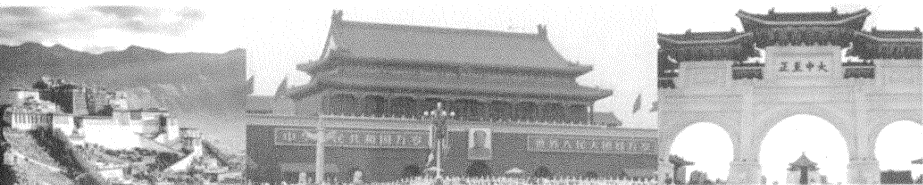


政治及公共行政博覽

Politics and Public Administration Exposition 2008



中國統一之路

FROM EAST TO WEST -

BEIJING'S POLICY TOWARDS TAIWAN AND TIBET



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FOREWORD

The theme of the Politics and Public Administration Exposition (PPAX) this year is “From East to West: Beijing’s Policy Towards Taiwan and Tibet.” While these regions are very different in the popular imagination, closer inspection reveals some salient similarities between them. Both are geographically peripheral to the Chinese dominion, culturally distinguished by strong localism, and politically distant from Beijing. Any comparison between Taiwan and Tibet would be but a matter of degree.

Their marginality contrasts vastly with their strategic centrality on China’s agenda. As we have seen in the past, political development in these regions, in particular Beijing’s interaction with them, often resulted in outcomes with significant ramifications for domestic and international communities alike. The involvement of regional and global powers and the rising concern for Chinese economic and military expansion further complicates the picture. The controversies arising from the recent referendum in Taiwan and the incident in Lhasa illustrate just how delicate the situation has now become.

A controversial topic that often inspires sentiment rather than reason, the issue of national unification will hopefully be examined on a more academic and even-handed basis in the PPAX. I strongly encourage students to participate in the forums and discussion sessions held between 25 March and 4 April 2008.

Many thanks for your support for the PPAX.

Danny W. F. Lam, Ph.D.

Head and Associate Professor

Department of Politics and Public Administration

The University of Hong Kong



OVERVIEW

With a history of more than 3 decades, Politics and Public Administration Exposition (PPAX) is one of the most celebrated functions of our Association, the Politics and Public Administration Association (PPAA) SSS HKUSU. The aims of this event are to give participants an insight into current affairs as well as to develop students' critical thinking and analytical skills.

The theme of this year's PPAX is: From East to West: Beijing's Policy towards Taiwan and Tibet. The world again turns to China, where Olympics will be held this year. The Sports event is held in Beijing, but its impact is not confined to the capital. It has a much wider implication. The development of Taiwan and Tibet will become the focus. If you keep up with news, you cannot miss out the Taiwanese Presidential election and Lhasa Riot. They are or are going to be hits. What we are concerned is not only the outcome of one-off events, but the trend of development. In fact, every incident's occurrence owes to its long-term causes and catalyst. How do the Taiwan and Tibet issues run up to the status quo? We are going to carry out an exploration on issues related to Chinese unification and the policies Beijing adopted. In particular, we will put more focuses on Taiwan and Tibet, and discuss how the recent Presidential Election and the incident of Lhasa may affect the relationship between the two places and the Beijing Government. We will also try to make some forecast about the future of China on reunification issues.

Exhibitions, forums and small discussion groups will be held throughout this exposition. Established current affairs commentators, academics and columnists, including Mr. Tao Kit, Mr. Raymond Wong and Mr. Johnny Lau, will be our guests and present in the wide variety of functions. With their insightful sharing, participants will no doubt be inspired.

Come and join us. Call Jeffrey Wong at 62422520 for enquiries.

開幕典禮

GRAND OPENING CEREMONY

Date: 25th March, 2008 (Tuesday)

Time: 12:30 - 12:50

Venue: Sun Yat-sen Place

Guests: **Dr. Sara Jordon**

Assistant Professor of the Department of Politics and Public Administration, The University of Hong Kong

Prof. Joseph Cheng Yu-shek (鄭宇碩教授)

Professor (Chair) of Political Science of the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong

Ms. Claudia Mo (毛孟靜小姐)

Media Critic and Journalist

Mr. Johnny Lau Yui Siu (劉銳紹先生)

Independent journalist

Mr. Wong On Yin (王岸然先生)

Current Affairs Commentator

Description: This ceremony marks the official commencement of the Politics and Public Administration Exposition (PPAX) 2008 and represents the start of a wide variety of functions which will last for two weeks.

Contact Person: Wong Yin Chun, Jeffrey
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中國統一之路
過去、現在與未來
FROM EAST TO WEST
BUSINESS POLICY TOWARDS TAIWAN AND TIBET

第一場論壇

FIRST INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE FORUM

中國統一之路：坦途？驚濤？

THE ROAD TOWARDS CHINA'S REUNIFICATION

Date: 25th March, 2008 (Tuesday)

Time: 12:50 - 1400

Venue: Sun Yat-sen Place

Guests: **Prof. Joseph Cheng Yu-shek (鄭宇碩教授)**

Professor (Chair) of Political Science of the Department of Public and Social Administration, City University of Hong Kong

Ms. Claudia Mo (毛孟靜小姐)

Media Critic and Journalist

Mr. Johnny Lau Yui Siu (劉銳紹先生)

Independent journalist

Mr. Wong On Yin (王岸然先生)

Current Affairs Commentator

Medium: Cantonese

Description: The focus of this first forum of PPAX will be the sovereignty problem in China. Particular interest will be placed on Taiwan and Tibet. Current policies as well as Beijing's stance towards Taiwan and Tibet will be discussed.

Contact Person: Lam Ka Po, Paula
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第二場論壇

SECOND INTELLECTUAL EXCHANGE FORUM

兩岸恩怨何時了？

從台灣政治風氣剖析台海關係

TAIWAN'S POLITICAL ECOLOGY AND STRAIT ISSUES

Date: 27th March, 2008 (Thursday)

Time: 12:30 - 14:00

Venue: Sun Yat-sen Place

Guests: **Mr. Ma Ka Fai (馬家輝先生)**

Independent journalist

Dr. Robert T. Y. Chung (鍾庭耀博士)

Director of Public Opinion Programme,

The University of Hong Kong

Medium: Cantonese

Description: The relationship between China and Taiwan will be explored in this forum. The past and present policies of China towards Taiwan will be discussed. Some students who have just come back from a study tour in Taiwan will also share their experience of witnessing the Presidential Election with the participants.

Contact Person: Ho Oi Yu, Michelle
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中國統一之路
過去、現在與未來
FROM EAST TO WEST
BEIJING IS POLARITY TOWARDS TAIWAN AND TIBET

第一場座談會

FIRST DISCUSSION SESSION

與陶傑談統一

INTERFLOW WITH MR. TAO KIT

Date: 1st April, 2008 (Tuesday)
Time: 18:00 - 19:30
Venue: Room 303, T. T. Tsui Building

Guest: Mr. Tao Kit (陶傑先生)
Renowned Senior Media Worker

Description: In this discussion group, Mr. Tao Kit will be our guest. Mr. Tao is one of the most celebrated intellectuals in Hong Kong. As a broadcaster, his wit and wry sense of humour are renowned. Many of his works are notable for their poetical quality. This meeting will explore the issues of Taiwan from different angles and perspectives. It aims at serving as a meeting of minds, where students and Mr. Tao can have an intellectual exchange. Unlike every day's lecture, it consists of more interactive elements as the quota of participants for this discussion group is limited. Participants can also voice their opinion at this occasion.

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第二場座談會

SECOND DISCUSSION SESSION

黃毓民說民族磨擦和離心

MR. RAYMOND WONG ON CONFLICTS AND SEPARATION

Date: 3rd April, 2008 (Thursday)

Time: 18:00 - 19:30

Venue: Room G01, Chong Yuet Ming Amenities Centre

Guest: Mr. Raymond Y. M. Wong (黃毓民先生)
Chairman, League of the Social Democrats

Description: Mr. Raymond Wong is our guest in this discussion session. Mr. Wong is known for his passion towards public affairs and politics. His unpretending personality and fearlessness in giving his honest opinions have gained him much popularity. The meeting will focus on the reasons for regions, in particular Tibet, to have conflicts between different races. The reasons for people in these regions to have a strong will for gaining independence from China will also be discussed. Participants will be able to exchange ideas with Mr. Wong under the interactive atmosphere.

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專題展覽

EXHIBITION

Date: 25th - 30th March, 2008
Venue: K. K. Leung Concourse (North Side)

Topics:

- Overview of PPAX 2008
- The Importance of Unification
- Taiwan's History
- Implications of Taiwan Issue
- Tibet's History
- Implications of Tibet Issue
- Future of the Reunification Process

Description: This exhibition aims at providing a more comprehensive information on China's policy on national unification. Taiwan and Tibet are used as examples to illustrate the difference in China's policy in different regions. Background information as well as analysis of the situation in Taiwan and Tibet will be exhibited. It is hoped that students will have a better understanding and be more interested in the theme of this year's PPAX.

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TAIWAN AND TIBET? NOT YOUR WORRIES

Lau Nai-keung

Member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee

Taiwan and Tibet are two very different issues. Taiwan and the Mainland are still in a state of hostility because the over 60-year old civil war is formally still going on. Whereas in Tibet, there is an exile government led by a monk, and recognized by none. But there the difference ends.

The mainland cannot take over Taiwan and unite the country because of US intervention. There was also CIA involvement from the very beginning of the riots in Tibet in the fifties, the escape of the Dalai Lama, and the establishment of the exile government in Dharamshala, India in 1959. The above are not allegations, these are facts acknowledged officially by the US. Judging from the recently highly coordinated riots both in Dharamshala and Lhasa, and the quick and detailed dissemination of news by the Voice of America, which in most cases were the only foreign source of information, it is difficult to imagine that the Americans are not involved this time.

It is safe therefore to assert that the separatist movements in Taiwan and Tibet exist because there is American intervention. For that matter, before 9-11, the separatist movement in Xinjiang held some of their meetings in European Union parliament chambers, and the establishment of the East Turkistan government took place on the Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C. The Xinjiang separatists are known to have closed connections with Al Qaeda and are trained there. But before 9-11, these now classified as terrorists were labeled as "human rights activists" by the Western media.



Xinjiang was a late comer, being integrated into China in the Qing Dynasty, but Taiwan and Tibet have been part of the country for a thousand years. Even the title “Dalai” was one that has been concocted by Altan Khan of the Yuan Dynasty and bestowed upon Sönam Gyatso who became the first Dalai Lama in the 16th Century. Subsequently, all reincarnated Dalai’s will have to be approved by the Chinese government, which also adjudicated all disputes arising. This is all politics, and there is nothing so mystical about it.

The current Dalai Lama is now getting old, and when he dies, the next one will be chosen inside China. Without a spiritual leader, that might be the end of the Tibetan separatist movement, and billion dollars of American investment. It is easy therefore to understand the agitation of the separatists and their sponsors, and also the seemingly softening of Dalai’s stand.

He now claimed that he has changed his mind, and instead of striving for independence, Dalai opted for “high degree of autonomy” just like Hong Kong. But his idea of an autonomous Tibet covers not only the traditional Tibet and the existing Tibet Autonomous Region. It includes a large part of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunan, an area twice the present size. In fact it covers all Tibetan communities even in areas where they are a tiny minority. Of course there is no deal, and Dalai is in no position to bargain. Despite his previous mistakes and the damages done to the country, he is still welcome to come back and live in Beijing to witness the transformation of his homeland from a primitive and oppressive serfdom to a thriving modern tourist spot, an invitation he declined to accept. Anyway, this is he and his followers’ problem, and some small scale riots before the Olympics are all the nuisance they can cause.

As for Taiwan, at the time of writing, though the presidential election is still days away, I am quite optimistic about the future. The people there

are fed up with this secessionist nonsense, and whoever gets elected, there is no escape from rapprochement with the mainland. As I see it, with about one in ten Taiwanese now living, working and studying in the Mainland, and rising, the independence movement can find only a few fanatic supporters. Soon, a treaty will be signed ending the state of hostility across the Taiwan Strait, and exchange at all levels will be normalized. If I live long enough, chances are that I can witness a united China. For young men and women like our readers, this is a certainty.

For a country with over 3,000 years of uninterrupted recorded history, we have seen governments rose and fell, and territories expanded and contracted. When we are weak and poor, we get bullied. This is natural, and the way out is to get strong and rich ourselves. Fortunately, our country is now on a spectacular come-back trail, a feat that no other countries have ever done it before, and nobody can stop. The fear of our motherland being chopped up in pieces was the nightmare of older generations. I am happy to report to you that with strenuous efforts of more than one and a half centuries, the foolish old man and his decedents have successfully moved the mountains and fended off that nightmare. It is now your responsibility to keep it that way.

But remember, when we get more muscles, don't be a bully. This is not in our tradition. So, instead of worrying about Taiwan and Tibet, which should be historical issues, as students of political science, why don't you start figuring out how not to become another hegemonic USA? As citizens of a relatively rich and powerful country, this should be the problem of your generation.



沒有民族凝聚力 中國還能走下去嗎？

梁漢祺

中國近廿年開放政策實施後，從落後的國家搖身一變成為全球第二大經濟體系，取得的經濟成果舉世觸目。然而盛世背後，內部問題叢生，貪污猖獗，貧富懸殊，環境破壞等等都已引起各界關注。這些問題將會阻礙中國在未來的更進一步發展，甚至對國家構成重大的威脅。而藏族近日在各省的騷亂則暴露一個嚴峻問題：伴隨著經濟發展的並不是相應提高的民族凝聚力，而是內部本身所隱含著不弱的離心力，這對一個急速發展的國家來說無疑是一個絆腳石。

基於各種歷史因素，中國的「統一」一直停留在概念上，但現實上卻還未能做到。台灣的政權一直存在，而西藏新疆等地亦對中央存有離心力，謀求獨立的聲音從未消失過。統獨危機一直存在著，就像一個計時炸彈隨時被引爆，造成的後果可能是領土上的損失，甚至導致國家四分五裂。

我認為統獨問題會帶來至少兩個隱憂。首先，儘管中國百姓面對的問題已造成一定程度的積怨，但總的來說社會上不滿和反對的聲音仍未足以成為一股推動力去直接影響國家的穩定。但在一些地區如西藏和新疆，情況就大不相同。以西藏為例，流亡海外的政府和當地部份藏民一直

存在離心力，甚至念念不忘獨立，與中央政府對抗之心昭然若揭。其有組織和有計劃的抗衡實在是一種威脅。遇上合適的時間和條件，這些人便有機會製造事端，令國家陷入混亂。以今次藏民的騷亂為例，其源起為僧侶示威被補，引致之後在拉薩爆發的暴亂，其影響更迅速擴散至貴州、甘肅、四川各省。騷亂在短時間內於各地爆發，是否有人在幕後主使和推動不言而喻。

另外，它可能在中國問題叢生的環境下，作為一個導火綫，將民眾不滿的情緒一下子引爆。近日藏民騷動，以目前的情況來看，這些地方騷動應可在短期內得到暫時平息，但這不代表類似的事件可以被忽視。星星之火可以燎原，辛亥革命也是從武昌一地起義開始，革命浪潮才席卷各省，最後更令清朝覆滅。現今的國情已與當年大異，當然不可相提並論，但我認為內亂並不須到了廈之將傾，積重難返之時才會發生，一個導火綫已有機會引爆所有潛在的不滿和問題。若將來中國種種積弊未能得到妥善解決，統獨危機便有機會結合人民的憤恨，進一步演變成反政府的內亂。

也許現今在中國的革命尚未到一觸即發的地步，但未來仍是充滿變數。若社會的矛盾到了相當程度，西藏等地的獨立勢力便可能利用人民的不滿藉機起事，將對政府的控訴掩蓋於獨立的欲望之上。若中央未能加強各地的凝聚力，消除潛在的分離力量，中國真正變成強國的道路將會添上不少未知數。



西藏事件短評

周易生

近日，拉薩發生的暴力事件逐漸升級，更有蔓延到其他有藏人居住的地方之趨勢。隨著北京奧運舉行在即，事件的發展亦受到國際社會的關注，不過礙於消息封鎖，外界至今仍未對事情的底蘊有深入的瞭解。其實西藏問題絕非一日之寒，早於中華人民共和國成立之時，已一直纏繞著中國政府。

以達賴喇嘛為首的西藏流亡政府與中共的衝突可追溯到 1959 年。當時共產黨在毛澤東的指示下於藏區推行「人民公社」、「大躍進」等運動，卻招致當地藏人不滿。藏民在 3 月 10 日集結武裝力量進行武裝活動，引發衝突，最終中央出動解放軍鎮壓。達賴喇嘛及一些追隨者逃到印度成立西藏流亡政府，尋求西藏獨立，並拒絕再承認中共解放西藏時所訂定的自治協議，指該協議是在武力威逼下簽訂的。

1989 年，拉薩發生了一次更大型的騷亂，是次事件亦把其時任西藏自治區黨委書記的胡錦濤與西藏拉上了一縷縷的關係。當時一班主張獨立的藏族分裂主義人士發起遊行示威，胡錦濤等西藏官員在無法控制局勢下向中央請示，於是中國政府於 3 月 7 日宣佈拉薩戒嚴，下令西藏政府進行鐵腕鎮壓，事件最終釀成數百人死傷。但胡錦濤平亂的功勞得到鄧小平以及中共高層的肯定及欣賞，亦從此把胡錦濤推進了權力核心。今天胡錦濤再次面對西藏問題，他又會否有良策應對？

藏人地區近年急速漢化，大量漢族及其他族裔人士移民到藏區，面對藏族文化瀕臨被「淹沒」的危機，各族群之間的矛盾亦變得深化，埋下了今次騷亂的導火線。此外，藏族人士為響應達賴喇嘛的呼籲，將在北京奧運會期間舉行反對北京管治的和平抗議，與及紀念四十九年前「西藏起義」的活動，亦種下了騷亂的種子。

僧侶和藏族人士再次在 3 月舉行示威，本意是要求西藏政府釋放一批早前公開聲援達賴而被扣押的僧侶，但後來卻演變成民眾騷亂。市中心部份店舖受破壞，汽車雜物被燃燒，後來甚至有非藏族人士受襲，造成數十人死傷。當中央指責達賴集團在背後策劃是次騷亂，意圖分裂國家及挑撥民族關係時；藏族分裂份子則向外宣稱受到武力鎮壓，歷年來的高壓管治，更是中國政府有意圖消滅藏族文化的行為。

從局外人的角度看，中國總是站在理虧的一方。中國政府不光彩的累累「往績」往往令人質疑中央對付反政府示威的手段，加上媒體、外國政府亦會伺機在言論自由及人權等問題上加壓，故此儘管中國政府在處理今次西藏事件中已極力保持克制，國際迴響卻依然甚大。更何況達賴喇嘛近年處處釋出善意，多次重申他追求的只是自治而不是獨立，並且願意與胡錦濤會面，因此即使事實如胡溫等領導人所言，暴力事件的確為達賴所指使，中國政府亦只是百口莫辯。



誠然，要指控中國有血腥鎮壓藏族也實在說不過去。非常政治敏感而又要面子的中央政府，又豈會在奧運及台灣大選前自取其咎，讓反對者及支持台獨的人士大造文章？只不過中央一貫的驅趕記者、實行消息封鎖、拒絕與達賴接觸，就彷如自動放棄為自己辯白的機會。

持續下去的衝突並不會是雙方所樂見的，因此中方及西藏流亡政府實在應該多作溝通。胡錦濤的西藏經驗對解決西藏問題和促進民族融和有關鍵性的影響，且看胡主席在處理手法上是否還留有一手，可把這個計時炸彈徹底拆去。

SPECIAL THANKS

Dr. Danny W. F. Lam

Dr. Sara Jordon

Prof. Joseph Cheng Yu-shek

Dr. Robert T. Y. Chung

Mr. Lau Nai-keung

Mr. Johnny Lau Yui Siu

Mr. Ma Ka Fai

Miss Claudia Mo

Mr. Wong On Yin

Mr. Raymond Y. M. Wong

Mr. Tao Kit

Department of Politics and Public Administration

American International Alliance

Centre of Development and Resources for Students (CEDARS)

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田徑場上的賽道是平坦的；但蕭卓明所走過的滄路絕不平坦。引領他不屈不撓地向前走是他的真噩夢，而成就他今天事業的，是他堅毅不拔的精神。

周錦超博士 謹撰序

很高興他把能自己的奮鬥歷程寫成了這本書，翻過書中的細節，我亦倍多感受。當天，他一再於下課後一臉惶急地追上了我，捉著我的手臂問這問那，到他後來的一臉自信、奮中走過的路，確實是一步一腳印。

吳基光 拔萃男書院老師

生命的啟示就在眼前。眼前，蕭卓明的這本書，那一個又一個生命的圖層，依然是那麼的動人，喚發著你和我的期望。是的，你、和我。


陳文威 歷任香港藝術發展局文學發展員

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