

# 簡評 習李及中國經濟 50人論壇的講話

最近中美貿易戰有越演越烈之勢。中美雙方通過談判解決雙方貿易的爭端，目前希望很小。中國方面想等待美國期中選舉的結果再定奪如何進行談判。而美國方面與中國的爭端，其目的不僅限於貿易，企圖影響的是中美全面的關係倒退。令大家關心的問題是中國會不會因為中美貿易戰的全面惡化，而導致其本身經濟的全面萎縮和內政的不穩定。美國會不會因為中美貿易衝突的全面失控，導致川普在11月的期中選舉中使共和黨在國會兩院中失去多數黨的優勢，甚至導致2020年川普的無法連任。

今年9月25號到27號習近平主席在東北三省進行了三天的訪問，併發表了重要講話，他在遼寧考察了大型國企遼陽石化總廠以及忠旺民營企業時發表了有關國營企業和民營企業，中央政府如何對待的立場。簡單地說那就是中央的國策，對國有企業和民營企業是同樣的重視的。這對於最近國內那些主張國進民退論是一個有效回應。

在此之前，李克強總理9月19號在天津舉行達沃斯經濟論壇對國際參會者做了主題發言，我想在此做個扼要的介紹：

李克強說，在中國改革開放40周年的以及中國最近所面對的緊張多變的國際形勢，中國政府的根本立場是要堅定不移地推進經濟全球化，維護自由貿易，促進創新驅動。他特別指出，中國貨物出口40%高科技產品出口三分之二是在華外資企業的貢獻。因此中國對外資企業的保護和尊重是要越做越好，而不是針對他們提出刁難和限制措施。他強調，要營造一個好的經濟環境，要健全權力公平，機會

◎陳立家

公平，規則公平的制度安排，打造平衡普惠的發展模式。換句話說，無論你是國營的民營的還是外資企業，政府對你的監管都是一樣的。

李克強認為，過去政府對企業投資經營和監管，存在許多問題，導致政府對專案的審批費時，企業運作的效率低成本高。他主張大量削減各類行政手續事項。改革上市制度，率先大幅減稅降費，特別是分步驟全面推開的營改增（營業稅改徵增值稅），有效降低由制度造成的附加交易成本和企業生產經營成本，營商環境和企業提質增效。這些措施使我想起了美國川普總統上任之後，所採取的一些措施基本上是類似的。

在保護智慧財產權方面，李克強強調，要依法嚴懲，並打擊侵犯智慧財產權的不法行為。同時通過降低市場准入的門檻，開放服務行業，諸如法律，金融，保險等允許外資的參與。部分外資企業在中國可以獨資經營，如此，他們對智慧財產權的保護會更為放心。

20年前由劉鶴等人發起的中國經濟50人論壇，于2018年9月16日在北京釣魚臺舉行主題為新時代改革開放的新使命討論會。吳敬璉首先談改革開放40年的教訓，一定要堅持市場化法治化，他認為，那些私營經濟退出是不和諧不合時的呼聲。他認為，中國經濟改革還沒有完全到位。目前，中國面對的一些經濟問題需要論壇中的同仁們逐項的仔細討論。樓繼偉認為，金融混合模式絕對不行會引發高風險，白重恩說，完善營商環境應該從特惠過渡到普惠。林毅夫認為，中國將在2025年變成發達國家，中國要承擔

# 瞭解眾議員參選人 踴躍投下神聖一票

## 就華裔關心問題訪問 39選區兩位候選人

◎張文基

今年的國會期中選舉將於 11月6日舉行，正當美中關係和台海兩岸關係都面臨嚴重挑戰之際。隨著美中關係的緊張，有關華人求學，就業，居留等等問題都傳出許多令人不安的發展。眾議院對美國法律和政策的制定具有重要不可取代的地位，而眾議員又是美國聯邦政府和地區選民溝通的重要管道。南加州華裔不論在人數，財力或者整體實力都是重要的一股力量，然而長期以來在政治上的影響力卻是很小，因此代表我們選區的國會議員在表決有關我們切身利益的議案上往往不了解我們的關注和不尊重我們的立場。為了我們的切身利益這個現象必須改變！

中美論壇的核心目標之一就是透過增進中美理解來促進中美和平及合作。我們不接受任何政府或機構的贊助或捐款，因為我們希望提供一個超然，獨立和客觀的平臺討論許多有關中美間敏感的議題。五年來我們與主流社會共同舉辦過多項紀念活動和研討會，也建立了信譽。因此在這次選舉我們與許多眾議員參選人聯絡，提出一些有關華人切身利益的問題，要求和他們對話，並爭取正式的文字回答，也得到積極的反應。

我們提出的問題是：

1. 從 1960年以來美國擁有的十位總統中，你最同意誰的政策？為什麼？
2. 哈佛大學審查所有入學申請者的程序中，加入保障少數族裔入學比例的平權行動，導致對非洲裔美國人的學術錄取標準遠低於亞裔美國人的標準。司法部已經對哈佛的做法展開了法律訴訟。你對此事有何立場？如果當選，你會採取什麼行動？
3. 如今，川普總統對近一半的進口中國商品採取了強硬的加徵關稅立場，並警告說，如果中國對美國對華出口採取報復措施，那麼所有中國進口產品都將被加徵關稅。你支持他在美中貿易戰中的立場嗎？如果不支持，你對如何處理美中貿易的立場是什麼？
4. 在不斷出現的反華政策下，一些美國官員們公開發表不恰當的言論，對華裔美國人採取了歧視性行動。例如，有人認為，所有華裔美國人都可能為中國間諜，因此不允許中國人參與高科技的研究和開發工作。你的立場是什麼？
5. 2017年和2018年，在眾議院或參議院中，總共有多少項與臺灣有關的法案。有些已經通過了，有些

已被列入議程了，還有一些正在醞釀中。所有這些法案中的共同主線是加強美台之間的工作關係，這導致了世界上兩個最大經濟體之間關係的不確定性。你是否期待並支持美國捲入另一場因美中關係惡化而引發的亞洲戰爭？如果你當選眾議員，你對這類法案的一般態度是什麼？

由於眾議院外交事務委員會主席 Ed Royce 的退休，他的長期助手，代表共和黨的韓裔 Young Kim 女士和代表民主黨的墨裔海軍退伍軍人 Gil Cisneros 先生角逐第39選區席位，選情緊繃，因此是我們首先關注的對象。透過近兩個月的溝通和理解，兩位都很有耐心的完成了他們最終認可的書面回答。非常感謝兩位在非常繁忙的競選行程中耐心的與我們交流並真誠的回答了華裔關心的問題。

為了真實的轉達他們的立場，我們將兩人的英文回答在本期完整刊出，希望讀者借此瞭解兩人的立場和思想，理性的投下神聖一票支持你們各自心目中的候選人。

這次交流的另一個重大的收穫就是兩位候選人對於美中關係和兩岸關係的複雜和敏感性有了更新的認識，因此當選後處理相關議案時會更審慎，更願意傾聽華裔的聲音。

更大的事件責任。楊偉民建議改革措施應該減少政府機構取消所有制的分類，減少政府干預多一些市場說了算，重建地方稅制來解決房價問題。他呼籲各級政府不僅要簡政放權，進一步要簡政減權減費減稅。

馬建堂批評吳小平主張國進民退的文章，認為其觀點比較糊塗錯亂。馬指出民營企業提供了50%以上的稅收，創造了60%多的GDP，提供了70%左右的出口，以及80%左右的就業崗位。這充分證明了民營企業在中國經濟發展中的重要性，因此政府應該對民營企業和國企同樣的重視，提供同等的支援。張曙光認為，中國這40年的改革開放所堅持的國際戰略。是對發達國家開放，向他們學習，以此來推動國內體制和政策的改革，其結

果導致經濟快速發展，人民生活明顯改善。他認為這個經驗和道路，不應該因為目前的國際局有所變動而改變。他說，我們不應當只顧眼前的進退得失，應當作出必要的讓步，以便儘早達成妥協，結束爭端。

有人擔心中國會不會在國際局勢逆轉之下，改變中國40年來堅持改革開放的方針和方向？看來，這個擔心是多餘的。換句話說中國不會因此而倒回改革開放之前的老路，而應堅持深化改革，更進一步的開放。我記得2016年劉鶴副總理就曾經在瑞士達沃斯論壇上這樣強調過。看來，中國這個既定的改革開放的方向，不會因為國際局勢的變動而改變。

面對目前這種瞬息萬變的國際局勢。中國就好像颶風海嘯即將降臨

的海邊的一艘船，今天的中國不是一隻小艇，而是一艘航空母艦。航空母艦應對颶風海嘯的模式，跟一般小型船隻是不一樣的，它不能在避風港裡躲避，當颶風海嘯來臨時，它必須要離開港口。只有這樣，它才能避免跟其他船隻的碰撞，而造成自身的傷害。九月份我讀到的有關中國的三項以上的新聞報導時，我覺得中國對如何對付兇險的國際局勢，中國有一定的認識和對策，因此我深信中國會安全的度過這個挑戰。在國際關係上，只要發達國家不與中國為敵，中國就會跟他們保持一如既往的友好互惠關係。對於那些發展中的國家，中國由於自己經濟的強大也會在適當的時機伸出援手，幫助他們過渡到發達國家的行列。

# Answers of Congressional Candidates Young Kim and Gil Cisneros to the US-China Forum Questions

The U.S.-China Forum, Inc,

As agreed upon, I am sending you a few questions that our organization, the US-China Forum, Inc., has formulated for the purpose to help Chinese Americans to be familiar with your political philosophy and agenda in order to rally their support for you.

The mission of the US-China Forum is to provide a platform for all Americans, and particularly Chinese Americans to express their views on subjects of vital interest to Chinese American communities, free from attachment to governments, legacy positions and funding influence. In the last 5 years, we have organized several major events with Los Angeles County and various veterans' organizations to honor Chinese American veterans and to commemorate the ending of WWII. We have sponsored symposia, some of which were jointly sponsored with the USC US-China Institute. We also produce a weekly syndicated page of commentary and unbiased analysis of current events and foreign policies in both English and Chinese, which has been published in seven Chinese-language newspapers throughout North America continuously for more than 5 years ([www.us-chinaforum.org](http://www.us-chinaforum.org) or [www.us-chinaforum.com](http://www.us-chinaforum.com) for additional information).

Our country is entering a very critical period and the fate of our country depends very much on the decisions to be made by the U.S. Congress. Therefore, it is essential for every voter to cast his/her vote intelligently and based on proper information. With that purpose in mind, we present the following questions:

**1. Out of the ten US presidents we have had since 1960, whose policies do you agree with most? Why?**

Kim's Answer: When it comes to the Asia-Pacific, President George H.W. Bush is one president who deserves more attention for his steady, pragmatic leadership during a time of rapid change around the world. President Bush's experience as U.S. Ambassador to China certainly helped shape his worldview, and I believe our nation benefited from the leadership that the U.S. demonstrated on the international level. In fact, when it comes to Asia, I believe that the actions he took then helped lay the foundation for growth and opportunity that we see today.

Cisneros' answer: In his inaugural address, President Kennedy said, "ask not what your country can do for you - ask what you can do for your country." Those words have resonated with me my entire life as I continue to live a life of service. I followed my father and grandfather's path and served in the navy for ten years. Having served as a Lieutenant in the Navy during WWII, President Kennedy utilized his military background to guide the nation during the peak of the cold war and steer us away from outright military conflict during the Cuban Missile crisis. Lastly, President Kennedy has inspired generations to take substantive time to give back to their community through creating Americorp, a voluntary civil society program that engages over 75,000 adults per year in public service work with a goal of "helping others and meeting critical needs in the community."

**2. The fact that Harvard University reviews all applicants for admission to favor affirmative action has resulted in a lower academic standard requirement for African Americans and much higher standard for Asian Americans. The Justice Department has launched legal action against Harvard's practice. What is your position on this matter? What action would you take if elected?**

Kim: I have long advocated that college admission be based on the accomplishments of each individual applicant. During my time as a State Representative, I was a strong champion of education particularly in the vital fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. As an immigrant and parent, there is nothing more important to me than having my children's hard work and investment be counted toward college admission. In fact, when SCA-05 first emerged, I worked closely with Chairman Ed Royce to take a strong position on the matter. Recently, the Department of Justice announced an additional review of Harvard University's admissions practice for bias against Asian Americans. I strongly support this action. If elected, I will work closely to ensure that admissions at all of our nation's colleges and universities be based on merit.

Cisneros: If elected, I would support an investigation to determine if

there is a difference in personality score ratings for Asian American college applicants between Harvard alumni interviewers and admission officers. Regardless of if there is a discernable difference and evidence of harmful racial bias, I will work with my colleagues to prevent unlawful admission practices. I benefited from the U.S. Navy's own version of an affirmative action program, which gave me the opportunity to get my education and become an officer. The diversity program allowed me to study and grow alongside people of all backgrounds, including Hispanics, Asian-Americans, African American, and Caucasians. I support providing the similar opportunities for other students to succeed.

**3. President Trump has now taken a tough tariff position for nearly half of all imported Chinese goods and warned that if China takes counter action on U.S. exports to China, then all Chinese imports would be tariffed. Do you support his position on this U.S.-China trade war? If not, what is your position on how it should be handled?**

Kim: I disagree with President Trump's approach to U.S.-China relations. Southern California is a region of the U.S. that depends heavily on the free flow of goods and services across borders. Without trade, the Ports of San Pedro and Long Beach would suffer, and jobs in our communities would be hurt. I believe that there is room for negotiations when it comes to trade. Naturally, nations have to protect their interests, and I believe the best way to achieve this is through active engagement and dialogue. I believe it's beneficial to have good relations with trading partners in general. Trade wars are not the answer.

Cisneros' answer: No, President Trump's trade war has damaged our standing in the international community while also harming millions of working-class families and Chinese American small business owners to pay for massive tax breaks for big corporations and special interests. In 2017, California's trade with China exceeded \$175 billion. China is our largest trading partner and while the Trump administration is doubling down on the trade war, our state's government has recently passed a bill urging the Trump administration and Congress to increase trade cooperation between the US and China.

China is currently our largest goods trade partner. As our economy continues to globalize, we must engage with China in a fruitful and mutually beneficial manner. I am deeply concerned about President Trump's use of tariffs that hurt American consumers and businesses. There are also real concerns regarding theft of American intellectual property, as well as significant barriers to entry in Chinese markets which limit US firms' ability to compete. I believe that the most effective way forward is not to impose unilateral tariffs on imports, but to work through the existing structures of the World Trade Organization in order to create a lasting solution that works for American consumers, businesses, and workers.

**4. Under the ever emerging anti-China policy, there have been discriminatory actions against Chinese Americans as seen by American officials openly making inappropriate statements. As an example, it has been suggested that all Chinese Americans may be suspected of being spies for China, and Chinese should therefore not be allowed to participate in hi-tech research and development work. What is your position?**

Kim: As a first-generation immigrant, I know too well the feeling of negative stereotypes. I believe Chinese Americans are dedicated public servants, selfless community leaders, and tireless entrepreneurs. If I have the honor of representing the Chinese American community in Congress, I pledge that I will vigorously fight any effort to negatively label an entire group of people based on misperceptions.

Cisneros: America's well-deserved reputation as a global leader in technology innovation is inseparable from its tradition of welcoming people from other countries. The fact that Chinese students and immigrants are being openly discriminated against by the United States government goes against everything that our country stands for. Many people forget that our country prohibited Chinese immigrants under the Chinese Exclusion Act. It is essential that we avoid returning to that dark period of our country

and instead celebrate our diversity and the contributions of all our communities.

**5. There are as many as 20 bills in total related to Taiwan sponsored in the House or Senate in 2017 and 2018 alone. Some have been passed and some others have been ordered. Still others remain to be ordered. The common thread among all these bills is to strengthen the working relationship between the U.S. and Taiwan. This causes uncertainty in the relationship between the two largest economies in the world. Do you anticipate and support the U.S. getting involved in another Asian War triggered by worsening US-China Relations? Should you be elected to the House, what is your general attitude towards these kinds of bills?**

Kim: Strengthening America's relationship with all entities in the Asia-Pacific region is in the best interest of our nation. I believe that it is a fundamental desire of all people - regardless of nationality or geography - to seek economic prosperity, growth, and opportunity so that they can live better lives. One of our most important goals in foreign policy must be to help people live better lives across the Asia-Pacific region and the world. If we can raise the living standard it helps the U.S. Higher economic growth in emerging markets means greater purchasing power to buy American exports. This leads to more jobs at home. That is why I support greater engagement in the world. History teaches us that a broadly prosperous world is a world that is more at peace.

Cisneros: I do not believe the U.S. will be involved in an Asian War with China over Taiwan. The United States has many allies and economic ties in the region that we cannot abandon. Each year, upwards of \$5.3 trillion in trade runs through the South China seas, including roughly \$1.2 trillion in American goods. As a former officer in the Navy, I understand the importance of working with our allies to secure these vital waterways.

The U.S. and Taiwan are aligned in their values of freedom, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, and the free market. Our two governments have enjoyed cooperation on a range of interests including security, economic cooperation and development, global engagement, humanitarian relief, and counter-terrorism. I will work to strengthen our existing partnership.

The people of Taiwan spend nearly \$7 billion a year on Californian goods and services. Taiwan is California's 7th largest trading partner. Our region is becoming the new gateway for the Asia-Pacific market and China Airlines' recent non-stop service to Ontario Airport from Taoyuan will translate into significant economic benefits for residents of CA-39 as more tourists and business travelers take advantage of a more convenient way to travel across the Pacific Ocean. I believe that a strong relationship between Taiwan and the 39th Congressional District will create new markets and help build an economy that works for all of us.

A few follow-up questions to Mr. Cisneros' answer to question 5 were sent to him: **You indicate your strong desire to strengthen the existing partnership, including security, between the U.S. and Taiwan. You also believe that U.S. will not be involved in an Asian War with China over Taiwan. The challenges are how to maintain the balancing act between the two conflicting desires? How would you propose to reduce the tensions between the U.S. and China over the security issue of Taiwan? Do you support the U.S. one-China Policy, which has been the foundation of the peace in East Asia over the past 40 years?**

Cisneros: I support the U.S. One-China policy. The United States has an abiding interest in a peaceful cross-strait resolution and I support an open dialogue and cooperation between Beijing and Taipei. As your next representative, I will push for substantive civil discussions regarding Taiwan's status with both China and Taiwan. I support the right of the Taiwanese people to live freely in a democratic society. As a Navy veteran, I believe that the United States should remain committed to preserving peace along the Taiwan Strait and prevent unwarranted aggression throughout the Asia-Pacific region. Military conflict in the Taiwan Strait is in no country's best interest. We have had over forty years of peace in the East Asia Pacific region because of our cooperative diplomatic relations with our East Asia partners, including China. Let us not forget how far we have come from the U.S.'s first trip to China in 1972 during the Cold War.

\*Editor's note: Dr Wordman's article originally scheduled to be published in this issue, Americans Should Really Understand the Taiwan Issue, is instead published on our website, US-China Forum.com