

## “原來這位肖建華手上掌握了天量數字的財富”

### 如何解決朝鮮問題？ 朝鮮棄核交換美韓軍事聯盟

特朗普原則  
別的我們不知道，但是我們現在知道，特朗普是個急性子。他要幹一件事的時候，一句話都不說，先動手。就在跟習近平吃哪個世界最甜美的巧克力蛋糕的時候，也就是國宴還沒結束的時候，他下達命令：炸！就這樣，他讓敘利亞運載毒氣飛機的機場吃了五十九枚戰斧導彈。接下來，他一聲沒吭，一枚“所有炸彈的媽媽”就洞穿了伊斯蘭國在阿富汗境內挖的地洞。這完全符合他在競選時說的：當有人問到他對中東的政策時，他說，“我不告訴你！”有這麼奇怪的候選人：不公佈他的政策？更奇怪的是，他居然當選了。於是乎特朗普原則誕生了：先斬後奏。或者說，先斬首，再昭告天下。

問題是，這種秘而不宣的急性子政策能不能對付朝鮮呢？如果世界大事都能扔幾枚炸彈就解決，那多理想。事實卻並非如此。敘利亞和阿富汗的局勢並沒有因為幾枚炸彈而產生絲毫改變。阿薩德的地位仍然穩固，反而是美俄關係更加惡化了。如果在朝鮮半島扔幾枚所有炸彈的媽媽，那就更不得了了。萬一核子雲出現，對韓國，中國北方和俄國都是災難。

這大概就是為什麼習近平跟特朗普才聚會了二十多小時之後沒幾天，兩人又通了第二次電話，講了個把鐘頭悄悄話，然後又通了第三次電話。兩人雖然相見恨晚，可是這麼快就那麼親近，未免過分。其實，看到了特朗普的旋風作風，習近平擔心了，他是要特朗普稍安毋躁，且不要把朝鮮半島淹沒在火海之中，不妨先坐下來談談。問題是，時間是緊迫的，運載核彈頭的洲際導彈和縮小體積的核彈頭都可能在兩三年內完成，而美國必須在朝鮮完成之前把它毀掉，就跟它阻止伊朗完成核子武器發展的情況一樣。朝鮮，在一個刻意玩火的小胖子，連自己的姑父和哥哥都殺的小混蛋的指揮下，比伊朗更危險十倍，所以更有刻不容緩的急迫性。問題是，什麼辦法最妥善？

網攻  
2011年，公共電視台播放了一個節目(Need to Know)，爆料美國與以色列合作，用電腦病毒

Stuxnet破壞了伊朗核試基地Natanz的電腦系統，延遲了伊朗的核武發展(其後又有更多的報導)。接下來，在奧巴馬帶動之下，終於能夠以五加一的六國談判，跟伊朗新選出的領導團隊達成協議，使它放棄追求核武。所以，我們可以想像，在習特合作之下，應當有能力使用網上攻擊，短期甚至長期破壞朝鮮的核武發展。這應當是一個低成本的辦法。

網攻成功後，再想辦法鼓動朝鮮內部的宮廷政變，把哪個混蛋小胖子送去見他的神爺爺和神爸爸，徹底摧毀朝鮮的世襲制度，徹底扭轉它的內政外交政策，那就是最理想的解決辦法了。

制裁與禁運

第二個辦法就是制裁和禁運。據各方報導，中國跟朝鮮的貿易額佔後者貿易額的80%以上，包括許多糧食，燃料等民生必要商品。這使美國相信，只要中方掐緊這道關口，就可以逼朝鮮棄核。但是，這是中國一直不願意這麼做，因為這是要中國犧牲自己緩衝區，讓韓國的勢力達到鴨綠江邊。此外，1991年前蘇聯解體後，斷絕了對其鐵桿兄弟朝鮮的援助，而本來就只有20%耕地的朝鮮又實行最嚴厲的計劃經濟和配給制度，效率極差，所以1994年以後出現了幾年旱澇天災，在四年中餓死的人數估計在五十萬人到兩百萬人之間。據聯合國調查，40%的兒童營養不良。這種情況並沒有改變金小胖子的上一代發展核武的決心，那麼，到了這一代，連自己的親人和親信都殺的小胖子，難道會為餓死一些小老百姓而停止發展核武？

可是，如果不採取軍事行動，談判必須要有重籌碼，而只有中國有這種籌碼。特朗普當選後，北京方面宣布，停止從朝鮮購買煤。據稱，煤的出口佔它出口貿易的40%。又路透社丹東透露，中國也嚴重打擊了丹東港的黑市貿易。這當然是向特朗普示好。可是，看來這還不夠，最能改變朝鮮行為的是禁運石油。最

1. 中國模式  
鄧小平在1982年第十二屆黨代表大會上說：“我們的現代化建設，必須從中國的實際出發…走自己的道路，建設有中國特色的社會主義，這就是我們總結長期歷史經驗得出的基本結論。”

縱觀過去三十多年史無前例的成就，我們可以完全肯定，“走自己的道路”是絕對正確的。那麼什麼是這個“從中國實際出發”的道路呢？那就是中國共產黨的一黨專政，目標明確(經濟建設)，腳踏實地，摸著石頭過河，有錯就改，全面向世界開放和學習的過程。西方學者用各種名詞來形容這個“中國模式”，有稱之為“碎裂的威權制度”，有稱之為“修正主義”，有稱之為“一黨專政”或“一黨獨裁”，而比較新的名詞則是回到一個很老的名詞，並且取得了相當程度的共識，那就是“國家資本主義”。我傾向於另外一個名詞，那就是“一黨治國”。

一黨治國與一黨專政的差別在於，前者是指權力的運用，不是為了擁有權力而擁有權力，擁有權力的目的是治理國家，它符合孫中山先生對政治的定義，即“管理眾人的事”。它是說，從實際出發，用最適合發展需要的制度來治理國家。它的潛在含義是，如果有一天，為了更好地治理國家，它必須改變成另類制度時，它可以改變，也能夠改變，因為它的重點是在“治國”，是把政治制度，不管是一黨制還是多黨制，視為一種功利性的安排，其目的是為了最妥善地治理國家事

新消息傳來，朝鮮開始限購汽油，而且汽油價格已上漲70%。汽油不但影響到一般老百姓的生活，更會使得坦克開不動，飛機不能起飛，軍艦潛艇出不了港。這才是真正的狠招。我們不知道北京方面已經使出了這個殺手鐮，或者朝鮮只是採取了預防措施。不過，禁運石油完全可以加速朝鮮在民生和軍事兩方面的困境，迫使它談判。

中國的底線

習近平一再向特朗普強調，外交部長王毅也一再聲稱，解決朝核威脅只有通過和平手段，軍事行動是大家都不願看到的。韓日俄三國當然也絕對不願意看到戰火燃燒到東北亞，不過它們的話語權低於中美兩國。從北京的角度來看，有兩條底線。第一，一定要除去金小胖子，因為除掉他才有可能棄核。第二，只要美韓軍事同盟存在，北京就不能讓韓國統一，而除去金小胖子之後最大的可能就是朝鮮解體和韓國統一。第一條底線是中美兩國的共識，而第二條則是中美之間的矛盾。只有在特朗普同意接受第二條底線，也就是解除冷戰的遺留物—美韓軍事聯盟，中美兩國才能真正合作，完成逼使朝鮮棄核的目的。到底如何做，那就是他們的事了。

◎水秉和

一黨專政則強調權力本身，指一個黨存在的目的就是為了維持它的存在，是一個自我反復的靜態定義。它是西方政治理論界在二戰以後對所有非民主國家一網打盡地，意識形態掛帥的定義。

我們可以問：如果中國僅僅是“一黨專政”的話，它為什麼花那麼大的勁去發展經濟，輕工業，重工業，航天工業，潛水工業，建築世界規模最大的公路系統，鐵路系統呢？它為什麼要進行人類有史以來最龐大的人口大遷移，促進有序的城市化，一步一步地向現代化邁進呢？它為什麼不像朝鮮那樣，把整個國家固定在僵死的世襲制度中，對內實行嚴厲管轄，對外發展核彈呢？答案是，它要治國呀！它要追求中國夢呀！

2. 中國貪腐的特色

作了這個簡短說明之後我們轉入正題。貪污腐化是所有政治制度必然需要面對的問題。它並不是只有一黨治國或者一黨專政的體制所遭遇到的問題。印度，菲律賓，印尼以及成百的其他民主或非民主國家都存在嚴重的貪腐問題。但是，無可否認，一黨治國的體制的貪腐問題有其獨特性。最簡單地說，它的司法系統和執法系統都不獨立，都在黨的掌控之下，並且法官，政法公安機構的工作人員也絕大多數是黨員，所以不論在法律規定或實際運作上，司法和執法缺乏獨立性，都受到黨的控制。周永康可以一手遮天就突出了這個解不開的制度矛盾。

另一個獨特性就是它的團伙性。這是因為黨是一個垂直管理的體系，又是無所不在，所以貪污通常不是一個人小規模作業，它總是從上到下牽扯到一大堆人。這就是為什麼在打虎的新聞中我們一直聽到“順藤摸瓜”這樣的形容詞。只要先抓到一個小蘿蔔頭，那麼，一步一步地往上摸，慢慢地就能夠抓到背後的大老虎。

貪腐的另一個特性出現在所有發展中國家，那就是官商勾結。在急速發展的經濟活動中，一方面法規制度跟不上，商人需要掌權的官員給予方便，另一方面商人的金錢累積太快，而公務員的薪水工資跟商人之間所獲得的巨利差距太大，所以商人必須跟官員共享財富。從另一個角度來看，也就是從國家資本主義的角度來看，私人企業得到國家作為後盾，那麼它在國內市場可以打敗其他沒有政府支持的私人企業，在國際市場上跟西方跨國公司打拚的時候也會有恃無恐了。

3. 白手套肖建華的故事

今年一月間，有一位名叫肖建華的小胖子在香港的豪華酒店被逮捕了。逮捕後被蒙著頭帶回了大陸。這一則新聞的爆炸性是無與倫比的，因為就在香港有些年輕人不知天高地厚在爭取港獨的時候，北京當局違背了鄧小平立下的一國兩制的規矩，公然從四季酒店裡把人給帶走了。這到底是啥回事啊？事件的陸續發展使我們了解到，茲事體大。原來這位肖建華手上掌握了天量數字的財富，而這些財富是國內好幾個政治家族竊取的國家資源。據此地明鏡報系和美國之音等媒體的一系列報導，和名嘴的分析，這些家族可能包括曾慶紅，梁烈聖，戴相龍與賀國強等等(我對這些人物是否真有貪腐的事實不予置評，也一無所知，此地只是轉述別人的言論)。所以，不管是一國兩制，還是一國五制，逮捕他歸案，就反腐而言，是絕對正當，也是必須的。

4. 戰神郭文貴提槍上陣

其實，當時逃過了大家視線的大還有另一位名叫郭文貴的的大鯊。這位被《財經》雜誌形容為戰神的億萬富翁知道情勢不妙，早已於兩年前躲到了美國。顯然，肖被抓使得國內有些人極度緊張，知道這是今秋第十九大的人事佈局的前戲，所以他們務必拼命一搏。郭文貴很可能受到他背後黨中巨頭的指示，乃於一月初，就在肖被抓之後，立刻安排在明鏡報系的所有管道之中爆料，箭頭直指李友(方正集團的重頭人物)，傳政華和賀國強。他意猶未盡，不知是什麼原因，在明鏡系統爆料了兩次之後，他轉移陣地，於四月間上了美國之音，而當他在美國之音的專訪節目中講了一個多小時之後，正預備揭發(或者誣告)王岐山的時候，美國之音把他原定三小時的播音給切斷了。《紐約時報》於四月十九日予以詳細報導，使這一則新聞變成多事的四月間最大的國際新聞之一。

據我的粗淺了解，最重要的好像是一位隱藏在郭文貴背後的大老闆曾慶紅，以及其他一大批人，而習近平很可能要在第十九大之前打垮這一個貪腐集團，所以不惜破壞一國兩制也要把肖建華給逮住。這是因為曾慶紅體系內的關鍵就在這個時候被推出來在視頻上承認罪行，交代他與郭文貴之間的親密關係。所以，從這個理路來看，郭文貴爆料的主要打擊對象是傳政華和王岐山，兩位反腐的重頭人物。同時，中國外交部會施壓，逼使美國之音中止播放，也就順理成章了。

今後此事會繼續發展，我們無從得知其如何結局，但是，我們確知，反腐是一黨治國的體制內的一個尖銳難解的問題，也是習近平在十九大之後的重大任務。

## The Transformation of Hong Kong into a Democratic Society

Hong Kong is a famous free port and often mistaken as an 'island' city. Actually HK is a part of a peninsula surrounded by 260 islands located at the mouth of the Pearl River Delta extending into the South China Sea. HK was ceded to Great Britain in 1842 after Qing Dynasty was defeated in the Opium War. The southern part of the Kowloon Peninsula and the Stonecutters Island were ceded to Great Britain in 1860. In 1898, a northern part of Kowloon Peninsula called New Territory was leased to the Great Britain by China for 99 years (1898-1997). Thus, when Great Britain was compelled to return HK to China, 1997 became the target year for the return. Since 1997, HK, consisting of the island of HK (81 sq km), Stonecutters Island (attached to Kowloon Peninsula through land reclamation), Kowloon Peninsula (46.9 sq km), and the New Territories (952 sq km), became the Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China enjoying total economic freedom without the burden of defense.

The modern history of Hong Kong can be briefly reviewed in four periods, (1) from 1842 to 1941 HK was ruled by the Great Britain as a colony, (2) from 1941 to 1945, HK was occupied by Japanese Imperial Army as Japan waged war to conquer China (3) from 1945 to 1997, HK was returned to the British rule, and (4) from 1997 to present, HK was returned to China becoming HKSAR of China under the one country two systems policy. In the first period, HK was basically a trade port for the British trading with China (including the infamous and inhumane opium trade). HK was ruled as a Crown colony by the Royal Instructions which prescribed a Governor, a position appointed by the British Crown, and an executive Council and Legislative Council both being an advisory body to the Governor. The Governor of HK was always a British citizen directly appointed by Great Britain. Thus the HK residents were second-class citizens having no political rights. During the Japanese occupation from 1941-1945, HK was under Japanese military rule, thus HK citizens were treated basically like prisoners of war.

After Japan was defeated and surrendered to the Allies, HK was returned to the British when China was in a state of civil war. The Great Britain continued ruling HK as a colony without giving HK citizens any political right. The introduction of elected representatives (by local elections) to the Legislative Council

### Mainstream and Organic Media

Dr. Wordman

(LegCo) was only initiated after the British had agreed to return HK to China by the 1984 agreement with 1997 being the target year for China to recover her sovereignty over HK. Interestingly, the British, cared very little about HK citizens' democratic rights under the British rule, suddenly became more 'concerned' about HK citizens' future democratic rights under the PRC government. This hypocritical 'concern' has been shamelessly expressed in the negotiation on HK sovereignty and has also repeatedly appeared in the form of foreign interference in HK's post-return democracy.

The return of HK is by no means voluntary on the British part. China, after she became a member of the UN (1971) and a permanent member of the UN Security Council, began her diplomatic process of seeking sovereignty over HK and Macau working through the UN Decolonization Committee (1972). In March 1979, the Governor of HK Murray MacLehose paid his first official visit to PRC testing water for resolving HK's sovereignty issue. Three years later British PM Margaret Thatcher dispatched former PM Edward Heath as a special envoy to China to establish an understanding of the PRC's view on the HK issue. The Chinese leader Deng Xiao-Ping then outlined a plan to make HK a special economic zone, a capitalist system under Chinese Sovereignty. Thatcher visited PRC in September with an intent to extend the lease of Hong Kong territory based on the Treaty of Nanking (1842), Convention of Peking (1856) and the Convention for the Extension of Hong Kong signed in 1890, but Deng was firm allowing no room for compromise on the sovereignty issue and citing all those treaties as unequal treaties. Deng bluntly told Thatcher, "I could walk in and take the whole lot this afternoon." Thatcher's reply was, "There is nothing I could do to stop you, but the eyes of the world would now know what China is like." Subsequently, the 5<sup>th</sup> session of the 5<sup>th</sup> National People's Congress (NPC) amended the constitution to include article 31 to permit China to establish SARs when necessary. The formal negotiation began after the Thatcher-Deng meeting. China was firm on sovereignty and 'administration' right which the Great Britain wished to keep post-handover. After several rounds of negotiations, Britain formally conceded her intention of seeking administration right or co-administration with the PRC.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed on December 19, 1984 in Beijing. In the Joint Declaration, the People's Republic of China Government stated that it had decided to resume the exercise of sovereignty over Hong Kong (including Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories) with effect from 1 July 1997 and the United Kingdom Government declared that it would restore Hong Kong to the PRC with effect from 1 July 1997. In the document, the PRC also declared its basic policies regarding Hong Kong; under the One Country Two Systems policy, the socialist system of PRC would not be imposed and HK's previous capitalist system would remain unchanged for 50 years, all stipulated in the HK Basic Law. The Basic Law was drafted in 1985 by a drafting committee composed of members from both Mainland and HK, first published in 1988 after canvassing HK people's views and then formally adopted by the NPC on April 4, 1990 along with a flag and an emblem of the HKSAR.

Tung Chee-Hwa, a former shipping tycoon, became the first Chief Executive of the HKSAR officially established in July 1997. In May 1998, the first post-return elections were held, thus began the reform process of the HKSAR political system. The Great Britain as well as the U.S. continued their 'concern' of the HK constitutional reform. In March 2005, Tung Chee-Hwa resigned for health reason and was succeeded by Donald Tsang who continued to propose constitutional reforms. Surprisingly, the quiet HK citizens, who had remained obedient and subservient under 155 years of British rule, began to make demonstrations demanding more democracy after they were given political rights. In 2007, 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the HK return, Donald Tsang won election in March and was appointed by NPC for another 5-year term. In the same year Beijing announced that HK might directly elect her leader in 2017 and their legislators by 2020, but the 'Pro-democracy' camp was not satisfied. In December 2009, HKSAR authority announced proposals for enlarged Legislative Council, but critics said the moves were not enough. In July 2012, Leung Chun-Ying succeeded Tsang as the 4<sup>th</sup> CE of HKSAR and he faced continued 'pro-democracy' demands till today. There seems to have an external influence to push HK for independence in the name of democracy but HK cannot afford to be independent from China. The progress of democracy in HK over the past 20 years under PRC was a giant leap compared to its 155 years under British rule. On March 26, 2017, Carrie Lam defeated John Tsang and Woo Kwok-Hing with a landslide victory and became the first woman CE of HKSAR, another landmark of democracy. There seems to be little doubt that HK not only will remain as an international vibrant finance and trade center but also will be a successful example of China's one-country-two-systems political model.