粉飾糖衣，台灣人民則是被哄騙催眠的廉價投票機器，功能是在每四年換發傀儡政權賣國的合法執照。真是台灣人的悲哀與荒謬「現狀」。

所以，民進黨蔡英文上台主政，乃是「台灣民主」政黨輪替劇本中早已定稿的章節，美國在這場遊戲中，有馬英九等人及媒體、名嘴部隊的長期通力配合，把島內藍、綠兩方耍得團團轉瘋魔入戲。但華盛頓心知肚明，北京如不買單、不肯旁觀，這齣戲就不會產生出編導所預期的效果/收益。因此，大家便看到美方向台灣大選結果一揭曉，便派出「要員」分頭訪問北京、台北。但是來台北是障眼技巧，去北京才是重點，一方面擺出重視兩岸

~毛鑄倫~

關係的中立善意姿態，唯恐發生什麼不測；另一方面，是觀察/摸底，旨在了解北京的看法及可能的反應，好預為因應。

其實，北京何嘗不知美國在台灣法外無邊，支使國、民二黨如臂使指，現在美國的對台政策步步前進，已走到兩蔣亡故後的全新階段，台灣在近25年「去中國化」改造過程中，光復後台灣人民的中國認同/意識，幾乎清除殆盡，35歲以下的人基本已經異化，其最令人駭然傷痛的是，比例不低的「日本祖國論」舊皇民思想在此族群中浮顯，藉此展現彼等對「支那」的嫌惡敵意。這個現象只能被理解成，台灣主政當局從上世紀90年代之後，無分藍、綠，其大目標同樣是以人工打造一個跟中國切割的「台灣人」之國，扮演大美霸權制衡大陸中國的第一線戰略基地，並努力恢復作為甘於當次等日本人的皇民意識，「武裝」台灣人民的「國民精神」。這樣「現狀」的台灣，跟1979年以《告台灣同胞書》為思想基礎與政策指導的北京「和統」大計，其差距之大何止萬里。這難道不是北京非要面對不可的現實？

美台聯手炒作蔡就職演講 約自3月14日起，蔡英文與其新政權核心團隊，便開始「接見」華府派來的多位重量級學官兩棲涉台灣/兩岸事務人士，台北平面/電子媒體醒目的報導中，多半朝向美方多麼重視民進黨蔡政府，卻有意無意地稀釋了美方向蔡英文施壓的一面，亦即美國必須在北京一再強調的，蔡就任時是否在「一中」與「九二共識」表態的問題，給北京做出的交代上「背書」，而有必要在520之前，密集地跟蔡「溝通」，以確定她的就職演講語句內容，不會抵觸北京的關切。美方向這個動作，一方面規範蔡與民進黨政府；另一方面也是告訴北京，它對台北可以有效管控。

但是，也因此，美國方面在5.20之前跟蔡英文喬出的演講內容，要由美國的什麼人向北京通報，以取得北京信任？以及美國所信任的蔡的就職演講內容，同樣也不得逾越華府給台灣畫下的紅線，二者是否衝突？這都會造成對蔡英文與民進黨新政權的沉重壓力，也

來自巴拿馬的地動山搖：世界性的反腐？新形勢的強權鬥爭？

今年 4月3日南德意志報，國際調查報導記者聯盟 (ICIJ) 和英國衛報共同披露了巴拿馬的法律服務公司莫薩克-馮賽卡 (Mossack Fonseca, MF) 幫助全球權力和財富精英階層客戶通過境外空殼公司洗錢，逃稅和隱藏財富的巨量資訊，引發了全球性的震動。預期在今後的一段日子，更多更強烈的地動山搖將被陸續引爆。對這全球性的普遍貪腐，大多數平民感到震驚，不少人更期待改革和有力制裁，然而也有一些人，包括普金公開質疑這是選擇性的披露，是新形勢下的國際強權間的鬥爭。本文就此不同觀點做客觀的分析，並建議中國政府利用這次機會採取更正確的反腐措施。

世界性的反腐前奏 這次洩密事件的特點是資訊數量之大，牽涉人物之多和地區之廣都是史無前例：根據最新消息約有1150萬件機密檔案洩漏，其規模之巨是2010年「維基洩密」的1500倍，牽涉到21萬4千個離岸公司和與公司有關的來自200個國家和地區的公民，包括全球上百名政要和名人。涉案人員包括名流，商人，罪犯以及政府領袖，官員或者他們的親朋，這些人來自不同的民族，不同的宗教背景，不同的政治信念，但是共同的貪念讓他們選擇同樣的道路。在全球面臨嚴重經濟危機和貧富兩極化的今天，人們普遍支持ICIJ的反腐鬥爭，希望各國政府嚴懲不法官員，更要消滅制度性的腐敗根源！

在第一波的新聞報導中，普金和俄羅斯及一些不受美國歡迎的國家如津巴布韋，敘利亞，北韓，巴基斯坦，等都是焦點，中國也不例外。在MF的全球業務中，來自中國大陸和香港的離岸公司比例占到29%。「巴拿馬文件」中有差不多三分之一是中國人名，其中包括至少八位現任和前任中國政治局常委的家人。至於台灣方面，則發現有2725家境外公司註冊的位址與台灣有關，至少有90人持有台灣護照，香港的成龍也榜上有名。西方國家中冰島總理岡勞格松已因而下臺，英國首相卡麥隆則因其亡父在巴拿馬設有境外基金避稅並獲利而面臨政治風暴。

新形勢的強權鬥爭 奇怪的是迄今美國，加拿大，日本，澳洲和紐西蘭卻尚未被捲入醜聞之中。這就使得許多人懷疑到這

會迫使民進黨更深地依靠與服從美國。北京不可能不注意與了解到美台之間的這種情況。所以，美台刻意聯手炒作的以「蔡英文就職演講」為北京對台政策調整與否的依據，其實也是個假議題。

可以相信，台灣新上任的蔡政府，是受命落實執行美國對中國再平衡/新冷戰的忠誠傭兵，這個真實

~何平~

種選擇性的公佈訊息和攻擊目標的公正性，傷害了ICIJ團隊的道德制高點。普金在聖彼得堡的媒體論壇表示，這批宣稱揭露公眾人物境外金融活動的洩密文件，用意不在於讓貪瀆腐敗行為曝光。而是西方敵對國家因俄國的團結一致而憂心忡忡，因此試圖從內部動搖俄國，想藉此讓俄國更順從西方國家。在此之前一天，俄國媒體曾引據「維基解密」指出，利用巴拿馬文件對普金發動攻擊，是由華府的「美國國際開發總署」(USAID)與美國對沖基金界富豪索羅斯出錢資助。

巴拿馬文件其實只是揭露一個大家都早已知道的事實：富人、企業靠在免稅天堂設境外公司來移轉資金與避稅，黑道、毒販、獨裁者、政客則利用境外公司洗錢、躲避監督。而且，這種稅負極低、無金融管制的避稅型離岸中心，巴拿馬只是其中之一。利用境外避稅天堂的行為，幾乎是全球企業的「時尚」，稍具規模的企業及稍有財富的富人，都有透過境外企業避稅與理財。據估計，有超過一半的世界貿易至少在帳面上，是透過避稅天堂進行。國際貨幣基金 (IMF) 曾做過估計，這些小島金融中心的資產負債表加總起來，就高達18兆美元，這比主權國家的稅收和一般百姓的稅負非常不公。

事件公開後，奧巴馬及西方領袖們普遍表示憤慨並表態要杜絕逃稅天堂，他們真的是如此天真和無知嗎？事實上這個天堂正是控制美英政治的「金融寡頭」的精心傑作。真正操作洗錢的是華爾街的錢莊票號，美其名為「private banking」也就是「合法」操作境外美元投資，高盛集團是佼佼者。第二次以埃戰爭以後，油價飆漲。石油美元應運而生 (1975年)。由於國際油價以美元結算，各國中央銀行在聯儲會均有機密賬戶；進出款項都不計入經常帳或資本帳，徹底的黑箱作業。聯儲會有一堵「隱形」長城，海外美元不准透過資本帳登陸美國；以免擾亂本國金融市場。不斷膨脹的海外美元如何消化，成為中情局的任務，「巴拿馬文件」的主角，MF因此登場。

Jurgen Mossack, MF的創始人，出生於1948年德國的巴法利亞州，其父在二戰時曾經是納粹黨衛軍的士官，戰後曾為美國做間

諜，當然不會在蔡的演講稿中體現/公告，但卻是北京要正視與因應的核心麻煩。不管美國人或蔡英文怎麼在演講稿上做文章，兩岸關係問題的複雜化與惡化趨向不會改善，那麼，期望甚至逼迫北京只看這篇演講就自縛手足，恐怕很不現實。

*轉載自本論壇合作單位台灣觀察雜誌 2016-04-04期

諜，1961年13歲的Jurgen跟著全家移居巴拿馬，其父為中情局做共產古巴的情報工作。1973年Jurgen從巴拿馬一家私立大學得到法學士，1975年在倫敦做律師，1977年回巴拿馬成立律師事務所，開始擔當起境外洗錢的工作。

前巴拿馬的統治者，軍事強人Manuel Noriega也是從1950年末開始替中情局工作，這也是他發跡的開始，但是1983年他成為巴拿馬的統治者後開始不聽話，巴拿馬的民族主義情緒高漲，也許為了適應政治情勢的改變，1986年巴拿馬籍律師和政客Ramón Fonseca加入成為合夥人，加盟公司改名為Mossack Fonseca。由於巴拿馬運河的重要性，美軍在1989年入侵巴拿馬並活捉了Noriega。

境外洗錢，逃稅管道的建立滋長了全球腐敗勢力，受害者是辛勤工作的一般百姓，也加速促成全球性的貧富兩極化，造成世界的不安。對極少數的美英統治階層而言，卻有助於他們對世界的控制，因為他們是唯一真正掌握各地當權腐敗分子命脈的人，在關鍵時候這些人怎麼能夠不聽話呢？

是什麼促成此次洩密案在此時發生？我們不能排除是一群正義之士的高貴舉動，然而也不能排除國際政治博弈的需要。大約一年以前一位匿名人士聯絡《南德意志報》，宣稱可以提供從莫薩克-馮賽卡(MF)的資料庫所取得的有關全球上百名政要和名人是如何通過在逃稅天堂隱藏財富的巨量資訊，這正是美俄為烏克蘭事件劍拔弩張的時候。今年4月3日的正式公佈也許有美國國內政治需要和國際上美俄在敘利亞和歐洲的對峙及美中在東亞的緊張對峙有關。國內政治上美國兩黨的百姓表現出對代表金融集團和既得利益精英階級的政客們的普遍不滿，全國瀰漫著「變革」的訴求。在這種情況下投出一個可以掌控的國際反腐舉動有利於轉移民眾憤怒的焦點，此外如果能製造世界性的不穩，促使資金回流美國也是件好事。

對於中國政府處理此次事件的審慎態度，可以理解，但是具體措施是需要改進的。事件開始至今中國政府為了避免造成政治動盪力圖採取愚民政策，掩蓋事實，嚴堵互聯網，把「巴拿馬文件」等相關詞語在網路上屏蔽。然而，此種大規模國際事件如何能長久封鎖。事實上習近平上任後強力反腐深得民心，應該利用這個事件，對內徹底調查將隨時準備外逃的蛀蟲敗類一網打盡，振奮人心，為中華民族的偉大復興建立堅實的民意基礎。為了避免被外部力量牽著走，更應積極與ICIJ合作，取得直接獲取原始資訊的權力，爭取主動，化解惡意攻擊。現今的做法不但不能爭取國內外支持者的向心力，而且為所有反對力量提供攻擊的口實，誠為親者痛，仇者快！

Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi's Speech at CSIS on 2-25-2016

Foreign leaders' speech at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) are significant because CSIS is a platform for foreign leaders to declare and explain important policy statements to the American people. For example, in 2013, the Japanese Prime Minister gave his speech, which was nicknamed "Japan Is Back!" (CSIS, 2-22-2013), declared Japan's intention to return Japan to a "normal country" meaning to revise Japan's Pacifist Constitution, to enhance Japan's military strength and to be ready to engage in warfare on behalf of Japan's ally as born out later. We have commented on that speech before and the reason why Abe Shinzo's militaristic policy worries leaders in Asian countries. In this column, we review and comment on the Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi's speech, The Developing China and China's Diplomacy, at CSIS on February 25, 2016. I nickname this speech as "Peaceful (Transformation and) Development in Non-Threatening Chinese (Philosophy and Style) Manner" to capture the essence of Mr. Wang's speech.

Minister Wang started his speech by acknowledging China's successful economic development but an unsustainable one calling for a transformation to take an energy efficient, environment protective, green, recyclable and sustainable path. This change has already showed some progress although unavoidably it lowers the economic growth to 6.9% in 2015 (each percentage point is equivalent to 2.6% of 2005's economy). To sustain such a growth is a challenge but China is confident that she can do it because of the following three conditions: 1. China has an enormous market potential (four times of the U.S. population), 2. China's urban development is only at 40% (developed country usually at 70%) and 3. China's service sectors are just about 50% of the total economy (developed country is above 70%). Hence China is confident in sustaining her economic growth and maintaining a great economic and trade partnership with the U.S. as well as providing opportunities to the international community.

On Foreign policy, Minister Wang was modest in characterizing China's steady development and success in foreign relations but emphasized that China's foreign policy is the extension of her domestic policy under a vision advanced by President Xi Jinping, "the Chinese Dream" - bringing Chinese citizens to a middle class standard of living. China's foreign policy is directed to help fulfilling the Chinese dream by developing steady and friendly external environment and attracting external resources. Since Xi Jinping assumed the leadership, China's foreign policy is guided by three principles, protecting justified national interest, fulfilling obligated international responsibilities and developing friendly and mutually beneficial (win-win) international relations. Wang said, looking forward, China has five missions in foreign affairs: 1. Make more nations and their people understand the Chinese style (manner) development, her chosen socialist system and development path.

Mainstream and Organic Dr. Wordman

Regardless one's background, every Chinese citizen shall be offered opportunity to develop one's dream through one's own effort. China has no intention of exporting the Chinese system or style of development but China is confident that her 86,000,000 party members can accomplish any goal they set their mind to. (Referenced Xi's book on governance in China, widely reprinted 5 million copies) 2. Maintain and support the international order established after the end of WW II, a peaceful condition earned with 35 million Chinese lives. China, as the first signed member of the United Nation, will not create an alternative order, rather she will fully support the UN mission and responsibility in maintaining world order. Wang urged the development of an open and free international trade system and extending to investment as advocated by APEC rather than having regional restrictive agreements. Wang further explained the purpose of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) supported by 57 nations for supplementing the investment needs in infrastructure development in Asia. 3. Actively promote China's development and her joint development with partners, a focused mission to assist the fulfillment of the "one belt one road" project proposed by China. The project needs three pillars; the first is infrastructure connections between the participating nations. The second is collaboration in manufacturing and energy supply among nations with mutual dependency. The third is cultural exchange and mutual absorption leading to advances in human civilization. 4. Maintain and protect China's overseas investments and enterprises, ensuring their safety and security. China now has more than 30,000 companies and several million Chinese people living overseas, 120 million traveling abroad each year and non-financial direct investment reaching over \$1.2 trillion in 2015. The Chinese government has obligation to protect these legal interests, however, with limited organizations and resources, the foreign ministry must work hard in cooperation with foreign countries to protect and promote these investments and enterprises. 5. Participate and resolve hotspot issues in the world, constructively solving international problems. China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, is obligated to maintain international peace and harmony. Solving hotspot issues provides healthy conditions for world development such as the one belt on road project. China has participated in resolving South Sudan's crisis, Afghanistan's issue, Myanmar's problem, and Syria's battles.

Minister Wang particularly pointed out the common concern about North Korea's nuclear weapon development and declared China's three principles regarding the nuclear threat, 1. N. Korea must not develop nuclear weapon, 2. Korea Peninsula must not have military conflict and 3. Any action in the Korea peninsula must not harm Chinese security and interest. Following Wang's meeting with John Kerry, the U.S. Secretary of State and his CSIS speech, the UN Security council just unanimously passed on 3-3-2016 a resolution placing strict sanctions against N. Korea. This is a clear example that the U.S. and China can work together through the UN to find solution to a hotspot problem.

Minister Wang also made a clear statement regarding the South China Sea concern. First, there is no real problem with freedom of navigation. Although China has lost 42 small islands and rocks to squatters, China still insists settlement through negotiation according to the DOC agreement China and ten ASEAN members have signed which specifies that disputes are to be resolved through negotiation. Second, China urges non-claimant neighboring nations to help maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea. Third, external nations should support and make the disputing parties to resolve the issues by negotiation. Under these three conditions, China and the ASEAN nations will be completely capable of maintaining peace and stability in the South China Sea.

Finally, Wang addressed the US-China relation, emphasizing that a collaborative win-win relationship is beneficial to the world. President Xi has suggested the U.S. and China to establish a new great nation relationship. China is cooperating with the U.S. moving in that direction by having more dialogs and increasing mutual understanding. Wang rejected the notion that China will be the ultimate opponent of the U.S. as a non-existing issue. China is still a developing country. For a long time forward China must focus on her own development; China will not compete against anyone nor intend to replace anyone. China and the U.S. have become two closely mutually dependent nations with \$558 billion trades and 4.75 million people visiting each other every year (more than 10,000 people flying each day). It is inconceivable that the U.S. and China will have irresolvable differences. China will not be another U.S. China has no aggression in her DNA or much desire to be the world's guardian savior. Even one day China has grown stronger with bigger GDP than the U.S., China will still have her oriental philosophy and tolerance to deal with other nations and at that time, the cooperation between the U.S. and China will be even deeper. What is needed today is to increase the two nations' mutual understanding.

Comparing Wang's speech with Abe Shinzo's speech, one cannot help but conclude that the U.S. has no justification to side with Japan to target China as the eventual enemy. It would be far easier to solve world issues by working with the rising China than treating China as an enemy. Wang in his final words on the CSIS speech was trying to get this message across to the American people.