

新年伊始，中美關係展新頁 是憂？是喜？



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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

白人至上者入主白宮

首先需要指出的是，特朗普兒子裡是一位白人至上主義者。這是最深層的成見。當一位黑人混血奧巴馬當選為總統之後，他基本上無法接受這個現實，所以發動了奧巴馬出生異國沒有資格擔任總統的調查。直到八年後，在他自己競選的中途被媒體逼問之下才勉強放棄這個謬論。他競選時的總管是一個白人至上論網站 Breitbart News 的總執行官 Steve Bannon，現在已經被他任命為白宮戰略總管和高級顧問。他任命的總檢察官 Jeff Sessions，是阿拉巴馬州的參議員，1986 年曾被雷根提名為聯邦法官，但因為種族主義言論而被參院否決。他還獲得 3K 黨領袖 David Duke 的公開支持，而他被問及此事時顧左右而言他，表示他不知道該人是誰，雖然 David Duke 早已臭名昭著。

白人至上論在美國是“政治不正確”的。競選總統的人雖然可以反對政治正確論，但是不能公然宣稱自己是白人至上論者。特朗普當然不會這麼做，但是他的選民，也就是所謂的“未受過大學教育的白人”，對此是心照不宣的。這就是特朗普的核心思想，要恢復或者維護白人在美國甚至在世界上的領導地位。他因此要阻止有色人種移民，特別是威脅到美國白人文化，不肯學習英文的西裔移民。為此，他要在美墨邊境建造一座“美麗的長城”；他也要拒絕伊斯蘭教眾的移民和難民。他的選民非常懂得，這些立場都是白人至上的立場。它也是“美國第一”的核心含義之一。

許多人奇怪，他為什麼會跟共和黨人痛恨的普京惺惺相惜，其實這沒有什麼值得奇怪的。普京是俄國總統，也是白人，而俄國是核武器大國。對特朗普而言，奧巴馬和希萊莉把普京當作死對頭是根本錯誤的。對特朗普而言，俄國應當成為白人世界的重要成員，所以顛覆喬治亞和烏克蘭，並以此制裁俄國，把它逼到跟中國站在一邊，從白人至上的觀點出發，這是根本錯誤的政策。這就是為什麼，競選時特朗普一直對普京保持著友善的態度。當奧巴馬以俄國以黑客手段干預美國大選而進一制制裁俄國時，他反而去點贊普京不採取報復行動的做法，並且一再貶抑美國自己的情報機構。我們已經可以看出，他想把俄國拉回去，成為世界白人大團結的一部分。

當前，美國的共和黨和民主黨以及軍事建制都仍然存在著強烈的冷戰思想，到底他能不能成功地扭轉這種冷戰心態，再度引誘俄國參加北約，接受美國的指揮，或者成為夥伴，是一個巨大的問號。可是，我們知道，俄國

◎水秉和

的國徽是雙頭鷹，表示它橫跨歐亞兩洲，而實際上，自彼得大帝開始，它就真心實意地想成為歐洲的一份子。所以，不妨回顧，如果小布希和克林頓當政的時候沒有積極擴大北約，並且向當時經濟瀕臨崩潰的俄國提供適當的援助，使當時非常嚮往回到歐洲但是又對美國的進逼缺乏反擊能力的俄國實際上成為歐美聯盟的主要成員，那麼國際歷史就要改寫了。那麼普京就不至於懷恨在心，處心積慮地跟美國對著幹。如果當時美國肯真誠地接納俄國，那麼，現在很可能仍然是白人繼續領導風騷的世界，而中國的崛起之路將更為遙遠和充滿荊棘了。

那麼，他會不會成功地把普京拉過來呢？我相信，水已從橋下流去，時機已逝。由於美國的制裁，普京已經向東看了。他主導的歐亞經濟聯盟（Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU)），包括俄國，白俄羅斯，哈薩克斯坦，亞美尼亞，吉爾吉斯斯坦）已經跟習近平倡議的一帶一路接軌了，俄國也是亞洲基礎設施投資銀行（AIIB）的大股東之一，還跟中國簽訂了供輸石油與天然氣的長期大合同。俄國也是北京發起的上海合作組織的主要成員，而印度與巴基斯坦於去年成為正式成員，伊朗可望於今年加入。所以，從現在起，雖然可能需要幾十年的時間，我們應當會逐漸看到歐亞的大組合，而美國和日本是兩個站在外面往裡面看的大國。

特朗普是怎麼評論中國的

當然，白人至上主義不能全部涵蓋特朗普的所有行動和思想。無論如何，他是徹頭徹尾的商人。他不是哪種具有創新的企業家精神的商人，他是以洞察消費者心理來推銷產品和依靠討價還價的本領買賣地產的商人。作為這類商人，他可以心懷白人優越感，但是，只要有利於他，他仍然能夠來者不拒，既會跟有色人種合作，也會利用他們。當選了總統之後，他要做的是靠這套本領來做些有利於美國的交易。以他的言行來看，他想要實行的是保護主義，保護白人已經掌控的利益和地盤，不再搞什麼冷戰，全球化，自由貿易。他是要逆其道而行之，外交上跟俄國談和，在商業上擋住跨國公司外包的衝動，保護美國國內的工業，加強本國的製造業，設置壁壘，抵制外國廉價產品侵占美國市場，等等。在他的視野裡，中國的問題主要在貿易上，雖然也有其他的問題。

前不久，在接了蔡英文的祝賀電話引起了軒然大波之後，他接受了 FOX 電視台的專訪，針對中國發表了四點意見：第一，他說，“我完全了解一個中國政策，但是我不了解為什麼我們要受到一個中國政策的

約束，除非我們可以跟中國作交易，中國必須也做點其他的事，比如說在貿易方面；”第二，人民幣貶值害得我們很慘，他們在邊境收我們很高的稅，而我們不收他們稅；”第三，“他們在南中國海建了堡壘，而這是他們不應該做的；”第四，“老實說，他們在北韓問題上沒有幫忙。”

熟悉內情的國際問題專家必然會指出，在這四點意見裡他都表現出深度的無知。不過那是另外一回事了。他就快上任當總統了，如果他認為是真的，並且不肯修改他的看法，那麼他認為是真的就是真的。我們觀察到，在他整個競選過程裡，無論他說話再離譜，他都不肯承認錯誤。所以，他上任以後，咱們也不能期望他認錯。只有讓他碰了硬釘子之後，他才會改道而馳。

特朗普會跟中國打貿易戰嗎？

許多人擔心特朗普上台之後會跟中國打貿易戰。這個擔心有道理嗎？從理論上來說，貿易戰從來都是“敵損一千，我損八百”的命題。中國是美國最大的貿易夥伴，兩國間的貿易額於 2015 年達到六千五百億美元，如果特朗普要打貿易戰，對兩國都沒有好處，尤其那些需要在沃爾瑪購買中國廉價商品的中下層的老百姓，而這些人中的白種人是他最忠實的支持者。當然，特朗普的抱怨也不是完全沒有道理，因為中國歷年來都享受到巨額的順差。2015 年中國對美國的順差是三千三百六十億美元。顯然，這是可以談的。北京方面是否可以給特朗普一些甜頭呢？例如對美國再多開放一些市場？應當是可以的。

要知道，GM 在中國售出的汽車數量已經超過它在美國本國的銷量。當然，蘋果手機的生產也不是短時間內可以從深圳搬回美國的。如果要打貿易戰，而不是好好坐下來談的話，美國在 13 億人的市場裡的份額很快就會被德國，日本佔去，絕對是賠了夫人又折兵的壞主意。特朗普的國務卿是石油公司的大老闆，也是商人，他是不會亂來的。

南中國海及其他

至於南中國海或者朝鮮問題，我們發現，特朗普在競選言論中對結盟的興趣不大，是一位傾向於孤立主義的人。他把重點放在振興美國經濟和加強美國本身的國防和邊境安全上。他多半想跟普京合作，把伊斯蘭國滅掉，可是多半不會在亞洲惹是生非。再說，在美國近 60 個盟國中，北約的土耳其和亞洲的菲律賓，兩個比較大的盟國，都不太願意跟美國抱團了，一個走近俄國，一個走近中國。也就是說，美國對外國採取強硬措施的時機可能逐漸成為過去。現在是大家坐下來好好談生意的時候了。

2016 年的幾件扭轉國際關係的事

毫無疑問，2016 年的最重要事件就是特朗普——一位缺乏反思能力，絕不認錯的地產商人——當選了美國總統。想到在美國的教育制度中，一般中學生就學會了設身處地，為他人著想，也學會了一點點小事就會說“對不起”的基本禮貌，而這次美國選民居然選出了這樣一位自大，自以為是，滿嘴胡說的強勢領袖，令人很難想像，他到底會成為怎麼樣的總統。他能使美國再偉大嗎？還是會繼續為美國帶來軍事或貿易上的巨大衝突，從而使美國進一步衰退？是福？是禍？難說，但這絕對是將會扭轉世界局勢的事。

2016 年的第二件大事大概就是美國從中東脫身了。一位可能是保守派陣營中最具影響力的政論家 Charles Krauthammer 在他的年終的評論以“阿勒坡與美國的衰退”為題，說：

“就在奧巴馬離職之前的幾週內，阿勒坡的失落成為他自中東撤退和離去的適當印記。該市的斷壁殘骸正反射出奧巴馬棄守政策的真正代價。”

他接著說，“奧巴馬從來不了解，一個超級大國在地方性衝突中的角色並不必然用地面部隊去加以干預，而是阻擋另一個大國的介入和改變戰爭的結果。”這段話可以說是一針見血。在武俠小說中我們經常讀到一句話，並且通常是出自惡人之口，那就是“一不做，二不休”。既然已經毀掉了伊拉克，又毀掉了利比亞，那麼，只有一不做，二不休，也把敘利亞給毀掉，推翻阿薩德政權。這樣才能維持美國在中東的主導地位，才能阻止俄國介入其中，搶去了美國已經花了三萬億或者五萬億所取得的優勢地位。

Krauthammer 跟希萊莉的立場相同，認為美國應當在普京介入之前設立禁飛區，這樣它就可以像在利比亞，使阿薩德遭到與卡達菲相同的命運。至於這對美國到底是好事，還是壞事，那就難說了。更重要的是，到底它對阿拉伯世界是好事，還是壞事？歷史不是化學實驗，美國退出中東--至少是大半個中東--以及其後的各種可能變化，已經無法另做一實實驗了。

◎彭文逸

從歐洲的視角來看，另一件大事肯定是英國脫歐。它可能鼓勵其他國家，如意大利，或者希臘，甚至法國脫歐。不過，從亞洲的視角來看，更重大的應當是中，美，菲三國在南中國海的博奕了。

大家或許還記得，1995 年，李登輝得到美國參眾兩院的壓倒性支持，得到他的母校康奈爾演講。那時他還提出了兩國論。大陸方面在 1996 年發射導彈予以警告，想以此嚇阻台灣選李為總統。不過，美國替台灣撐腰，於 1996 年 3 月派遣了第五和第七兩支航母戰鬥群來到台灣海峽，其中一支戰鬥群還從台灣海峽穿過。當時大陸完全不夠美國打，所以忍氣吞聲，讓李登輝風光一時，高票當選為總統。

此一時，彼一時。在二十年後的 2016 年，就在國際仲裁庭作出裁決之前，美國又派遣了兩支航母戰鬥群來到南中國海，顯然是對大陸進行威懾。習近平不甘示弱，指令三支艦隊前往南中國海去進行實彈演習，並且說出“不惜一戰”的狠話。仲裁庭的裁決出來之後，美國的兩支航母戰鬥群並沒有前往黃岩島或其他人造島去示威，反而走到菲律賓的東邊，動機多半是不願意引起誤會而與中國發生軍事衝突。國務卿克里隨後呼籲各方面冷靜。仲裁案基本上沒有產生任何實質效果。並且，就在這之前，菲律賓選出了強人杜特爾特，而他幾乎徹底推翻了他的前任阿基諾的親美政策，轉而親中。老實說，這是中美博奕在亞洲發生的戲劇性變化，而中國佔了上風。佔上風的原因就是中國有了“航母殺手”東風-21D，還有可以射落偵查衛星的火箭。美國的威懾力已經嚇不倒中國了。這個現實對東盟諸國今後的影響恐怕是相當深遠的。

加上美國在亞洲推動的和在歐洲推動的兩個貿易協定都以失敗告終，2016 年應當說是美國在國際舞台失利退縮的一年。到底新上任的特朗普能否奪回主動權，重振美國的聲威，將值得我們密切觀察。

Must A 'Change' PRESIDENT Take 'Strange' Actions to Accomplish 'Changes'?

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

If this question is posted to political science students as an essay topic, I am sure one would receive dozens of beautiful essays with convincing arguments not only to arrive at a conclusion on Yeh and/or Nay as an answer but also to follow a thought process starting on any of the underlined, capitalized and/or quotation-marked words in the title. The authors are right to come up with different arguments and conclusions simply because Must must be confined with circumstances and what actions and their consequences may be as well as how significant 'changes' are expected. Furthermore, an author may first focus on the word PRESIDENT, what kind of personality he has, what kind of political situation he is in, whether he is mandated with a 'change' mission, and why and what 'changes' he has promised to make for his or her people. This article is taking such a thought process - Must really depends on many factors - to argue and draw conclusion for the title topic.

First, we are talking about the President-elect of the 45th US Presidency, Donald Trump. Trump won the election against many odds and won a surprise victory with an unorthodox campaign. Trump is a businessman and not a politician, certainly not an insider of the political establishment as proven by the fact he was opposed by his own Republican Party to run for the presidency. He had to plead to the silent majority to get elected. He had to find his mandates in the campaign and the election process. He did it but in a way very much deviated from the 'norm' which you may even say 'strange' in an elite-controlled politically correct environment. He not only fought the two major parties but also battled with the mainstream media. His victory was a strange phenomenon to the traditional political pundits, pollsters and activists; in reality, Trump recognized the hidden voice of the silent majority muffled by the political correctness. By defying political correctness with his own style of rough language, he resonated with the silent majority and rode with the growing movement to victory.

Trump had certain intuition but he learned a lot on the campaign rallies and trails. He made many outlandish statements and promises testing the voters. He amplified them when he received warm responses from the cheering crowd. He toned them down if he found

them hitting the wrong chord. Tough stand against illegal immigrants (stand remains firm, but wall can be a fence even a virtual wall) and repealing Obamacare (repeal but reserve the right to define 'changes' later) are two examples. Tax cuts were proposed as his basic political (and business) philosophy but everyone knows that tax cuts require the entire House and Senate to cooperate. With both the Senate and the House in control by the Republican Party, President Trump may have an easier time to fulfill his tax-cut mandate without taking too much 'strange' actions to circumvent the Congress. He might just have enough credit earned from his presidential election and a surprising sweeping victory of his Party to make the Congress work for him on tax policies. Similarly it goes with his domestic job creation plans, a cooperating Congress can be expected.

Appointing Elaine Chao as the Secretary of Transportation is probably Trump's easiest decision in cabinet appointment. Elaine married to Senate Majority leader Mitch McConnell from Kentucky and served as two-term Labor Secretary in President George W. Bush's cabinet and as Deputy Secretary of Transportation in the President George H. W. Bush's cabinet. Stated in the public record, under her leadership, the U.S. Department of Labor undertook regulatory and legislative reforms in protecting the health, safety, wages, and retirement security of U.S. workers by recovering record levels of back wages and monetary recoveries for pension plans, and obtaining record financial settlements for discrimination by federal contractors. She also restructured departmental programs and modernized regulations. We expect Elaine will be doing a fine job in getting America great again in transportation if Trump can get her a decent budget.

On foreign affairs, the title question is far more relevant to Trump taking the helm in 2017. As a business man, he is used to taking risk, sometimes gambling a little (although he did not amass his fortune from gambling in his casinos but from building real estate), and lots of negotiations mixed with calculated decisions and bluffs. This background will not go away when he takes the White House whether he sleeps there or not. However, in foreign affairs, the stakes are far higher and cannot be just measured by money in dollar, sterling, euro or renminbi. Human lives are at stake and

nations are at stake; the U.S. President must take deliberate decisions to avoid devastating consequences. It is not a win or lose situation in the bidding for a business contract, strictly measurable in dollars which are recoverable as Trump has proven in his business life. In foreign affairs, mistakes are not always recoverable; in fact, more likely irreparable, they may not only cost the Presidency or election (as we recall Benghazi) but also destroy lives, moreover in a severe conflict destroying countries or the world. Thus, in foreign affairs, the President must take considerate and safe decisions for the sake of mankind not just for his own country.

Recently, while Trump is preparing to take on his responsibilities, he has been diligent in meeting with people and conversing with foreign leaders. In a number of events such as receiving Abe Shinzo and taking a call from Taiwan's leader Tsai Yin Wen, Trump did it his ways that the State Department regarded them 'strange' violating the normal diplomatic protocol. Since he is not yet sworn in as the President and he needs every opportunity to hone his skills in diplomacy, I think he is testing the water smartly with matters he knew he could get away before taking office. Appointing the Secretary of State is really his most challenging task. Again, he took his time interviewing or considering at least a dozen candidates; sure he will be benefitted by this process by picking everyone's brains and their world views. He can also use this process to mend fences and reward his loyal supporters while formulating his central view on foreign affairs.

One thing concerns not only his critics with a watchful eye is when Trump takes on his job he must realize that the campaign must be ended in order to start managing the day-to-day business as the commander-in-chief. He will not have time to tweet freely anymore. He must forget about things such as bluffing Boeing to make a good deal on Air Force One (although it is a smart thing to say that we want Boeing to make money but not that much government money on a couple of Presidential planes) but focus on bigger issues confronting his office, stimulating the economy, creating jobs and building world relations leading to win-win situation since zero-sum business principle in contract bidding is not the best way of dealing with foreign affairs. Let the people do their jobs with the understanding their big boss is a super business negotiator watching and expecting them to make good deals for America but also be aware of the consequences - people's lives more than their money are at the stake.