

"反送中"事件的警示 及對台灣2020大選的衝擊

香港的"反送中"(反《逃犯條例》)事件在持續數天的騷動及不少警民受傷後,特首林鄭月娥於6月15日宣布暫緩推動該案,以加強對民衆解釋、溝通和宣傳。

示威活動一開始就得到台灣島內及美國朝野不少呼應者,蔡英文甚至公開宣稱一旦接受一國兩制,臺灣就會失去捍衛自由、民主與人權的權利,也會失去選擇自己未來的權利。很顯然的,這已經不是一個單純的法律問題,而成為了挑戰「一中」國際力量的大展現,在地緣政治層面上牽涉到美中博弈,在思想層面是圍繞「西方普世價值」迷思的鬥爭。

修法的起因並不複雜。港男陳同佳在臺灣殺害了懷孕女友,潛逃回港。儘管他承認殺人,但由於港臺之間沒有引渡協定,臺灣政府無法要求香港代為拘捕,把他送回臺灣受審,因此,港府不得不先修例。雖然,香港回歸中國已經22年,香港和大陸及澳門仍沒有引渡條例,這是非常荒謬的。以美國為例,跨州引渡罪犯是早就明文規定的。這保障了相關地區人民的共同利益,否則,大陸居民在港犯法潛逃回內地,豈不可逍遙法外?這難道不是保護香港居民的權益?

香港日前與20個國家(主要是大英國協中的白種人國家,西歐,美國及印度)簽有長期的逃犯移交協定,讓這些國家可以要求香港政府代為拘捕和移交逃至香港的疑犯,

◎張文基

送回申請國受審。相關法律也訂明香港與除了這20個地區外的國家進行一次性移交,這些一次性移交的申請交由香港立法會審議,決定是否批准。

但目前的條文訂明,香港的移交逃犯法律不適用於中國大陸、澳門和臺灣。這基本是中國國人及許多非白人的國家。所以「送中」問題的本質其實就是清末民初洋人租界裡,是不是該有「治外法權」的問題!回歸22年還讓這種不平等現象存在本身就顯示大陸過去的失誤!

反對人士的憂慮是什麼?表面的原因是對中國大陸司法制度缺乏信心。然而,就以美國為例,開發西部時的司法制度完善嗎?1960年代時南方發生多起司法人員對人權運動者的謀殺事件,但是這影響美國的跨州,跨國引渡法嗎?大陸的法治建設雖不完善,但是在迅速改善中,否則,怎麼能保障幾十年舉世無雙的進步呢?今天在最高法院可以看到不同地方的法庭直播,有效阻止地方勢力干預司法。

有人擔心新法實施後港人將因政治立場而受到迫害,但是香港官員強調,修訂後的法例不會處理任何涉及政治或宗教的案件。

不可否認的香港有不少民衆因為對現狀的不滿而參加示威,自從回歸以來,香港的GDP維持高速成長,但是貧富差距加大,一般百姓

被邊緣化,這是世界性的問題,主要是過去卅年美國模式畸形發展的後果。回歸後大陸的投機分子和權貴利用香港的自由主義經濟環境湧入香港置業,炒高了房價,加上生活奢侈,增加了部分人的仇中心理,也造成社會不穩定的隱患。中國今天已經認清必須不忘初衷為人民服務,走出一條新的發展道路,挑戰是嚴峻的但是方向是正確的。

台灣反華人士披着民主政治,自由經濟,西方法治的"普世價值"批判中國,却無視西方長期用武力殘殺亞非拉人民,掠奪資源的歷史事實。1960年代後隨著前殖民地的獨立,西方國家又以懺悔,痛改前非的姿態搖身一變成爲人權捍衛者。過去卅年,美國年年對不同國家發起戰爭,造成世界各地殘破,數以百萬計人民的傷亡,千萬計難民的流離失所,國內的經濟衰退,而中國沒有對外發動一次戰爭,致力於經濟建設,幫助數億人民脫貧。兩相比較,誰的道路更正確?

如今中國綜合實力已是全球第二,美國為了抑制中國的快速成長發動貿易戰,科技戰,宣傳戰等。華爲事件就是一個例子:美國違背自己宣揚的民主法制市場經濟的傳統原則,公然以行政跨國干預司法,在加拿大機場逮捕孟晚舟,並企圖將她從加拿大引渡到美國,卻不見台港人權人士提出任何譴責!這不是虛偽又是什麼?

美中貿易戰在5月11日談崩後的一個月裡,雙方博弈激烈,跡象顯示美國國內妥協的聲音越來越大,川普為了自己的政治生命必將在今年與中國妥協。中國崛起的勢頭是不可阻擋的,台灣人民的最大利益是在2020大選選出承認九二共識的候選人,才能爲台灣帶來和平與繁榮!

Najib 和中國政府簽約啟動,在馬國東海岸,而不是更繁榮的西海岸建造一重要的鐵路通道,一個原因是這是當時馬來西亞總統的故鄉所在,二是中國覺得那邊靠近馬來西亞的一個重要港口是中國想開發的。不久,90多歲的馬哈蒂爾重返總統大位,他聲稱專案的建設費用過高,不是馬來西亞負擔得起的需要暫時擱置重新談判。他並親自訪問北京直接向習近平提出他的新構想,經過兩個多月的磋商,這一個長達688公里總投資爲15.9億美元,下調到10.6億美元。這使得原有估計的總費用下降了三分之一可說是中國對馬來西亞的一大讓步。最近中美貿易戰科技戰有關5G問題馬哈蒂爾堅決站在支持中國的立場,也可能與此有關。但是此例一開,後期效尤者會越來越多,中國肯定會增加很多的麻煩。

基於以上,中國和斯里蘭卡以及馬來西亞進行投資合作的曲折經歷,我們可以仔細分析一下,導致這些必要調整的重大因素是什麼,從而吸取教訓,以便不再重犯同樣的錯誤。

第一個需要記取的教訓是不能因爲這個專案是合作國家領導人心愛的專案,有時甚至於是他個人的私利,就不顧一切盲目的去推動。第二個教訓是對於任何一個專案,必須做翔實的可行性研究,以及經濟效益的分析,這個工作極爲重要,不能虛應故事。斯里蘭卡的機場和港口專案這方面的工作做得極差。今年四月底以中國作爲東道主在北京召開的第二屆帶路國際會議。中國人民銀行行長易綱已經有意識的強調這方面的重要性。第三個教訓是要分析與瞭解合作國家的政治,經濟和社會環境,有些國家雖然窮困,但是政經形勢相對穩定,並信守國際的承諾,有些國家政治形勢非常不穩定,執政掌權者隨時可能被取代更換,繼任者對其上任簽下的合同可能不認帳,這些都是值得



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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

如何有效推動"帶路"開發計畫

中國有兩句格言,我覺得對"帶路"開發計畫很有啟示的作用。一句是前事不忘後世之師,另外一句是失敗爲成功之母。

75年前以中美英蘇爲首的同盟國打败了德日義大利爲首的軸心國,勝利地結束了第二次世界大戰。在美國羅斯福總統的倡議下,聯合國誕生了。聯合國的作用,我認爲至少他努力促使世界各地區的殖民地逐個地形成了獨立自主的國家,並且以平等的地位,成爲聯合國的會員國。聯合國不斷的努力也使得世界基本維持了穩定和和平,第一次世界大戰和第二次世界大戰,兩者相距不到十年,現在已經過了75年了第三次世界大戰仍然沒有發生,這是人類社會一個重大的進步。1948年美國國務卿馬歇爾鑒於歐洲許多國家都遭受到二戰嚴重的破壞,因而提出歐洲的重建計畫。這就是大家所熟知的馬歇爾計畫。美國爲了這個援助計畫總共提供了134億美元,相當於今天的1000多億美元。這是美國近百年來對人類社會所作的兩件最大的貢獻。

40年前中國開始了改革開放的政策。在這段時間裡,中國取得的進步和他的國際地位的提高,也是有目共睹的。其中最爲外人稱道的就是鐵公基(鐵路包括高鐵和城市的地鐵,公路,橋樑和隧道,以及各式各樣的基礎設施,包括通訊設施機場和港口。)這些方面中國積累的豐富經驗,可以說是稱霸全球的。也基於此,習近平在2013年在印尼和哈薩克斯坦信心滿滿地向世界宣佈中國的一帶一路計畫。最近中國把它改名爲帶路開發計畫。因爲這個計畫的龐大已經不限於一帶一路,而是多帶多路。有人說這是中國的馬歇爾計畫,不過我感覺它的涵蓋更廣規模更大。

◎陳立家

今年四月下旬以中國爲東道主在北京召開了第二屆帶路開發的國際大會,參加的國家和國際組織已經高達150多個,有38個國家領導人也參加了盛會。充分顯示出帶路開發已經成爲一個舉世矚目的國際性大合作,在短短的五六年裡面能夠開展出這樣子的盛況實屬不易。

我今天要說的不屬於錦上添花的讚歌,而是想檢視中國在過去的一些國際合作專案的失誤,檢討這些失敗的原因,這樣才能夠有效地改進,取得更大的成功。

首先我想先談談在斯里蘭卡東南部新建的 Hambantota 港口,他在2008年開工第一期工程在2010年11月完成。初期投資3.6億美元。其中,85%是中方提供的信貸,現在在距離港口不遠的地方又新建了斯里蘭卡的第二個國際機場 Mattela。它于2009年開工2013年初正式啟用。這個機場的開發金額是2.9億美元,其中1.9億美元是中國的貸款。首相如此熱衷的推動這些專案,雖然它們的地理位置處於東南方的貧困農業地區,但卻是他的老家。這兩個專案在設計施工期間就發現有很多缺陷,但是那些修改補充的辦法,因爲總統和總理以及其他閣員之間的內鬥未能付諸實現。導致兩個專案投入使用後均遭受嚴重虧損,其所得無法支付巨額的債務。爲了解決還債問題,斯里蘭卡只好把港口的經營管理權轉讓給中國使用99年。斯里蘭卡一租賃港口的所得去支付貸款的本利。西方一些人士包括美國的副總統以及國務卿因而指責中國利用債務陷阱。來取得合作國家的土地和其他的資源。

2017年三月馬來西亞前任總統

Can China Survive A Trade War with the U.S.?

Recently I came across two opinion articles in the Organic Media (Quora), one entitled, Can the U.S. "Win" a trade war with China? (May 22, 2019), by Alfonso Lianes, who has a Master Degree in International Development. He has quoted generously from Nicholas Lardy, a China expert at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, on pitfalls of US-China trade conflicts. Another opinion, entitled, what will happen if China and the United States do not reach a trade agreement? (May 7, 2019), by Robin Daverman, who self-claims as a world traveler. Daverman has criticized Trump's behavior in creating a Muggers' Alley where no one can do business. These opinions are different from the U.S. mainstream media which by and large have taken on an "official" "America First" view on the trade war. As of today, the U.S. is complicating the U.S.-China trade negotiation with national security issue making the trade agreement unreachable and at the same time the U.S. is pressuring Mexico and others to yield in trade negotiations. We citizens, particularly during travel, cannot help but hear righteous criticisms about our government and leader making us wondering whether the U.S. is doing the right things for her citizens.

Lardy laid out a set of arguments of why a US trade with China would be a losing enterprise. Raising a high tariff on hundreds of billions of Chinese goods will hurt China and cause a capital flight from China, but China is not unprepared and will react with several effective punches. First, a batch of Boeing orders may be replaced by Airbus hurting a strong American industry. Second, the U.S. sales in China, particularly autos and smart phones, will suffer. Third, the U.S. agriculture product export to China especially soybean and corn will be drastically reduced. Fourth, there will be an hurricane effect on many American corporations as seen by their nervous reactions to the 'Huawei' sanction the U.S. government has applied to it. Finally, the Chinese government may retaliate with a number of concerted efforts such as ordering her state owned enterprises to stop doing business with the U.S. hurting the U.S. supply chain, to restrict access to commodities such as rare earth material affecting U.S. electronic and military industries and to stop her on-going efforts of protecting the U.S. intellectual properties such as American music and movies causing more US trade deficit.

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

With extended trade war, the U.S. corporations will experience an anxiety of uncertainty. Trying to reform or recreate some of these corporations will be very difficult if not impossible. Moving U.S. owned corporations in China to other countries will produce massive outflow of capital or invite Chinese investment capital to participate. The Peterson Institute has made an analysis concluding that a full blown trade war with China and Mexico will push the unemployment rate in the U.S. from 4-5% to 9% in 2020 hurting millions of Americans. Trump proposed to protect from 'unfair trade'. Disrupting relation with Mexico, trade or border issues, will help China in many ways. Today on the world stage, China has been viewed as a victim no matter how the U.S. denounces China's bad trade behavior in the past; the developing countries and many major trade partners of China have the perception that China is the only major country proclaiming globalization and win-win cooperation; whereas the U.S. has pulled out of the Trans Pacific Trade (TPP) agreement behaving like a protectionist.

President Xi of China does face challenges in moving China into a service-dominated economy emphasizing across the board innovation effort; challenges include solving high State Owned Enterprises (SOE) debt, over capacity of manufacturing, technology independence, and government learning of managing and growing her financial industry. President Trump of the U.S. faces problems of meeting his campaign promises and maintaining popularity when reality of market and economy becoming apparent. According to economists, the balanced trade does not bring back jobs. Spending less (raising saving rate will cumulate capital) and produce more (having more investment capital will create jobs and production) are the solution to trade and economic problems. Trump seems to be ill advised by his current staff.

Daverman is more critical to Trump's behavior and ignorance on world economy. He jokingly talked about people need to buy 'Trump insurance' since product quotes are only good for one day (no one knows what prices may be as they can be tweeted up and down any day) and

Trump has created the "Muggers' Alley" where no one can do business. In contrast to Trump's tweets (no warning, no explanation and no debate), Daverman made an observation on Chinese media's reporting. Since the U.S.-China trade talk broke down in May 2019, the Chinese delegate had been quiet and the U.S. had been making contradictory noises, thus the trade talk is in a suspension state. Things that both sides agree have been done and the not agreeable items are difficult to reach an agreement. In this trade war, the U.S. has been the attacking side and China the defending side; thus whether a deal can be concluded or not is up to the U.S. Daverman made a worse-scenario analogy equating China's economy like a body on life support. If the U.S. would unplug the life support, you would get two dead bodies, meaning China and the U.S. What would you do with the dead bodies? He also cited a scenario that even China might stop her 'made in China 2025 plan', her trade with Asia, Europe, Africa and BRI would move the center of world trade currently in New York to Shanghai. In other words, the U.S. will not emerge as a winner in the US-China Trade War.

Despite of the new developments in the U.S., seemingly extending the trade war to national security issue, China appears to be calm. The U.S. has declared an all-out war against a private Chinese company, Huawei, banning its products and sanctioning U.S. component sales to it. Yet, Huawei's corporate logo is brightly lit up in European cities such as Barcelona. In addition, the U.S. is playing the 'Taiwan' card by having Congress passing the 'Taiwan Travel Act' on 2/21/2018 (signed into law by President Trump on 3/16/2018) and the 'Taiwan Assurance Act' on 4/1/2019 (pending in the Senate). China seems to have been prepared to deal with the trade war in much longer term. Regarding the 'Taiwan Play', however, it may offer China an opportunity to reunite with Taiwan on a short time table following the Crimea example. It is doubtful, the U.S. is willing to risk lives to engage a real war with China on behalf of the pro-independence party in Taiwan. China stands to win.

Historically, China has been the world largest economy a couple of times without adopting colonialism. In fact, no one economy in the world like China's has become a dominate economy without resorting to military power or bullying. China was quite adaptable to being an isolated power. On the other hand, the U.S. achieved her global power status through large immigration of people coming into the country and by colonial and military expansion outward. Therefore, I personally agree with the above Organic media opinions that the U.S. can not win the trade war with China and if the trade war persists, the outcome for the U.S. is not rosy. Therefore, the U.S. ought to exercise caution seeking a reasonable trade agreement.