

大陸經濟如何健康復甦



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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

最近的各方新聞報導都說中國大陸的經濟下滑了，處於經濟緊縮情況。由於主要原因是失去打工國機遇，所以靠自力難以回振。

大陸改革開放四十年，經濟發展突飛猛進，靠的是接受西方國家的投資和設廠，將「中國製造」的外國品牌產品輪回投資國，也輪向全世界。同時大陸建立了與外資企業配套的上下游企業，並輸出自己的產品。於是建立了相當完整的產業鏈和全球進出口關係。在這過程中，獲得大量就業，也累積了相當的資本和產能。黨政府憑藉掌握土地、資源、廠房、基建，通訊運輸，進出口、行政管理等資源，獲得高額收入，成為世界上最富有的政府之一。這「為人工打」而發展，與農民從鄉下到沿海打工而「脫貧」是同一模式。

由於中國（大陸）仍堅守蘇聯所傳的政治意識形態，與西方對立，彼此視為敵人。當GDP上升到一定程度，便口口聲聲要超越美國，要改變西方的國際秩序和普世價值；另一方面，美國主導的西方感到中國要顛覆西方所建立的國際秩序，並且是兼具經濟和軍事的挑戰者，比只是軍事強權的俄羅斯更危險。

美國和西方抑制中國的最佳辦法，是釜底抽薪：把國際打工機會從中國轉去其他國家，不再投資中國，並從中國抽出資本，遷出工廠，轉給印度、越南、墨西哥等其他國家，把市場也轉給那些國家的產品。中國失去大量外資企業，本國的上下游企業便面臨縮減甚至關閉的危機，失業上升，喪失購買力，整體經濟下滑。譬如沿海企業不再僱用某省農民工，他們便會面臨生計問題。

大陸一般不統計農民工的失業；中小城市打工族的失業情況也不明，但是大城市和大學畢業生的嚴重失業則成為新聞大標題。經濟下滑使得政府收入減少，財政困難；政府和民間的龐大債務無法償付，發生金融危機。進出口減少，牽連其他國家的不景氣，引起世界性的關注。

除了失去打工國機遇，大陸還有結構性的基本問題。冰凍三尺非一日之寒。最近才暴露出來令人擔憂的，是未富先老和少婚少生。又因為三十年的一胎化政策和農民工死亡率高，形成人口劇減和人口結構失衡，勞動力迅速減少，幾十年後將有生存危機。

由於黨政基本不放心民營企業，近年給予重大打擊，國內企業也在緊縮和外移。加深了產業鏈斷鍊、失業、和經濟萎縮。

中國仍是發展中國家，收入少，底子薄，儲蓄少，缺少社會福利和保障機制，個人和家庭必須自己設法應付生老病死和各種意外的需要，在這困難時期特別不敢消費，更加深了經濟萎縮。

為解決這些問題，需要徹底進行多方面的努力，不是只突破幾個點就算大功告成。最基本的提升全民教育，包括量與質，使高素質的國民有能力解決問題。世界上發達國家都是教育程度高的國家。任何經濟建設，最後都是靠人去完成，人的素質不足，任何方法都是空談。在教育現狀下，為迅速提高經濟，應發掘現有國民的潛力。

◎吳章鈺

1. 開放民企。放鬆讓民營經濟發展，是救經濟和使經濟高速發展的鐵律。大陸承襲蘇聯的制度，注重國營企業，重工業，軍工業，不重視民生經濟。蘇聯的解體證明那是錯誤。俄羅斯是蘇聯的繼承者，三十年來，經濟繼續沒有起色。大陸的體制忌諱民間經濟勢力的興起，近年特別針對互聯網企業加以重手打擊，並以黨建普遍伸入民企，加以控制。民營經濟隨之不振。救經濟的第一要務應是黨政放權放鬆對民營企業的管制和壓制。

民營企業是從下到上，植根於社會的需要，千千萬萬的人絞盡腦汁，日夜拼搏，尋找機會，因此產生普遍的生機和發展，新思維，新嘗試，在競爭中不斷改進失誤，互相學習，求新突破，日新又新，創造生產和就業，也最能創新、開創新產業，優質的企業逐漸壯大。民企基本能調和、調整各種問題。政府依法規劃管理，維護公平競爭，使經濟健康發展。直到前幾年，大概而言，民營部門的貢獻是：50%以上的稅收、60%以上的經濟產出、80%以上的城鎮就業。

專政領導的決定不允許有異議；絕大多數是奉命執行的「幹部」，結果上下都不免思想僵化，有害於經濟發展。過去四十年採用資本主義，但在黨專政下變成黨壟斷資本主義，黨政不受規章制度約束；官商合作貪腐成風；黨政形成一個利益集團，照顧自身的利益，沒有自我調整的意願、眼光和能力。黨委的「人治」與經濟發展規律是衝突的。近年更在民企中設黨建組織，幹部的任務不是為發展企業，而是為管控；黨委通常不懂行，產生反效。

同時，應該開放國企，讓民間參與投資和管理。聘請民間企業人士參與管理，提升管理效率，減少浪費和冗員，利用國企的巨大產能而推進民生經濟。國企民企優勢互補，避免彼此的弱點，糾正彼此的錯誤，可以大大提升民生經濟的活力、創新力、和競爭力，產生利益的最大化。

為使民企在國家經濟問題上有發

言權，並有權參與決策和管理，需要建立制度上的機制，例如建立民企顧問委員會，由民企公開推舉組成，不但是最高層的黨政顧問，經常定期開會，就經濟問題參與建議和討論，並且其成員有權隨時公開主動提出建議，而且言者無罪。官民依法合作。

應修憲將民企顧問委員會列入憲法。雖然憲法實際上並不受遵守，但還是國家大法，有必要將民顧委入憲，成為憲政體制之一。

提升民企，就是提升民生經濟，孫中山先生早就主張民主主義，合乎國民真心的需要。民生就是個人、家庭、社會每天每時的生活幸福。

2 提升農民為平等國民：讓農民不受階級制和戶口制（將人的身份鎖定在祖先生地的封建性制度）的雙重約束，而獲得平等國民的地位，平等權利，平等工作、工資和同等福利，和發揮能力的平等機會。則經濟將得到幾億農民智慧和拼搏精神的投入，立即勃發生機。農民和農民工是社會的最底層，最苦最無望。他們有強烈的改善生活，改善子女未來的願望。他們有吃苦耐勞的拼搏精神。將他們潛藏的和能力被拋棄，乃是最大的損失。

農民工做雙倍時間的工，只得到勉強生活的一份工資。等於是他們貢獻了雙倍的勞動力，或者說他們只得到一半的工資。大陸因此獲得巨大的「人口紅利」，但是農民和農民工的身心受到無情摧殘。農民工在工作地點沒有最低的保健福利，又不敢請假，因此傷病死亡率很高，又因為種種限制使他們無法養家和生兒育女，所以生育率很低。這兩點促成斷層式的人口減少和生育率下降，以至專家們都認為中國未來的經濟必然走向衰退，更談不上競爭力。因此釋放農民工的潛能是當務之急。

中小城市的人所受教育較好，到沿海城市能從事技術工和管理方面的工作，在經濟發展中是居於中堅地位的精英。但他們同屬「打工族」，他們遭遇的不平和困境，所受的傷害，與農民工相同。他們也是雙倍時間工作只得一份工資。是

俄烏戰爭必須無條件停火

◎劉羽明

開戰理由，但是提供武器資源協助廠商並沒有什麼好處，西方世界把庫存的舊武器都用完了，但一時造不出新的武器，開始使用殺傷力更大武器。都已精疲力盡了，還不想停下來的理由，實在令人難以理解。在全球經濟如此低迷的現狀之下，戰爭持續對誰都沒有好處，尤其是西方國家，是時候停止提供更多武器給烏克蘭了。

俄羅斯已經精疲力盡了，烏克蘭沒了武器也打不起來了，問題是如何停止這場戰爭。停止俄烏戰爭的辦法是有的，那就是雙方立即停火，而且必須是無條件停火，因為有條件就會有爭執，就會無限期延

後停火時間，所謂無條件就是不容許為停火和談判設限（這其實就是刁難）。如恢復領土完整及承認和進行公投之類，這應是停火後的談判內容而不是談判的前提，這應在無條件停火和無條件談判後通過協商解決。

為了實現無條件停火和無條件談判，應由協力廠商中立國家（如中國、印度和瑞士）代表和聯合國代表組成停火監督團，並由其制定出強制的無條件停火的日期，屆時如不停火和停止拱火，將視為戰爭罪和戰犯，必須嚴懲不貸，非如此不能停止俄烏戰爭。

最近有消息說，西方支援烏克蘭的武器很多出現在十月爆發的以巴戰爭的戰場上，換句話說，戰爭持續下去，可能造成世界更多地

參與率仍遠不如歐美。例如，美國內閣閣員24人，11人是女性；日本內閣閣員19人，5人是女性。中國有黨、政兩套領導班子，人數眾多，但沒有或極少女性。今年有好幾位重要人物訪華，如美國的財政部長葉倫，商務部長雷蒙多，國際貨幣基金組織總裁格奧爾基耶娃，都是女性。中國對口接待的都是男性。

婦女可以勝任何工作，不比男性遜色。今年的諾貝爾科學獎中，物理學獎和醫學獎都有女性得獎人。經濟學獲獎者是女性，她的研究課題正是婦女參加勞動市場的分析。即使在軍隊中，美國陸海空三軍都有女性上將。在智力經濟時代，婦女的長處更有發揮的機會。

結論：提振經濟，進而發展高效能、全民幸福的經濟社會，需要發掘社會上被埋沒的「人的資源」，發揮他們的生產和創新潛力。因此必須振興民企，重視釋放打工族和婦女的潛力。這些並不需要特別大的財政投入，投入也能很快回收。主要是牽涉到權力和利益的重新分配，需要改變人們的觀念和心態。因此關鍵在於掌握權、錢的階層是否願意高瞻遠矚，為全社會的利益付出短時間的代價，以爭取長期的全民惠益。利人就是利己，最終能獲得更大的幸福。

任何國家都會面臨可以預知的經濟循環和不可預知的重大意外事故，導致經濟衰落。每一個國家如何因應，端視其是否國民素質高、身心健康、政治社會體制完善及全體國民是否都能夠共同參與挽救和復興經濟的努力。

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方爆發戰爭。當務之急，就是國際社會要儘快行動起來，爭取和實現無條件停火和無條件談判，早日結束俄烏戰爭，不讓其蛻變為第三次世界大戰和熱核戰爭，否則人類將陷入萬劫不復之地，世界末日就真的來臨了！

國際間還要拋棄地緣政治和冷戰思維，因為這是產生戰爭的根源。當今已是多元化的世界，各種國際重大問題應通過政治協商解決，而不是付諸戰爭，戰爭不是解決問題的唯一方法。只有建設人類命運共同體，才是人類的唯一出路。

這是一場沒有人承受得起的戰爭，也是一場沒有任何一方，包括拱火的協力廠商國家會得到好處的戰爭，是認真考慮無條件停火的時候了。

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China's 40-year Boom Will Continue with Policy Change

The U.S. and China are the two largest economies in the world, their mutual dependence cannot be ignored simply because of the human interactions between the 330 million Americans and the 1.4 billion Chinese citizens. The interactions include blood relationships, in-law relationships as well as other relations bounded by education (school-mates), business (trading partners and custom-clients), professional contacts (colleagues, associates, even including politicians who represent civil and cultural groups). Yet today the U.S. government is practicing a Cold War mentality against China adopting an economic sanction policy in cohorts with its allies. The policy is word-smithed from de-coupling to de-risking, in reality, it is an all-out economic war with the intention to crush China's economic rise.

Driven by the ideology legacy (Communism is evil and the Western Liberal Capitalism based democracy is supreme), China was on the evil list next to the Soviet communist bloc despite China's independence from the Soviet Union and its pursuit of economic development in its own way. Russia was the leader of the Soviet Union primarily practicing real goods economy (manufacturing and production) whereas the U.S. led Western world was practicing a capitalistic economy (Capital creates industries, farms, and products). One key difference can be illustrated by the following example. The Soviet Russia would aid or loan its 50 horse-power tractors and machines to others like China. China would pay back the debt with agricultural products. Whereas the U.S. would aid or loan capitals to Germany, France and Japan for economic development. Capital is far more liquid (flexible) for recipients to develop their preferred profitable industries. (Germany, France and Japan all quickly developed their industries post-WW II) Hence the capitalist economic development model is proven to be efficient, although capital tends to be concentrated in a few hands.

China started out as a communist country (in the 1950's) and received aid from the Soviet, but its economic development was not so smooth. Following the example cited above, 50 horse-power tractors may be great for Russia or Ukraine, but they are not too practical on the Chinese small farms and tiered mountain-side farmland. In 1962, China parted its way from the Soviet Union because of their differences in interpretation of Marxism and the extreme poverty in China. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) experimented and learned from many economic development models in history as well as from contemporary cases. China had made mistakes over nearly two decades until the late 1970's when Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping implemented a massive reform program taking advantage of the U.S. strategy of opening up to China to rival with the Soviet Union. China indeed learned and reformed from 1979 to 2009 and became the world's second largest economy in 2010. China embraced capitalism but massaged it with socialism under its largely state-driven enterprise systems with rigorous planning and control. China continued her rapid growth for another decade until the COVID Pandemic hit the world.

Over the 40 years, the U.S. succeeded in winning the Cold War

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against the Soviet Union whose economy collapsed and the union disintegrated in 1991. The U.S. became the most powerful nation in the world believing in its supremacy owing to its governing system (Liberal Capitalistic Democracy). However, the rapid rise of China was casting doubt on the American supremacy notion. China's GDP was growing three times faster than that of the U.S. China now is the world's largest purchasing power enjoying the status of being the number one trading partner with over 120 countries. China has become 'the world manufacturer'. Despite the U.S. effort to suppressing China's economic rise, China has single-handedly built a space station while the one U.S.-Russia collaborated launching is about to retire. China succeeded in lifting its billion citizens out of poverty, having the best public transportation infrastructure in the world, and using its own GPS system with communication capability. Understandably, the U.S. felt uneasy, but losing the Olympic spirit to compete and applying all tricks to destroy a strong competitor with the possibility of mutual destruction is an insane strategy.

In the U.S. many talks predicting China's inevitable demise can be found, but sadly they are mainly based on superficial arguments: Our Liberal capitalistic democracy is supreme and China's system will eventually collapse. Very little deep analysis was done other than citing a few economic data of suspicious accuracy, for example, GDP prediction, youth unemployment rate, real estate vacancies, etc. China is a big country with a sophisticated culture capable of dealing with complex problems and crises. On August 20, 2023, The Wall Street Journal published an article, entitled, "China's 40-year Boom Is Over, What Comes Next?", authored by Lingling Wei and Stella Yifan Xie. As if the paper's content did not match the title enough or politically correct enough, there is a follow-up commentary on this paper appeared anonymously in Wordtune Read, which further emphasized a perilous outlook for China's economy. Wordtune Read cited an IMF estimate of China's GDP growth rate going down to 4%, world demand for Chinese goods ebbing, the housing bubble popped and borrowing unsustainable. Wei and Xie hinted that China's economy might follow a Japan-like slowdown and interpreted that China's boom was the result of an excessive investment in infrastructure (overbuilt airports and highways) but they ended their article with Xi's resolve to double-down "the control" to pump up the economy, whereas the commentary article gave a far more gloomy future for China.

This author cannot help but worry that the baseless anti-China sentiment will lead the U.S. to a disastrous path. To be fair, we must leave the legacy of ideology and examine China's failures and 40-year boom based on economic principles and accurate data. China did make mistakes, such as forcefully organizing farm villages into communes to receive the rationed Russian tractors, engaged in the Korea and Vietnam wars sacrificing China's economic development for political objectives, and Isolated itself from the

Western world, especially its capital market, impeding China's economic development and nation building. Then came the U.S. policy changes, the U.S. adopted the 'allying China against the Soviet Union strategy' (open to China) and China initiated a broad-ranged reform program (embracing the West) and selectively adopted capitalism, which started China's 40-year boom. The details of China's rapid rise are complex, but the principles are easily understandable. The Chinese leaders understood deeply the Chinese history and Chinese people's nature, culture, and desire. They simply unleashed the Chinese people's conservative and disciplined respect for history, experience, education (learning, experiments and innovation), diligence, sacrifice and reward relationship, and respect and mandate of government performance.

The CCP initiated a rigorous economic development process, planned, reviewed, and measured every five years. China examined the 'success and failure' economic development cases (in the West and in the entire world history) to select and adopt the best suitable and avoid the worst harmful models. Their daring 'learn while you do and do while you learn' approach had made their double-digit economic growth possible. However, they have paid prices as well such as pollution and environmental damages. China's infrastructure investment may not satisfy the Western liberal capitalist's return on investment (ROI) expectation, but its impact as a locomotive for China's economic development is undeniable. Furthermore, China's Belt and Road Initiative program (BRI) for promoting global economic development (China's sacrifice and early investment) will have a long-term dividend. The U.S. and EU have certainly failed in such long-term investment. A win-win program like BRI, originated from China's ancient Silk Road idea, but its implementation has definitely incorporated many good ideas not only from the Silk Road but also from post-WW II Marshall Plan and more current World Bank projects. The BRI will be a locomotive for world economic development, any badmouthing on the program is just sour-grapes rhetoric.

The so called double-down decision by the CCP did not appear to be a decision out of ideological argument. China has gained tremendous growth (and experience) from its urbanization program, supported by its national infrastructure investment. Urbanization came with a cost, shifting productive labor from countries to cities creating a big wealth gap between cities and villages. To further pull China up above the poverty line into the middle class, China must rein in the liberal capitalist development process (which created urban real estate overbuilt problems) and divert attention and capital to China's vast rural areas. China has already initiated programs such as green energy, environmental protection, and population balancing (incentives and jobs for city folks to move to the countryside). China may have a few bad economic data due to COVID-19, but China is by far the best nation in pandemic management. To the China doomsday sayers, this author would advise that we need to be humble to admit the problems associated with liberal capitalism and cooperate with China, the fastest train in world economic development, to reap a win-win outcome.

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