

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

## 八方風雨會中州：一帶一路的吸引力

### “安倍說，日本準備就一帶一路跟中國合作”

我們不妨先簡單介紹一下它的時間點。2013年9月和10月，習近平分別在哈薩克和印尼提出了兩項倡議，兩者合起來被稱為“一帶一路”，或者One Belt One Road (OBOR或BRI)，“一帶”指歐亞大陸之間穿越中亞的陸上鐵路，公路和電訊鏈接，“一路”指從中國大陸東岸的幾個海港經南海和印度洋跟歐洲和非洲洲連接。這個龐大的，被稱為“世紀工程”的計劃當然需要資金，所以，2014年10月，21個創始國在北京簽訂《籌建亞投行備忘錄》，其後許多國家先後加入成為創始國，其中最值得一提的2015年3月，英國沒有跟美國打招呼就宣布加入為創始國。這毫無疑問是歷史性的舉措，打破了奧巴馬杯葛亞投行的企圖，而接下來歐洲大國紛紛加入，使亞投行在該年6月有57個創始國在北京簽訂協議。除了亞投行以外，還有絲路銀行，金磚銀行（又稱新發展銀行）等籌資機構。

另外值得一提的是，該年11月，習近平與馬英九在新加坡會面，習表示歡迎台灣加入亞投行和一帶一路。當然，由於他謹慎小心的個性，馬英九沒有接受。這件事充分表現了馬英九沒有歷史前瞻的視野，沒有膽量和見識去抓住呈現在他眼前的絕對重要的機緣，因此注定了台灣當前的走向。台灣與印度是拒絕加入這個龐大計劃的，特別顯眼的兩個政治實體。因為，今年5月在台北舉行的最高峰會議中，不但來了29國的國家領導人，和一百多個國家和國際組織的代表，並且連美國，日本和朝鮮都派遣了代表團參加。其中日本的態度特別值得注意。

日本派遣了自民黨的秘書長二階俊博 (Toshiro Nikai)，一位親中的重量級人物，到北京參加了這個高峰會議。接下來，在東京召開“亞洲的未來”國際會議的開幕詞中，安倍說，日本準備就一帶一路跟中國合作。這毫無疑問是他態度上的巨大轉變。為什麼會如此呢？

我們知道，在特朗普宣布退出TPP (泛太平洋夥伴關係) 之後，安倍曾經想在剩下的十一國之間組織自貿區，但是沒有成功。據報導，後來他又想跟印度合作，搞一個跟一帶一路類似的海上之路。可能是缺乏其他亞洲國家的響應，這也無疾而終。所以安倍從杯葛一帶

### ◎水秉和

一路到支持一帶一路，絕對是180度的轉變。我們可以懷疑他到底有多少誠意，但重要的是，當美國和日本，兩個蔡英文所最仰賴的國家，都想在一帶一路裡分一杯羹的時候，她怎麼辦？

印度這幾年經濟增長迅速，自以為可以跟中國分庭抗禮，右派的穆迪在強烈的主權意識推動下，不肯跟著中國主導的倡議走。那是他的事。無論如何，印度有十三億人口，經濟在相當程度上自給自足，而且由於其地理位置對一帶一路很重要，它以後可以隨時加入。台灣呢？

從美國回台旅遊的人幾乎都覺得台灣人是井底之蛙，看不清世界大局，還在以享受小確幸自滿。這可能是真的。可是，連美國和日本兩個他們引為靠山的國家都在調整方向，難道台灣人還能繼續做白日夢嗎？

即使是井底之蛙，他們採取某種政治立場時仍然是有些理論根據的。據我了解，自李登輝以降，民進黨的大佬們一直存在一種想法，那就是中國會崩潰。他們一直相信，或者主觀希望，中國會崩潰。這是因為，的確有一些西方的專家不斷預言，中國會崩潰。這些台獨大佬知道，中國不垮，台灣獨立不了。可是，只要中國一跨，台灣就可以在日美的支持下獨立了。這就使台獨份子朝夕期盼著中國崩潰。

對於這種主觀願望，我們不能說它可笑，或者可悲，只能說它越來越顯得天真。試想，一個幾十年來以兩位數字成長的經濟，創造了世界第二大經濟體，同時又使六億人脫貧的政府，不但人民為享受到前所未有的物質生活而感覺到滿意，他們對國家地位的不斷提升也感到驕傲。在這種情況下，中國怎麼會崩潰？再說，台灣已經有約一百五十萬人在大陸謀生，如果大陸頻臨崩潰的話，這麼多人會留在那邊賺錢嗎？

一帶一路的巨大吸引力居然連堅決抵制它的美國和日本都被吸引了過去，或許蔡英文終於要自問，她還能靠什麼搞獨立？當然，或許她不會自問，因為她是一位極端固執己見的人。那我們就看看事態的繼續發展吧！

# 從特朗普的心理年齡說起

## “他可能是美國有史以來第一位上任不到一年就變成了跛腳鴨總統的人”

### ◎彭文逸

幾週前，《紐約時報》的名專欄評論家 David Brooks 寫了一篇文章，說特朗普的心理年齡比7歲的小孩還更不成熟。為什麼呢？因為他坐不住，就像七歲的小孩子一樣，在教室裡跑來跑去。他注意力不能集中，所以無法深入了解任何事情，連他自己的政策也缺乏了解。而且，他又像九歲的小孩子，需要得到別人的肯定，否則他不知道自己是誰。

一個星期之後，一位心理學家專文回應說，這實在太誇獎特朗普了，根據他的實驗，兒童四歲的時候就懂得尊重事實，知道是非對錯，並且對陌生人具有同情心，等等。所以，特朗普其實還不如四歲的小孩子。

特朗普退出《巴黎氣候協議》引起全球大嘩。用美國人常用的比喻，這是小男孩子輸不起就把彈子拿回家，不跟大家玩了。毫無疑問，當特朗普競選時發表孤立主義言論時，大家懷疑：難道他真的這麼想，還是競選的濫調？現在，我們總得相信了吧。他是玩真的。他第一次到歐洲訪問，好話不說，就是要歐洲國家多交付保護費。更重要的是，他把下屬遞給他的演講稿刪掉了關於確認《北約》的第五條的一段，其中承諾，任何一國受到侵略就等於所有簽約國受到侵略。這是個歐洲國家最在乎的承諾，而他又不肯說，所以接下來德國總理默克爾在啤酒棚一邊喝啤酒，一邊對大家說，歐洲不能再依靠別國，必須走自己的道路。

上台以後，特朗普立刻否決了奧巴馬積極推動的TPP (泛太平洋夥

伴關係)，否決了奧巴馬關於移民的總統指令，特別是想要撤除對奧巴馬針對俄國的一系列制裁措施。雖然到目前為止，仍然不成功，但是他的幕僚中至少有七名曾經跟俄國有過來往，包括他的女婿和他任命的檢察長。此外，他任命的農業部長是養雞出身，反對政府對農藥和對兒童營養的規定；他任命的教育部長反對公共教育，並且她的家庭從經營商業學校獲利；他的環保局局長反對《巴黎氣候協議》，並且鼓勵開發煤礦和抵制清潔環境的立法；他的檢察長是種族主義者...幾乎他的所有任命都是跟奧巴馬和過去累積的政府法規對著幹的反動份子。最近他又重新對古巴進行制裁，推翻了奧巴馬的另一項政績。這到底說明了什麼呢？

心理學裡有一個名詞來形容那些專門跟別人作對和跟社會常規過不去的人，那就是 ODD (oppositional defiant behavior disorder), 中文翻作對立違抗性障礙。據心理學家的研究，這是一種小孩子在8歲左右出現的情況，他(她)們對父母或者老師說的東西都反對，都要反其道而行。咱們中國家長以前不懂得什麼心理學，通常就是說，“這個小孩子怎麼這麼不聽話呀！父母是為你好...”可是，通常過了一段時期，小孩子就會改變，而父母常說的是，“這個小孩子現在懂事了，好教多了...”

## 巴台斷交有感

### 習近平說的“地動山搖”豈是空口嚇唬人的？

### ◎謝芷生

這兩天有關巴台斷交的信息，已多到令人目不暇接，本不想再湊這場熱鬧，但輾轉反側，就是按捺不住內心翻騰的思緒，不得已，只好把心裡的話說出來，與讀者分享。不久前才聽人說，巴台斷交可能性不大，因巴拿馬對美國戰略地位重要，而美國對其內政外交都有重大影響力。1988年美國曾對其發動突襲，擄走了“不聽話”的前總統諾內加，將其判監17年。只此一例，已足見美國對巴拿馬具有何等舉足輕重，不可撼動的影響力。近年大陸的影響力已逐漸深入中南美洲，其商業船隊也頻繁活動於加勒比海地區，每年通過巴拿馬運河的貨輪，排名世界第二。這看在美國眼裡，豈能不倍加警惕？因此台執政當局或沒料到，巴拿馬竟會不受美國管轄，這麼快就和大陸建交了。這不但出乎執政當局，也出乎許多人意料之外。

早在2008年4月前，筆者即不憚人微言輕，兩度為文建議兩岸當局應改善關係，建立互信。指出軍事對峙與外交爭奪是兩岸和解的最大障

礙。並建議大陸，應視兩岸關係改善情況，率先減少，乃至完全撤除對準台灣的導彈。相信與筆者有相同見解與建言的人，一定不少。果然2008年馬英九上任後，在堅持“九二共識”，及外交休兵默契的基礎上，沒有發生過失去邦交的情事。至於撤除導彈一事，由於不切實際，就不再建言了。試想，拆除的導彈難道不能再搬回來嗎？兩岸距離才兩百多公里，又何須用到導彈呢？可見導彈不是針對台灣而設的。因此外交休兵就成了維繫兩岸關係和諧的唯一關鍵要素了。

大陸當局充分認識到，不挖對方邦交國，事涉兩岸和諧，促使相互融合，走向和平統一，因此不但沒有主動搶奪對岸邦交國，甚至對許多主動要求與其建交的國家，也一律好言相勸，予以婉拒。在這方面，大陸可說已做到了仁至義盡，有目共睹。在兩岸共守“一中共識”的前提下，大陸的

顯然，這位地產商人的確沒有成熟，到今天還患著對立違抗性障礙症。年輕時，他父母無法管教他，把他送到住校的半軍事學校去受教育。那裡知道，到了七十一歲他還是一個不受管教的搗蛋。問題是，這位3歲到9歲之間的小孩子戰勝了一大批成熟的共和黨對手，選打敗了已經成熟到成了精的希萊莉，所以他對一切指控都懷著一種“嘻嘻，我贏了！”的心情。我們擔憂的是，這樣一位注意力短過三歲小孩子，仍然患著對立違抗性障礙症的人，既不肯看消息，一天到晚看電視（據白宮內部消息，他還喜歡對著電視大呼小叫），一天只睡四小時，清晨開始推特，晚上繼續推特。儘管他以“使美國再偉大”的動聽口號贏了選舉，可是，他能嗎？

其實，答案就在我們眼前。他炒了聯邦調查局局長的魷魚，然後在接受NBC的訪問時說，他炒科米魷魚的理由是因為他要調查白宮跟俄國之間的各種糾結。這樣，許多法律專家認為，他可能“干擾司法程序”。已經接受任命的特別顧問 Robert Mueller 將負責調查他與俄國之間可能有的糾結。在美國，這可是刑事案件。這個調查基本上會消耗掉他的整個任期。所以，他可能是美國有史以來第一位上任不到一年就變成了跛腳鴨總統的人。可以預知，今後三年，美國政治將因為這位心裡年齡只有3到9歲的億萬富翁而糾纏不清，所以也就再偉大不起來了。

胸懷比海洋還要寬闊，有足夠的耐性等待台灣看清形勢，自動願意與對岸融為一體。但一旦背離“九二共識”，大陸也會一夕變臉，決不寬貸。習近平說的“地動山搖”豈是空口嚇唬人的？它已一步步呈現出來，且事情才剛開始呢！

台灣新領導人上任才剛一年，其民意支持度已急劇下滑，跌破30%。這是台灣歷年領導人所未曾見過的記錄。其執政不得民心，已至為明顯。而造成此一後果的根本原因，顯然是背離了“九二共識”。“九二共識”是兩岸關係的定海神針。有了它兩岸關係就能和諧，台灣就能恢復昔日的安定繁榮。失去了它，不但會地動山搖，簡直將前途茫茫，寸步難行。

最近島內各種民調均顯示，絕大部分人都希望當局能接受“九二共識”，恢復與對岸的和諧關係。甚至認為，接受一中及兩岸同為中國人，並不違背台灣追求當家作主的目標。台灣同胞能有此眼光，有此覺悟，不能不拜近年兩岸人民交往頻密，及資訊暢通之所賜。台灣新領導人及其執政團隊既自許是順從民意的，何不利用與巴拿馬斷交為契機，順水推舟，宣布“為順應民意計，願自即日起接受九二共識”呢？此既可為自己找到下台階，也可博取台灣人民的向心力。(維也納，2017年，6月14日)

# Never Forget Manzanar

## (My visit to an American concentration camp)

Christine Mei

On April 29 this year, my daughter Elsa and I participated in the 48<sup>th</sup> annual Manzanar Pilgrimage along with an estimated 2,000 people from all over the country. It was an emotional and inspirational journey for both of us. We had heard about the Japanese American incarceration and the Manzanar camp before. We had also recently watched the film of the powerful Broadway musical "Allegiance" by George Takei. But nothing moved us more than this visit to the actual site to learn first-hand the humiliation and suffering endured by Japanese Americans during World War II.

**The Camp**  
We boarded our bus early in the morning. The Manzanar camp is located approximately 230 miles north of Los Angeles in an inhospitable valley at the foot of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. It was the first of the ten concentration camps built after President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942, about two months after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. Shortly afterwards, approximately 120,000 men, women and children of Japanese ancestry (70,000 of them were US-born American citizens) from the West Coast were evicted from their homes and incarcerated in various camps across the country. Their lives changed forever. They were told to report to the US Army Civil Control Administration within days or weeks after receiving the evacuation order. They had to give up their livelihood immediately and could only carry essential personal effects for each member of the family.

Approximately 10,000 people were imprisoned in Manzanar. When the families first arrived, they saw a desolate landscape surrounded by barbed wire and watchtowers. The hastily constructed tar paper-walled barracks where the internees were housed did not shelter them from the extreme weather—the temperatures reached 100° F in the summer and below freezing in the winter. The strong winds of the high desert blanketed the camp with dust and sand and made life even more unbearable.

What shocked the internees the most was the total lack of privacy while living in the barracks. During our visit to Manzanar, we

walked around a reconstructed barrack of the living quarters and saw cots with straw-filled mattresses and a few dressers in between them. There was no other furniture in the room. The laundry was hanging along one side of the room while suitcases the internees brought with them were stacked at the corner of the room. We were told that each barrack was divided into four rooms. Any combination of eight individuals was allocated to each room. The rooms were separated by cloth partitions with no walls or doors. The internees also shared communal latrines with no partitions and showers with no stalls.

The hurt and despair suffered by the internees can be summarized by the following words inscribed on one of the mattresses in the barrack:

*"When my mother got into the room, she sat down on one of the mattresses and she said, 'My, what a place,' and she never talked about that for many, many years afterwards."*

These words were from Sue Kunitomi Embrey who was sent to Manzanar when she was 19. After the war, she co-founded the Manzanar Committee and the Manzanar Pilgrimage and was the driving force behind the designation of Manzanar as a National Historic Site in 1992.

When the war ended in 1945, Manzanar, along with nine other concentration camps, were closed. Each internee was given \$25 and a one-way train or bus ticket to leave the camp. They were left to their own devices to rebuild their lives after more than three years of unjust incarceration. The apology from the US government and monetary reparations for the former internees who were alive came in 1988, 46 years after Executive Order 9066 was first signed.

### The Relevance Today

The political climate we face today has an eerie similarity to what happened to the Japanese Americans 75 years ago. At that time, Japanese Americans' loyalty was questioned because of their ethnicity, even though there was not a single case where either a Japanese American or Japanese immigrant was found guilty of espionage. Because anti-Asian sentiments were running high on the West Coast at the time, Japan's attack on Pearl

Harbor in 1941 was used by the government as the ruse to imprison 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry without due process as required by the Constitution. "They all look the same.... A Jap's a Jap," said Lt. General John L. DeWitt, the Army general who recommended the internment of Japanese Americans.

Yet, for all the gross abuses of power by the US government against its own citizens, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the exclusion orders. Other than the Quakers, there was no outrage expressed by any other civic group in the country.

Fast forward to 2017: will the same thing happen again to Muslim Americans and other immigrant groups?

The fear-mongering anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant rhetoric of then-candidate Trump during the 2016 presidential campaign; Trump's executive order instituting a travel and refugee ban from six Muslim-majority countries; and intensified deportation raids and policies—all make me wonder whether the dark stain on this nation's history from 75 years ago could once again become a possibility today.

Many Muslims and immigrants are now living in fear since President Trump took office in January. The Muslim travel ban created chaos at the nation's airports and caused stress and uncertainty in many people's lives. In related measures against immigrants, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) now picks up more individuals with minimal or no criminal records, splitting families apart with deportations of one or both parents or even of young people who were brought to the US as children and know no other home.

As citizens of this country, we need to ask ourselves, can we simply stand on the sidelines and watch the government assault the civil liberties and dignity of some of our fellow Americans? Or should we work hard to ensure that what happened to 120,000 Japanese Americans 75 years ago never happens again?

To me, the answer is obvious. That is why on April 29, 2017, I joined more than 2,000 people, many of whom were survivors of the concentration camps, at Manzanar to remember, to reflect, and to vow to work together to fight against injustice and protect the rights of all people regardless of their national origin, color, or creed. Speaker after speaker reminded people to never forget the pain inflicted on the Japanese Americans and to never allow the same thing happen again to anyone, anywhere.

I came back from the Manzanar Pilgrimage feeling reinvigorated. Now more than ever we must stand together against racism and bigotry and embrace compassion instead of fear. We shall never allow another Manzanar!