马丁·雅克：香港乱局发生的深层原因

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**让我们一起读懂中国，读懂世界**

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香港的根本问题在于，它有长达156年的英属殖民地历史，那是很长的一段时期，这意味着很长一段时期，好几代香港人都生活在英国的统治之下，殖民地时期的香港总体上与中国内地非常疏远，对内地几乎一无所知。三、四年前，我在伦敦和陈方安生有过辩论，在彭定康担任末代港督时，她任秘书，港英当局布政司司长，陈方安生对中国的无知程度令我震惊。

**香港是一个西式社会，有着西方思维方式和价值观，这一点无法很快改变。**坦率地说，即使再过50年，也不会有太多人改变态度，因为西方的影响植根于香港人思维意识深处，当然，西方一直扮演着消极角色，自“反逃犯修订条例”事件发生以来，他们基本上是在为那些反对香港特区政府和中国政府的人摇旗呐喊。

**但我希望大家不要认为，香港问题出现的主要原因本质上是西方造成的，如果这样想，大家就会走偏了。**应该做的是，试着去了解当前的问题，然后找到能成功解决的方法。

**香港特区政府在此期间犯下了两个严重错误，第一个，是2003年的《国家安全法》，在大规模的示威游行后，立法程序终止，第二个大错误，是最近出台的《逃犯条例》。**当然，该条例多少也算终止了，出台《国家安全法》有很好的理由，修订《逃犯条例》也是，这一点我并不否认，不幸的是，对香港很多市民来说这两项措施都太过了。

**在我看来，目前反对《逃犯条例》的大规模游行的参与者，代表了香港社会的一个非常大的群体，他们的行动又鼓动了香港社会的另一群体的表达立场，这就产生问题了。**这部分人追求普选，且有部分人更希望香港独立，他们通过暴力的方式追求自己的目标，这是任何一个发达国家的政府，都不能容忍的，是不可原谅的。**我认为当前的重要任务，是找到方法，将这些群体隔离开来，使香港的舆论远离这一立场，我真的不认为，这些支持“港独”的年轻人，代表了香港的主流观点，如果真的有人认为他们代表香港多数人，那就大错特错了。**

这也让我思考了一个更深层次的问题，香港内部存在一种因被取代而产生的落差感。**1997年，香港经济规模约为内地经济的三分之一，如今，它还不到内地经济规模的3%，换句话说，从香港到中国内地，经济中心发生了非同寻常的转移。**实际上，对香港来说残酷的一点是，中国内地经济转变的最好例子，就发生在对岸的深圳。1978年时，深圳只是一个渔村，香港比深圳富裕得多而且发展得很快，如今两座城市的角色完全调换了，在某种程度上，深圳成为了，世界上最引人注目的，最先进的城市。而香港呢，总体而言，问题在于香港相对停滞不前，它曾经确实举足轻重，但在很多方面，似乎已经丧失了原有地位。

所以我认为，如果想要了解香港人目前的心态，就必须要考虑这些因素。**他们愤怒沮丧，不知道自己前途何往，香港的经济相对停滞，无法自我改革，而且对某些群体而言，情况则更糟，年轻人永远买不起，甚至绝大多数人永远买不起房产，所以他们痛苦，觉得在这种情况下未来渺茫。**

看看中国在过去的40年间，是什么改变了这个国家，是改革开放，这就是中国转型的原因，改革开放，从邓小平提出的非凡愿景开始，是一个不断发展的过程，我认为改革开放的美好在于，它不断地前进，没有终点，而香港，坦率地说，我不知道香港的改革策略是什么。**我真的不认为，香港存在像中国内地那样的(发展)策略，而对于香港特区政府，最重要的就是，改变香港社会经济状况，让市民对未来有信心。**

最后我想讲两点，**首先，我要祝贺中国政府和人民，因为在这个问题上，他们保持了克制，最后一点，很明显，香港未来仍将是中国的一部分。**不然还能怎样？我看这些青年人的脑子都不太灵光，一个独立的香港吗？香港所有的贸易都与中国内地有着如此深刻的联系，在这种情况下你还想怎样？指望西方吗？重回英属殖民时期吗？英国自己，就正在经历200年来最大的政治和宪法危机，自顾不暇，我想问间他们(香港的年轻人)：“你们住在哪个星球？你们知道自己在做什么吗？”香港的未来靠中国，我想说的就是这些，谢谢大家。

骆珺：刚才马丁·雅克先生他说西方势力的干预不是乱局的主因，但是我觉得西方势力的干预它发挥了一个主要的作用在里面，我们可能还是要做好心理准备，因为这些乱港分子和西方的反华势力的干预，它不会在一时一刻结束，它可能会延续一段时间，甚至可能会升级转换成其他的形式。第二就是我们还是对于香港要保持理性，要有充分的定力，也不要对香港地区的人民彻底的失去希望。其实中国革命一路走来取得胜利的一大宝贵经验就是善于做群众工作，做好香港人民的群众工作也是我们要努力的方向之一，这是我想分享的想法。

骆珺（英文发言）：我是来自新华社的评论员骆珺，您有一个观点我不认同，您认为西方干预不是香港当前问题的主要原因，我认为它在当前局势中发挥了主要作用 。

马丁·雅克：当然，**我承认，以香港媒体为例，西方势力的确发挥了作用，这一点毫无疑问在这个问题上，我们不存在分歧，我只是不认为这段时期所发生的事情可以真正归因于西方的干预。**因为坦率的说，西方自香港回归以来，一直在干预香港事务，那为什么当前情况更棘手了呢？我真的认为有更深层次的原因，不要过度责怪他人，虽然我们确实可以责怪他人，但并不能真正解决问题。**我们必须，这里说“我们”是因为我想用中国的方式来解决这一问题，我们必须想办法赢得香港的民心和民意，这才是核心问题。**

骆珺：我赞同您最后的这一观点。

**（英文版本）**

Martin Jacques：The fundamental problem about Hong Kong is that it was a British colony for 156 years. That's a long time. It means many generations of Hong Kong citizens lived under British rule. It means that during this period, by and large, Hong Kong was very estranged from China, and extremely ignorant about China. I mean, I did the debate in London, three or four years ago, with Ensign Chang, who was the secretary, a head of the civil service to Chris Patton, when he was governor of Hong Kong and I was shocked by her level of ignorance about China. Hong Kong is a western style society, with Western ways of thinking, and Western values. And you do not change that situation quickly. I mean, to be quite frank about it, even 50 years won't change many of those attitudes, because they are deeply laid in the consciousness of the way in which Hong Kong people think. Now, it's certainly true that the West has played a negative role in the period since the big extradition bill by basically serving, I think, as a cheerleader for those who oppose the Hong Kong government and oppose the Chinese government on Hong Kong.  But I would urge you not to think that the major problem, the major cause of the problems in Hong Kong today are essentially because of the Western role in the current situation. Because I think if you think that, you will be looking in the wrong direction, and not doing what we all need to do, which is to try and understand what's happening, and therefore find a way of being able to deal with this successfully.

the Hong Kong government, has made two serious mistakes in this period. The first was the security law in 2003, which it withdrew after huge demonstrations. And the second big mistake was the introduction of the extradition bill recently, which, of course, also has been more or less withdrawn. Now with these mistakes.Look, there's a good case for the security bill. There's a very good case for the extradition bill, I do not deny that. unfortunately, these both were a step too far for too many in Hong Kong. Now, there's no denying in my view, that the big demonstration against the extradition bill represented a very big cross section of Hong Kong society. And the problem is that then it gave encouragement to another position in Hong Kong society. And the different position is they want universal suffrage, and a section of them want independence for Hong Kong. And they are pursuing their objectives in a violent way, which no government in an advanced country can tolerate. This is inexcusable. And I think one of the great tasks here is to find the ways to isolate these sections and move Hong Kong opinion away from that position. I mean, I really don't think these young kids represent the mainstream of the Hong Kong opinion, I think it would be quite wrong for us to think in these terms. Now, this brings me to the deeper questions, I think that there's a feeling of displacement.

In 1997, the Hong Kong economy was roughly one third of the size of the Chinese economy. Today, it is less than 3% of the size of the Chinese economy. In other words, there's been extraordinary shift in the center of gravity away from Hong Kong, towards China.

And it is stark actually for Hong Kong because perhaps the best exemplar of this transformation in China is just over the border in Shenzhen, which in 1978, was just a fishing village and Hong Kong was much richer and riding high and all the rest of it. And today, it's complete role reversal, Shenzhen is perhaps the most remarkable city in the world, in some ways, the most advanced city in the world. And what's happened to Hong Kong? I would suggest, by and large, the difficulty is that Hong Kong is relatively stuck. It did have a role, but it feels in many senses as if it's lost that role.  So I think that if you want to understand the mentality of Hong Kong people at the moment, you've got to take into account all these kinds of considerations. They feel,  they're angry, they're frustrated, don't know where they're going.

You got a Hong Kong economy, which is relatively stagnant, which has been unable to reinvent itself and for certain sections of  the population , conditions have got worse.

Young people cannot ever afford , the  vast majority can never afford to have property. So they feel embittered by this and they feel that there isn't much of a future in that situation.

If you think about China, what has transformed China over the last 40 years? Reform and opening up. That is the reason that China's been transformed. A  remarkable vision, starting with Deng Xiaoping with a constantly rolling process,  one of the wonderful things I think about reform and opening up, it has no end point  it keeps developing. And for Hong Kong?  Well, frankly, I don't know what the reform strategy is, in relationship to Hong Kong. I don't really think there is one in the same way that there has been in China. And so I think that the big question is to address and this is, I think the most important single question for the Hong Kong government is a strategy of transformation of the social economic conditions in Hong Kong, to give the people a sense of the future. I want to finish with two points. First of all, I want to congratulate the Chinese government and the Chinese people on their restraint in relationship to this question. I understand the anger, I understand the frustration, I understand,  how can we tolerate this situation?  But it's very important I think, not to do what one might be tempted to do, and that is military intervene in Hong Kong. It would have terrible effects in Hong Kong. And it would set China's reputation globally back several decades, it will be very difficult to undo the damage that would do. Fair or unfair, that's the situation. And my very last point is this,  it's so obvious that Hong Kong future is as part of China. I mean, what else can it be? I mean,  these kids are kind of out of their minds,  independent Hong Kong? Well, all your trade, everything is linked so profoundly to China. What are you going to do in that situation? Look West? I mean, look back to Britain?  I mean, Britain's going through its biggest political and constitutional crisis for 200 years. I asked them, "Which planet are you living in? What do you think you're doing?" That China is the future of Hong Kong. And with those words, I have finished. Thank you.

Luo Jun：I’m  Luo Jun from China Xinhua News Agency, I'm one of the commentators here. I disagree with one of your point, because you raised the point that Western intervention was not the main cause of Hong Kong's crisis here. But I think it played a main role in Hong Kong's crisis right now.

Martin Jacques: Of course, I accept that the Hong Kong press for  example, elements of which are Western, has played a role, no question about that at all. So we're not in disagreement about that. But I don't think that what's happened in this period can really be ascribed mainly to Western intervention, because quite frankly, the West has been doing this pretty much ever since the handover. And why is the situation got much more difficult now? And I really think we need to look at the much deeper causes. There's always a danger of blaming someone else. And I accept that we can blame someone else. But that is not going to solve the problem. We have to, I say we, because I want to resolve this question  in a Chinese way. We have to find a way to win over the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong population. That's the central issue I think.

Luo Jun： I totally agree with your last point.Okay.

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