

# 改革開放四十周年

中國共產黨於1978年12月18日舉行了第十一屆會議的三中全會，會中否定了華國鋒提出的"兩個凡是"（凡是毛主席做出的決策，我們都堅決維護；凡是毛主席的指示，我們都始終不渝的遵循），放棄了以階級鬥爭為綱，並且決定了以經濟建設為其第一要務。所以，今年的12月18日是改革開放的第四十周年。

對於老一輩的知識份子，這早已是常談。但是，儘管這四十年的改革開放帶來了翻天覆地的變化，從一窮二白，整個社會幾乎分崩瓦解，到經濟突飛猛進，七億人脫貧，一躍而成世界第二大經濟體，並且可望在十年內高踞第一，可是，直到今天，國內還有許多公知不認同中國現在的制度。海外更多知識份子，動機各異，仍然希望共產黨垮臺，中國變天。所以，趁這個重要的里程碑時刻，且讓我們談談，為什麼別的社會主義國家轉型都歸於失敗，而中國取得了震驚全世界的成功？這背後到底有什麼邏輯？

大家都聽過鄧小平的名言，即不論黑貓白貓，能抓耗子的就是好貓。如果用官方語言來說，它就是"實事求是"。鄧小平是用這四個字推翻"兩個凡是"的。現在說起來，好像這沒有什麼了不起，可是在當時，它是兩條路綫鬥爭的核心。鄧揮舞起這金光閃閃的四個大字，拒絕跟那些死硬派爭論"姓社"還是"姓資"的無聊問題，把中國從僵硬的馬列毛教條的深淵中解救了出來。就憑這一點，他已經夠偉大了。不過，這祇是他的起點。

改革開放當然也包括思想的解放，所以知識份子開始討論時政了。思想禁錮了三十年，一旦解放，他們非常自然地又回到了五十年代的老問題，那就是：到底中國應該走社會主義的道路呢？還是走西方民主的道路呢？經歷了種種磨難，中國在社會主義的道路上走了三十年，可是最後是徹底失敗了。怎麼辦？無數知識份子，包括一些黨內精英，都認為沒有別的選擇，祇有改走西方民主的道路。根據我個人接觸到的當時從大陸來美的留學生，這是他們的共識。他們想要知道的是：如何使中國走到西方民主制度的道路上來？

我認為，這裏才是鄧小平最偉大的貢獻。他認為，制度不能改變，如果改變制度，中國又會亂成一團，那就永無翻身之日了。怎麼辦呢？無他：必須走"第三條路"！什麼是第三條路？那就是根據自己本國的客觀條件，尋找最適合自己發展的途徑，即便是前途茫茫，祇能摸著石頭過河也要契而不捨。對中國而言，第三條路就是高舉四個堅

## ◎水秉和

持。其實，其他三個堅持都是說說而已，祇有一個堅持是真，那就是堅持共產黨的領導。制度不變，政策不變，所有政策要以發展經濟為目標。

這並不是說，制度完全不變，而是說，主導中國命運的共產黨的權力和統治結構不能改變，而制度內的許多部門和權力分配應當隨著經濟發展的需要而改變。計劃經濟不靈了，所以必須把它弄活。第一件要做的就是放權讓利。在國營企業穩住基本供需的情況下，在左派仍然不停掣肘的情況下，他老人家開始"讓少數人先富起來"，也就是推動市場經濟。在農業方面，先解散人民公社，重新拾起劉少奇1962年推行的三自一包（自留地、自由市場、自負盈虧，包產到戶），然後容許社辦企業。社辦企業是向私營企業前進的第一步，它的成功也衝擊著國營企業，逼迫它們重視成本效益和盈虧。經濟特區的建立導致對農民執行了幾十年的嚴格且極端不公平的戶口政策開始鬆動，准許農民到城裏打工（雖然還是二等公民，近來又有更大地放鬆）。既然要講求成本效益，那麼國企必須裁員，美其名為"下崗"，學生從農村中解放出來之後也需要就業，於是乎就有了個體戶，小本經營的商店，逐步建立起私營企業，規模由小而大。到今天，涉及互聯網的私營企業已經成為全球性的大企業。當然，所有法律規章也必須適應這些現實而改變。生活習慣也多樣化了，現在人難以想象，當年最時髦的是墨鏡與口紅。文化活動也活躍起來。不知道哪一年開始的，鄧麗君風靡了全中國。

鄧小平接受習近平父親習仲勛的建議，建立了四個經濟特區，並以減稅的方式吸引香港和東南亞華僑的資本。最值得一提的大概就是深圳了。它由一個祇有幾十萬居民的小漁港變成今天人口接近一千五百萬人的大都市。由於它沒有戶口限制，所以全國各地的闖將都向它集合，使它成為最具活力的城市。要記得鄧小平曾經讓百萬士兵解甲歸田，結果其中大部分都被送去深圳搞建築，是他們的血汗換來深圳的飛速成長。經濟特區的建立和迅速擴大是參考了亞洲四小龍的經驗，而由於中國的體量巨大，由這個起點它發展成為世界工廠。今天回頭看，好像這些都是那麼順理成章，而其實它們都是經過嚴峻鬥爭和億萬人努力的結果。

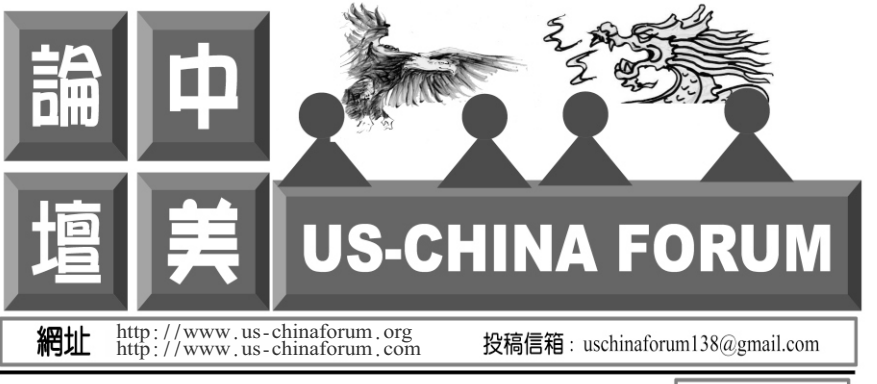
前面提到，自五四以來，知識份子對西方的自由主義思想和民主制度充滿了憧憬。改革開放之初，社會秩序陷入混亂，思想無所適從，

尤其是在向市場經濟過渡所實行的雙軌制，給黨官僚們帶來了巨大的貪腐空間，同時也導致無數的知識分子認為，中國必須實行民主。黨內也有同樣的期望，包括趙紫陽和他的年輕智囊們。他們對鄧小平的第三條道路，缺乏信心。六四的悲劇由此而生。幸運的是，它沒有帶來中國的崩潰，否則中東的悲劇早就在我們的神州大地上爆發了。

就在這個"第三條路"還在"摸著石頭過河"階段的時候，經濟卻強勁發展，那是因為許多下崗的工人和一大批對前景感到渺茫的年輕人唯錢是問，敢闖敢幹。相對於改革開放之前的嚴密管制，那可以說是一個無法無天的時代，也是一個笑貧不笑娼的時代。其實，祇有這樣狂熱地追求金錢才能打破仍然相當封建的共產黨統治，給社會帶來了生機。對於犯罪行為的汎濫，小平同志喊出了"嚴打"的口號，在各個地方殺了不少人，社會開始收斂，法律規章逐步加強了約束力。可是，國企仍然是個大問題。朱鎔基解決了三角債的問題之後，終於使中國於2001年加入了世貿組織。加入以後，中國就擺脫了美國每年捉弄中國一次的所謂最惠國待遇，而國際間貿易的規則也規範了中國的企業。中國的經濟運作才真正地跟世界掛鉤，逐漸走上正軌。可以說，自那時起，"中國模式"乃逐漸成型。

什麼是中國模式呢？見仁見智，各有說法。我認為，它至少包括下面幾點。第一，大家熟知的，就是"集中力量辦大事"。什麼大事呢？高鐵，公路，航天，造橋，造壩，造船，開闢港口，強化軍事能力和掌控南海等等。可以看出，這些大事所顯示的是全方位發展，這是二。為什麼能夠集中力量地全方位辦大事呢？那是因為第三，政府能夠通盤籌劃，集思廣益，為長期有序地發展制定計劃，而不是急功近利。這就是一黨治國，中央集權制度的最大優點，它不是輪流坐莊，祇顧短期成效，為的是爭取下次選舉的勝利。第四，先作小規模試點，成功就擴而大之，失敗就放棄。第五，講求速度和效率。第六，有能力砸大錢，不怕血本無歸，祇有這樣才能跟哪些已經主宰世界經濟的西方跨國公司打拚。

回顧過去四十年，中國的改革開放並不是一帆風順，而是不斷遭遇問題，不斷解決問題的過程。其間貪腐，濫用職權，勾心鬥角，官商勾結，營私舞弊的事情所在多有，受到傷害的人也不在少數。至少我個人認為，像中國這樣，能夠急起直追，或者彎道超車，在短短四十年裏獲得那麼驚人的成績，是絕對值得我們興奮和給予無窮的點贊的。



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# 中期選舉與貿易戰

中期選舉前的兩個月，特朗普到各地助選，共30次，可以說夠努力了。不過，他去的地方卻祇限於中西部和南部他在2016年大選期間獲勝的各州。果然。所到之處支持者夾道歡迎，會場裏也是熱鬧非凡。為了增加獲勝的概率，他還在選前五天主動打電話給習近平，並在長談之後在推特上說，

"剛剛跟中國的習近平總統長談，談的很好。我們談到很多問題，主要是貿易。關於貿易的討論進行的很順利，並預定在阿根廷的G-20會議時見面。"

這段話的目的，毫無疑問，是要鞏固他在幾個農業大州的票倉，希望他們不要因為他跟中國打貿易戰使他們受到了損失而責怪他。11月6日中期選舉的結果顯示，他的確保住了這幾州的共和黨參議員，也保住了"沒有受過大學教育的白人"對他的支持。

特朗普很可能是美國有史以來最能夠嘩眾取寵的政客。為了鼓勵支持他的選民投票，他自稱為"民族主義者"（在美國，民族主義一詞含有反猶的意思）。這樣的表態對極端份子極大的鼓舞。雖然我們不知道是不是這種因果關係作祟，我們確知的是，他的一名狂熱支持者向十幾位民主黨的大佬，包括兩位前總統，一名前副總統，一名前國務卿，還有一名億萬富翁等，匿名寄出了十五枚炸彈。炸彈雖然沒有爆炸，可是，大家可以感覺到，政治的嚴重對立已經危害到民主政治的和平運作。

接下來的，他的另外一名支持者跑到猶太人的教堂，槍殺了十一名猶太人。這個事件的嚴重性是不可以低估的。猶太人在歐洲受到納粹主義者屠殺以後，把美國當作最安全的安身立命的樂土。在美國遭到屠殺，對他們的打擊絕對不是一般的沉重。這兩件事對非特朗普粉絲的沉悶而言，很可能使他們警覺，特朗普是個危險人物，必須有一股力量來制衡他。

第三件近期發生的事件就是，數千名難民集結在千里之外的中美

## ◎彭文逸

洲，想要穿過墨西哥，向美國邊境進發，尋求庇護。特朗普得到訊息之後，立刻緊抓著這件事不放，並盡量擴大化事情的急迫性。不但把它當作四處助選的首要事件，並且宣佈要立刻派遣軍隊，幫助邊境的國安警察到墨西哥邊境防守。他的目的當然是想要激起白人反有色人種移民的情緒。從中西部和南部白人的投票情況證明，他達到了他的目的。

第四件事，當然，就是參議院審議他提名的最高法院法官候選人的聽證會了。一位端莊且帶有幾分內向的女教授指控這位候選人年輕時曾經對她性侵犯，這引起了全國婦女的共鳴。可是，特朗普居然在一大群選民面前公然嘲笑她，對她發動人身攻擊。根據多方報導，他激怒了哪些居住在"大城市周邊，本來傾向於共和黨的中產階級已婚婦女"。

上述事件毫無疑問對選民的投票意向發生了相當大的影響。中西部的保守白人，尤其是農村人口，投票率增加，可是少數民族選民和市區婦女選民的投票率有更大幅度的增加，而這些人倒向了民主黨，使民主黨奪回了眾議院的多數。幾乎所有媒體的評論員（除了Fox）都表示，終於有了一個制衡特朗普的力量。這應當是這次中期選舉傳遞的最重要的信息，也是值得我們慶幸的信息。

到底這個選舉結果對美中貿易戰會發生什麼影響呢？眾說紛紛。不過，影響很可能是正面的。因為，選舉結束後，11月8號下午，特朗普說，"他們放棄了中國製造2025..."，並說，"我們將跟中國達成協議，因為我願意跟習總統和中國保持良好關係。"

北京方面最近也不提"中國製造2025"了。不提2025有什麼關係呢？所謂韬光養晦，意思不就是悶著頭做事，不要張揚嗎？或許這句老鄧的話會再次成為中國外交政策的座右銘。

# Americans Should Really Understand the Taiwan Issue

American people are proud citizens better versed in American history (The American Revolution and Independence (1776) and her own democratization process: The States grant white male land owners voting rights in 1789, free black male lose right to vote in some States 1792-1838, property qualification dropped for white men 1792-1856, women allowed to vote from 1920, all native Americans granted right to vote, 1924, Chinese immigrants granted the right to citizenship and voting right, 1943, adults 18-21 granted right to vote, 1972) than in foreign relations and global conflicts. The reason may be that there were never wars or foreign invasions occurred on the continent of the United States. Americans went to foreign wars generally out of patriotism, serving the country and the military and supporting the government's foreign policy, interpreted under national security consideration. The engagement of the U.S. in global conflicts prior to WW II and WW I were limited and constrained, it became full scale during WW II making the U.S. the strongest nation in the world as a result. Post WW II, when the spread of Communism flamed to threaten the capitalistic established nations and societies in the first half of the twenties century, the U.S. raised the flag to resist Communism and led the world to fight any Communist country. The American citizens generally accepted that doctrine whole-heartedly but rarely had learned the deep issues involved in the global conflicts, for example, the Korean War (6/27/1950 - 1/31/1955), the Vietnam War (2/28/1961 - 5/7/1975) and the Gulf War (8/2/1990 - present).

Korean War was an anti-Communist war but it evolved into a global conflict of nuclear threat not so much as a threat of Communism. It was obvious, Communist country fared poorly in economical development. The North Koreans finally realized that no suppression could hide the fact that South Koreans live with nearly 20+ times higher per capital GDP than their northern brothers. Now the South Korea and the North Korea are seeking a peaceful settlement, would the American government encourage that or reignite another Korean War to remove the nuclear threat? Wouldn't it make more sense to work with NK, SK and all their geopolitical neighbors together to resolve the nuclear issue by peaceful dialogue?!

Vietnam War was another bitter war; many Americans lost their lives for it, again under the flag of anti-Communism. The U.S. sort of inherited the Indochina regional unrest like a hot potato created by colonialism and the Japanese invasion. The U.S. picked her support and created South Vietnam waving the flags of democracy and anti-Communism but in the end giving in to nationalism that the local people wanted their way of life because of their history, culture and their will of self-governance with no foreign

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interference. After the war, North Vietnam and South Vietnam are united; perhaps still having conflicts with her neighbors, but Vietnam is striving in her own way of focusing on economic development. Ironically, the U.S. is now considering enticing Vietnam to become one of her strategic partners for her anti-China Policy. Does that make sense?

The U.S. has given up her national draft policy, that is, every eligible citizen (18-25) must serve in the military to meet the call of duty in case of war. As the Vietnam War drew to a close in 1973, the Selective Service announced the cease of draft calls after Richard Nixon, a conservative Republican, won the Presidential election over Senator George McGovern of S. Dakota, a Democrat and outspoken opponent of war. The present voluntary army system means that the military service has become a professional career which will respond to any duty of war called upon by the Pentagon under the Commander of Chief, the President.

We all knew how George W. Bush started the Iraq war with false information. Subsequently, there are debates of withdrawal from the Middle East from Bush through Obama and now to Trump. But the Gulf War debate had never reached the level like the Vietnam War debate. The simple reason is the draft system. It has become apparent; the President of the U.S. and the Congress must be prudent in managing global conflict and especially careful in initiating any war and the American citizens must raise their understanding of global conflicts so that the citizens can impose their understanding and will onto the elected officials to conduct foreign policies and make sensible war decisions. Citizens must realize that the career military system would not offer the nation a debate process about a war (where the entire nation participates) like a draft system would (since every family has a stake in it).

Recently, the U.S. confronted the "China Competition" by initiating a trade war to reduce trade imbalance. This measure itself can be understood by American citizens (to apply pressure to our trade partners to make them to trade fairly, to open up their markets and to stimulate American industry and corporations to focus on US economy). However, what is not understood by American people is the ever growing anti-China attitude based on national security argument, same arguments similar to previous ones which led to Korean War, Vietnam War and Middle East Wars. In those wars, the American

citizens were led to war with no deep understanding of why and whether or not the war was justified. The recent development of US-China Conflict seems to have more issues than the trade imbalance. One issue showing possibility of war is the Taiwan issue. The Taiwan issue was a seven decade old Chinese domestic conflict elevated to the global stage because of geopolitical conflict in Asia, recently heightened by the US Pivot to Asia Strategy. Similar to Korea and Vietnam, the Chinese domestic division was triggered by Communism, thus the U.S. was involved (supporting Taiwan and opposing the Mainland). The involvement of the U.S. should have been ceased when President Nixon signed the Shanghai Communiqué (1972) confirming Taiwan is a part of China and later reinforced by President Carter by formally recognizing PRC as the sole legal entity representing China and severed the official diplomatic relation with Taiwan (1979).

The American people should really understand the Taiwan issue to avoid another mistake of creating a war in Asia involving American military for no benefit. China regards Taiwan as a domestic issue, hoping to resolve it peacefully. The American people should try to understand the issue from Taiwan, China and the U.S. perspective. One article published in World Journal (9/5/2018), by Su Qi, a former Secretary of Taiwan's National Security Council, offers such a perspective. On the crucial issue, whether Mainland China would use military force to unite Taiwan and whether the U.S. would interfere with military force, Su states: Based on historical facts, China has not engaged in any military conflict after the Cold War; her wars were taking place only at peripheral regions of her national border, over sovereignty issue, nothing to do with Communism. He further points out that China's war management generally goes through three clear phases, a warning period, then surprise attack and quick ending and withdrawal, meaning a rational behavior.

Su reemphasizes that whether (or not) the Taiwan Strait would break out into a military conflict depends on the behavior of the Taiwan government. Whether a conflict will escalate into a war would depend on the U.S. and whether the war would become serious would depend on China's decision. At the moment, Taiwan's current administration is marching onto an anti-China path mimicking the U.S. despite of Mainland China's friendly gesture and generous offering in trade and benefits to Taiwan. The U.S. currently seems to be using the Taiwan issue to antagonize China by passing the Taiwan Travel Act, dedicating a big building for the American Institute in Taiwan (US Representative in Taiwan) and encouraging Taiwan to buy more US arms and develop submarines, all challenging the redline of the Mainland China raising probability of war. As American citizens, we must ask: Why do we want to trigger a war in Taiwan Strait? What will we gain? What did we learn from the Korean and Vietnam wars? Should we seriously rethink of our present and changing China Policy?!