香港在撕裂還是解體中?

曾澍基 (www.sktsang.com) 14/9/2013

1. 歷史的轉折

1997 年至 2003 年,北京強調與香港「河水不犯井水」。2003 年九月,我發表題為 "Hong Kong of China, Hong Kong of the World"的評析,主旨說:

"Hong Kong's unique characteristic as a metropolitan city lies in a strange mix of "Chinese-ness" and international qualities. Both strengths and weaknesses stem from it. Colonial constraints, the "transition syndrome" and influences of western neo-conservative ideologies have combined to generate short-termism or minimalism in politics, economics and social developments, the consequences of which Hong Kong is still suffering. On the other hand, the resilience of the population was amply demonstrated in the courageous and disciplined responses to the SARS outbreak, as well as the historically civilised (some would say very Chinese) July 1 rally. While losing part of its locational edge in a further opening China, Hong Kong still enjoys a good deal of "quality advantage" over the Mainland, with which it is increasingly integrated as a result of geo-economic forces. Nevertheless, the problems of the underdevelopment of the political elite and the heterogeneity of ideologies within the population have also been obvious. To a large extent, they explain local systemic instability, policy swings, and the paucity of widely shared visions about the SAR's future.

In the author's view, Hong Kong's long-term success hinges on whether it can harmonise the two often conflicting traits of "Chinese-ness" and international qualities, free itself from the shackles of the past and, in the process of collectively redefining its position, truly live up to the image of the SAR as "Hong Kong of China, Hong Kong of the World". That is a tall order, which requires far-sightedness and sagacity. The alternative would be a secular decline of one of the greatest cities of modern

history."(http://www.sktsang.com/ArchiveIII/HKoC_HKoW.pdf)

不過,同年的 SARS、廿三條抗議加上五十萬人上街,北京政策作了 180 度改變。 CEPA、自由行、曾蔭權領導的特區政府又主動加強和內地的連繫,一國兩制下中港的經濟邊界開始弱化,我指出這是「不對稱融合」、「結構解體」的顯現。 2007 年我寫了一篇「回歸十年的香港經濟:結構轉型還是結構解體」 (http://www.sktsang.com/ArchiveIII/1997-2007.pdf) ,指出三大憂疑。

- 一、中國大陸與香港特區的經濟整合,顯示出高度的不對稱性質。香港要維持作為具有本地優勢的群聚中心(cluster) (Krugman, 1991; Tsang, 2004),難處甚多。
- 二、香港長期的、深層的局限---包括人口的質量及科研水平等制約浮現,對本地 競爭力的提升形成巨大挑戰。
- 三、香港的發展非常之不平均。最龐大的企業集團已進升為世界級別,運作範圍超出狹小的特區,但一般以至中下階層的經濟利益單位却追趕不上。這帶出了「香港屬誰?」、「誰會為香港拼搏?」等牽涉不同界別的身份認同問題,並將引起嚴重的社會和政治後果。

另一篇較學術的文章亦已上載:

http://www.sktsang.com/ArchiveIII/Tsang-asymmetry-2007.pdf •

摘要裡我如此寫:"The Hong Kong economy seems to be heading towards structural dissolution rather than structural transformation. Viewed from the perspective of the twists and turns of history, the relative decline of Hong Kong under a resurgent China represents a regional redistribution of affluence and a shift in geopolitical gravity. It has probably not been the intention of anyone that this should happen. Nevertheless, if structural dissolution turns out to be the fate of the SAR, it would be a consequence not of the shortage of financial prowess, but of the paucity of political will power and committed quality agents."

2. 近來的困境

但是,政策的短視、利益的傾斜不等如故意撕裂。當權者要撕裂社會意圖何在? 易於分而治之?香港已是示威之都,再撕裂只會迫出更多抗爭而矣。至於政策產生「撕裂」效果,包括火車頭產業乏力、經濟空洞化、地產坐大、貧富懸殊等,屬長久問題。董建華變法失敗,曾蔭權翻新九七前的招數,累積尖銳矛盾。我看稱這些現象為「不平衡」、「不公平」、「社群分化」、「政社結構鬆散」、「社會合群意識磨損」都可以。

香港管治有效程度下降,除上述因素外,梁振英好像犯了某種政治原罪,未掌政已被妖魔化為「狼」。反共、仇共、防共者四方八向浮面、出櫃、狙擊,給過他什麼真正開展機會?,固然,面對嚴重挑戰,梁班子竟不濟事,誠信與能力皆受質疑。應策搖擺於不管及硬管之間,缺乏完整遠見。

3. 代議民主的單純和機會主義

對於「香港在撕裂還是解體中?」此一課題,有朋友質疑理論基礎,就說多些少吧。「學術」上(你有不值一哂的自由),投票民主體制,需要一定政治文化基礎,否則會陷於 Kenneth Arrow 所揚名的不可能定律/投票悖論 (impossibility theorem/voting paradox)。由於各類政客的投機主義,偏好混亂,左右搖擺,投票將演變成不貫徹的博奕或自利行為。

Amartya Sen 的 possibility theorem,則認為關鍵在於參與者偏好及行為的忠實性:單純 (single-peaked)對多重 (double/multiple-peaked)。若屬前一類,中間主流將勝出。

問題是代表議會及N年普選制度,連合說客、傳媒及政治捐獻等等,誰知道每位拿票的選民喜好算否「單純」?

(http://www.1970splus50.com/Notes/IICc-Voting.pdf)

任何社群凝聚力的結構式解體,原因複雜。其中,制度、環境、各利益團體、傳媒等的理論水平和實踐行動的差距、貫徹性處於關鍵。我近日帖子及博客文章 (學究地提及 Arrow、Sen、Coase),都只希望表達此點。

撕裂有宏觀與微觀層面之分。一個父親要撕裂家庭,領導人想撕裂小團黨,相對微觀,而難度比較撕裂整體社會遠低。

但是,分散式微觀互相撕裂,又替社會解體提供火藥。在香港特區,左或右一拍 N 散的言行攻擊跟實際含暴力的抗爭比較,浄代價仍偏低。制度部份解體趨勢已 經顯露,除非出現強力、「霍布斯」式干預。就此,極大多數港人都不想。

諷刺在乎:部份政治機會主義者卻視之為黃金時刻。理論以至歷史算 X? 他們的計算自然不屬宏觀。

如非反智,請看筆者最近臉書帖子、連線 (https://www.facebook.com/shuki.tsang)和博客 (http://sktsang.blogspot.hk/)。社會改革應該腦袋及肌肉並重。

可能我錯了。