

基礎不勞 地動山搖 蔡英文不能逾越的紅線

2014年臺灣九合一選舉國民黨大敗後，島內外各界及不同民調都普遍看好2016年選舉後蔡英文將成為臺灣的領導人，因此對未來的兩岸關係普遍持悲觀態度。然而我認為雖然蔡英文在2016年選舉前，將盡可能回避一中原則以免衝擊選情，但是如果她當選，她不但可能會挑戰一中底線，甚至在她的任期對於兩岸關係的長期穩定可能會有突破。我的推論是基於對國際大勢的客觀分析而非主觀上的一廂情願。

兩岸的和平統一取決於三個因素：美國、臺灣和大陸。1991年蘇聯解體和東歐共產黨政權相繼垮臺以後，1972年尼克森訪問中國以來所建立的中美關係的基礎：共同對抗蘇聯的威脅，不再存在。隨著中國的全面發展成為世界上實力迅速上升的老二，美國將中國視為潛在的最大敵人，因此臺灣成為美國鉗制大陸的棋子，開始幕後支持後來甚至明目張膽的支持台獨及獨台勢力。除了軍事上的介入，更積極鼓吹西方的“普世價值”觀，而大陸並沒有有效的對策，加上，自李登輝執政以來，過去二十多年，臺灣的“去中國化”教育，使得臺灣年輕的一代普遍將大陸看成另一國家。隨著大陸經濟的迅速增長及兩岸交流的擴大，大陸官場的腐化現象及一般百姓的缺乏現代文明素質無法吸引臺灣百姓。大陸變成一個沒有吸引力的另一國家。這就是為什麼過去大陸對台政策不成功的最大原因。

短期要改變臺灣民心是非常困難的，但是國際形勢對迫使蔡英文接受類似馬英九的“一中共識”卻是極端有利。2008年金融海嘯將美國危機徹底暴露，最近美國的經濟復蘇是建立在低利率和印鈔票的刺激上，基礎是非常脆弱的。美國的最大希望在和平環境下維持低利率的政策，促進經濟繼續增長，減少財政赤字。這是一個非常艱巨的任務，所以她不可

~張文基~

能為了民進黨的面子和中國開戰，更何況維持臺灣現狀最符合美國的利益。

過去大陸對台政策的最大誤區是太強調利誘和溫情，缺少原則性的堅持。隨著大陸反腐敗的深入，發現過去文武貪官當道，他們怎麼可能敢有不惜一戰的決心來堅持原則？所幸習近平主政以來以非凡的決心，無畏的勇氣，輝煌的視野，霹靂的手段，對內切割毒瘤，返璞歸真，找回共產黨的理想，對外開展輝宏的一路一帶大戰略。觀看這次兩會的許多記者招待會，一個深刻的感覺是官員的回答更明確，更自信。在對台問題上習近平除了重申和平發展的意願，更明確的提到如果兩岸共同的政治基礎“九二共識”遭到破壞，則“基礎不牢，地動山搖。”一個強勢的領袖所發出的明確的底線，對臺灣和美國都將有強力的影響。所以，我相信蔡英文，一個理性的政治人物，不會逾越這個紅線。

臺灣的前途是非常清楚的：臺灣的成長必須靠對外發展，而兩岸關係的惡化將直接威脅到對外發展。今後大陸的對台政策須要加強對臺灣人民，特別是青年，的教育，讓他們瞭解世界大勢，將大陸看成機會而不是威脅。馬英九先生在今後任期的一年多將是一個跛鴨總統，政治上難有作為，但也減少了機會成為政敵攻擊的靶心。我希望他能丟掉許多包袱，用更超然的地位，更高更寬的視野來領導和教育臺灣人民瞭解世界大勢，瞭解中國，為將來兩岸問題的解決做奠基的工作，也為他自己的歷史定位做貢獻。如果能朝著這個方向前進，在蔡英文執政期間，兩岸關係的長期穩定可能會有所突破，因為，在臺灣的政治現實下只有民進黨可以做到。

中美論壇稿約

評論時政的利弊得失，伸張世界的正義公平，良心知識分子的園地，歡迎來稿投書和回響，作者文責自負，請留真實姓名，地址，電話，不改稿，不退稿，不付稿酬，所有稿件及信函，請email至 uschinaforum138@gmail.com

我有話問總理

兩會在北京召開期間，中央電視臺有一個節目“我們有話問總理”

很受大家歡迎，雖然兩會已結束了，我認為如果還有問題，應該還是可以問總理吧？筆者就最近觀察中國大陸的新聞中，提出三個問題請教李克強總理。

第一個問題，以兩會為例，為什麼許多軍政領導都是大會的代表，看了真是不可思議，如果球員兼裁判，他如何能做到制衡作用呢？有中國特色的代議制不是壞事，但如果太離譜了，一定不是好事，總理先生，你認為對嗎？

第二個問題，最近有一位名叫柴靜的女士，自費拍了一部霧霾深度調查的短片「穹頂之下」，在CCTV暗地裡推波助瀾之下，一經播出，瞬間轟動全國，點看人數超過兩億，但不知那一個衙門看了影片後不爽，一聲令下，該片便從全國各網路視頻下架，這部影片乘風而來又乘風而去，弄得大家莫名其妙，一頭霧水。我們理解中共對網路監督管制的必要，但如果對自已培養出

~范湘濤~

來的優秀人才（柴靜曾是中央電視台主播），用良心講出她關注的空氣污染嚴重的問題也要被管制，是否有點太過？有人說影片下架是因為冬季世運考察代表團來中國，有關單位怕這部影片會影響代表們的觀感而禁播，因噎廢食，有這個必要嗎？再請你想想，如果你們的黨不讓劉源講真話，揪出了軍中腐敗分子，那會使國家淪落到什麼局面。

第三個問題，中國最近雷厲風行，大力反貪除腐，不但在國內獲得廣大民眾的擁護，在海外的華人也為此歡欣鼓舞，但筆者卻有一點搞不懂為什麼法官判決書總要隱瞞貪官所貪的財產數額，譬如薄熙來案，法院判決書認定他只貪污了幾百萬，讓人感覺到法官根本在睜眼說瞎話，一個封疆大吏貪污趕不上鄉里的一個小科長，你能信嗎？谷俊山，徐才厚，周永康和令計劃等貪官

被抄家之後，據網上流傳的照片和消息，這批貪官們家中被查出的貴重財物，除了存摺地契，古董字畫，玉石名雕之外，黃金要用噸計，現鈔要用卡車裝，估計這些大老虎每人的贓款都不下數十億；我相信全世界的華人都會注意這幾個案情的發展，如果法官仍然判決宣佈這些貪官只貪了區區幾千萬，那共產黨打貪反腐的決心將失去公信力。一個好的外科手術醫生，在切除大腫瘤和取出大結石之後，都會將那些巨大的危害物高高舉起，做出勝利的情緒，和大家分享除害後的愉悅心情，希望中共也能學學傑出外科醫生的瀟灑神情，把挖出來的污穢錢財攤在世人面前，讓大家開開眼界。還有，我們希望知道這些贓款的流程去向，希望李總理能特別注意這個問題，必須向廣大民眾講清楚，一切要透明。谷俊山和徐才厚的貪污有部分可能來自軍費，沒收之後是否應該回歸作為軍費之用，如此這般，則中國造新航空母艦的經費問題不是迎刃而解了嗎？

新加坡的驕傲---李光耀

李光耀，新加坡的開國總理，

於當地時間三月二十三日凌晨逝世，享年九十一歲，這個惡訊撩起了全球各地對李光耀先生的追思，對他的成就表示欽佩，對他個人的智慧於人生哲學發出感想。筆者為美籍華人并非新加坡人，但有幸早在一九八五年受新加坡國家電腦技術規劃委員會和新加坡大學邀約參加新加坡IT2000計畫並負責創建新加坡的第一個系統技術研究院，之後筆者就對李光耀先生有了了解并關注他的言論，著作，尤其是他與世界各國領袖的溝通。

新加坡人大體上對李總理是非常尊敬的。雖然在民間，你可以聽到不少關於李光耀的笑話，但是那多半是老百姓找尋幽默的選材，大多是出於尊重，感恩，但帶一點嘮叨，新加坡政府管的太多，太嚴可又不得不這樣。歸根結底，新加坡的成功和缺點都是李老造成的，沒話說，世界有目共睹，新加坡的成就是遠遠大於她的缺點的。李總理本人對此是非常了解的，他是一個擇善固執也是一個相當誠實直爽的政治家。他基本上創建了新加坡特色的民主制度，他非常了解也讓四族老百姓了解新加坡在馬來包圍的東南亞的地位。他不愧是華人后代，他的治國就像華僑在世界各地尤其歐美落地打拼，了解周遭環境而創造出生存和發展空間。

李光耀有他獨特的行事風格和名聲。他在任上不如他卸任后在國際舞台上得到更多的光環（或許應該說光耀），這也歸功於他的勤奮，不但仍然關心新加坡國事，他也致力於寫作，不但寫出

~張一飛~

他的為人主政的哲學，也坦率的談及他與世界政治領袖的交往和對世局的看法，這在世界政壇上就像免費的智庫和顧問，所以他以一個小國的退休領袖能受到很多國家的禮遇。在今日世界大國從冷戰后重新發牌，或是重新布局博奕來看，李光耀在他的晚年倒是找到一個能有所用的看棋的角色，李光耀憑他的智慧和經驗是懂得棋中不語的道理，但是沒人說棋前棋后不能評論啊！

李總理祖先是華人，新加坡國民大多數是華人，但處於馬來，印尼和印度諸國之鄰，新加坡一直以多語治國，也必須考慮到少數民族的利益觀點。他本人對華語中華文化是從未忘懷的，他與中國的領袖，每一代的首領都有來往也非常自豪他能被中國領袖看重甚致作為知己。他一直鼓勵新人學習華語，尤其其他的后輩從

政官員，他強調華語的重要，他倒是真心從政治眼光來看，可是在我三年居住新加坡的時候，華語通行度已日漸減小，華人都知道一代不如一代，如今中國崛起，新加坡與中國貿易加重，李光耀更是用心良苦，要政府推行華語午餐會。只可惜華語難學，但易用，中國的漢辦化了很多精力和經費在教學上而沒有在使用上。這是本文的題外話，當另文詳述。

李光耀先生去世，舉世都會感慨，但對新加坡人來說，他的功勞，貢獻和偉大就是他給了新加坡和新加坡人的驕傲。他在天之靈應可自慰了。他唯一的遺憾可能是為了新加坡國家的考量，沒有去參觀和拜祭中國為他後修的祖先的居處。這要由他的後代來償還了。

我個人的感觸可用下聯表達並紀念李光耀總理：

國不分大小，皆可發光
家無論貧富，都求榮耀

誰出戰空心菜？



70th Anniversary Sets Audition Stage for 2016 Elections and Future Outlook (I)

This year is the 70th Anniversary of the victory of WW II. Its significance has not diminished with time; on the contrary, seventy years later from 1945 since the Allied Forces (United States, United Kingdom, Russia and China) defeated Germany and Japan, the world has increased its attention on this historical event. The reason for the increased world attention may be traced to Japan's historical view of WW II and her current administration's policies of (1) denying her war atrocities, (2) making ambiguous definition of Japanese WW II war criminals and her aggression against her Asian neighbors, (3) revising and reinterpreting her "Pacifist" constitution to permit Japan taking first strike beyond self-defense reason and not subjecting to the UN charter sanctions. As the world is turning its attention to the 70th anniversary, Japan is demanding McGraw Hill to revise its school textbooks on the facts about WW II and the Japanese war crimes. It is this rebellious attitude that has angered the Asian people who still remember clearly the war atrocities the Japanese military army inflicted on their ancestries.

The United States is Japan's principal Ally now, but as a superpower the U.S. has little reason to rely on Japan to make a first strike on behalf of the U.S. The fact, Japan is vigorously cultivating military alliances with Asian neighbors by offering aid and/or sales of military gear using a story of "China Threat" fabricated by the right-wing hawkish Japanese political faction, is naturally very disturbing to China even Russia. This policy is obviously contradictory to the Japanese business people's view that Japan's trade or export largely depends on the China market; hence they believe Japan must maintain a good relationship with China rather than creating a hostile one. Japan's current foreign policy seems to be pivoting the US "Pivot to Asia" strategy to a "Target China" strategy. Although some US right-wing think tank folks are still lingering on a legacy ideology of anti-communist China, but the official US China policy, at least in the open, is denying that the "Pivot to Asia" is targeted at curtailing China's rise. Many of China experts in the U.S. seem to understand and take a realist view that China has risen. China's claim for peaceful rise seems to be genuine by realistic assessment and is backed by her world engagements. China's international endeavors are economically driven with real win-win philosophy; they do pose competition to the U.S. and some impact to the US sphere of influence, but China in no way is strong enough militarily or economically to pose threat to the U.S., if the U.S. focuses her energy in fixing her own domestic issues and reducing her extensive entanglements in foreign wars.

As far as WW II is concerned, China has long forgiven Japan;

Mainstream and Organic Dr. Wordman

she demanded no reparation from Japan for her war crimes and the damages and pain inflicted on the Chinese people. However, the Chinese cannot totally forget the history especially when Japan is not only denying her guilt but constantly whitewashing the WW II history and worshipping her WW II war criminals. This sentiment is shared not only among Hong Kong, Mainland and Taiwan Chinese but also deeply felt by Koreans, Filipinos, Singaporeans, Malaysians and Indonesians. Therefore, it is no surprise, this year, the 70th anniversary of the ending of WW II, there is a united action worldwide to celebrate the anniversary to remind the world and Japan of the true facts in WW II. Since Japan is taking a no-remorse and defensive attitude by launching a countering PR effort, for example, deliberately holding memorial for Tokyo bombing, twisting the causality principle (Japan's first attack of the Pearl Harbor was the reason drawing the U.S. retaliation and consequent actions of allied forces in defeating the Japanese Imperial Army). Japan's demand of revising US history textbooks on her war crimes has backfired to inflame the world's anger. Now the American veterans are realizing that this type of whitewashing of WW II history is dishonoring millions of people, soldiers and civilians, who were killed by the Japanese Imperial army. So it is of no surprise that all Americans including Asian Americans are participating in the celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Ending of WW II.

Next year, 2016, will be the presidential election year in Taiwan (January 16, 2016) and in the U.S. (November, 2016). These elections will be extremely critical for the U.S.-China future relation, because their outcome may lead to fundamental policy changes which may then change the course of development of the US-China relation. A victory of a pro-independence candidate in Taiwan, especially with pro-Japanese or Japanese inheritance, may lead Taiwan into turmoil with unpredictable consequence. Since Taiwan's independence movement will be regarded as an action reneging the one China two systems principle, China is likely to revise her strategy drastically. Not only the mainland may stop offering the numerous economic and trading benefits to Taiwan, but a war across the Taiwan Strait may be highly probable. The likelihood of war increases if the U.S. is not able to influence Taiwan or Japan. Japan may excitedly instigate such a conflict and send

her military force, the Japanese Navy, plunging into the Taiwan Strait as she had prepared to do so with her reinterpretation of her Pacifist constitution allowing her to do first attack and with her mutual defense treaty with the U.S. giving her the opportunity to drag the U.S. into a Pacific War. The seriousness of the impact of the Taiwan election to China may be easily comprehended by Americans by imagining an election taking place in Hawaii seeking independence with an affinity to Japan. Similarly, how would the Japanese react if an election in Okinawa was seeking independence with an affinity to the United States or to China. Although these scenarios are hypothetical, but the historical background and current events happening in Asia Pacific surrounding China, Taiwan, Okinawa, other American naval bases in Guan, Hawaii etc sure provide food for thought.

The 2016 US presidential election is also extremely critical to the future US-China relation. As discussed in my earlier column, (issue #58, 9-28-2014) the election dates and leadership successions in two countries are inter-locked, in China (2022 and 2032) and in the U.S. (2020, 2024, 2028 and 2032). The current Chinese leader, Xi Jinping, has consolidated China's authorities (political, economical and military) to lead the nation from 2012-2022. Xi is the first Chinese leader who had spent time in the U.S. on a study tour in his younger years. He made a visit to meet the US president, Obama, prior to his appointment to China's highest leadership position. Xi has made clear efforts to communicate with the U.S. Leaders emphasizing China's goal of focusing on her people's standard of living (Chinese Dream) and her policy of making China to rise peacefully to earn China a big nation's status. Obama, on the other hand had an opportunity to get to know Xi. He has made a very productive State Visit to China in November 10-12, 2014 resulting in announcements in climate change control, protocol for military encounter, relaxing visa requirement and tariff reduction, a great positive indication for the world that the U.S. and China can work together. Xi is expected to visit the U.S. in the spring this year. This visit will be a grand opportunity for the two countries to further develop understanding and collaboration moving forward to cultivate a friendly not hostile relation. Whether such a friendly and collaborative relation can last or get locked in certainly depends very much on the next US President to be elected in 2016.

The outcomes of 2016 presidential elections, in Taiwan and in the U.S., are certainly not cast in stone yet. The above discussed scenarios of locking the US-China relation into a perpetual hostile and dangerous path or a friendly and collaborative path will depend on the presidential candidates surfacing in 2015. This brings to the second half of the subject title, 70th Anniversary Sets Audition Stage for 2016 Elections and Future Outlook. Let me explain and present my observations and analysis in part II.