

台灣行：兩岸的心靈距離不是那麼遙遠

由於臺灣當局的一系列政策和宣示，兩岸關係空前緊張，海峽兩岸的不穩定和平能否維繫？這是臺灣和大陸人民最大的關注。不久前，我到臺灣和大陸做了為期5週的深入探訪，深深的感受到在戰爭陰影下兩岸和平仍有希望。

絕大多數臺灣人都希望和乎維繫現狀，然而也都清醒的認識到現有的和平是很難持續的。不論個人的喜好是什麼，兩岸的統一是不可以避免的，只是用什麼方式而已。在臺灣籌碼流失殆盡之前必須儘快開啟官方交流和談判，才能尋求最好的解決方式，因為時間並不在台灣這一邊。而開啟任何有意義的交流台灣必須克服兩個挑戰：1. 民族認同，文化認同。2. 對大陸制度的尊重，也就是不要用“民主”對抗“專制”的口號來否定大陸的制度和它所產生的成就。本文就從這民族和文化認同的角度看，兩岸的距離不是那麼遙遠，融合可以帶來希望。下一篇是大陸行：中國制度煥發無限的生命力，從制度認同的角度談台灣人民的機遇。

由於新冠病毒的影響，將近5年沒有到臺灣和大陸訪問。為了親身觀察賴清德就職前後臺灣人民的期待和反應，5月9日啟程開始了為期5週的兩岸行。頭三個星期是我獨自拜訪老朋友們，和許多年輕的新朋友們，最後兩週參加毛邦傑兄組織的海外臺胞參訪團，訪問了貴州、江蘇、浙江的城市及偏遠和少數民族地區。這次訪問給我寶貴的機會觀察和感受兩岸社會。

賴清德的演講沒有激起太大的浪花
從報章和媒體上看，似乎兩岸都很關注並期待賴清德的520就職演說。然而，事實上台灣人民似乎不太關注：與親友聚會除非我問起，很少人會主動談這個話題。在捷運車廂內、市場、飯店內也沒有人談。問他們難道不關心嗎？普遍的回答是：“這些大事他們管不了，更何況台灣人決定不了台灣的未來，在談判桌上的是美國和大陸。大家最在乎的是個人的生活，過自己的小確幸日子。賴清德的演說對小老百姓而言，沒有什麼重要性。”

然而，問精英階層，普遍認為賴清德在兩岸關係上，會表達比較溫和的立場，特別是在馬習會後，習強調兩岸共同血脈、共同文化、共同歷史，甚至沒有提九二共識。有些人甚至期待賴會承認兩岸同文，同種的事實。極少數人，包括柯文哲，正確的預言“在美國的嚴厲控制下，及賴的政治實力是少數、劣勢的情況下，他對大陸不會釋放善意的姿態”。

賴清德演講後，台灣民間（非媒體）也沒有展示任何強烈的反應。反而是到了大陸後，可以感受到大陸智庫們的普遍失望，看到台海問題專家們到北京開會討論應對措施。不過幾天後，就可感覺到大陸

◎張文基

在現階段還是積極採取和平的各種促進兩岸融合的措施，特別是爭取台灣年青人認同的措施。我個人認為這是正確的、積極的態度。民調不可盡信：台灣人民大多數並不否認兩岸同文同種

長期以來有關台灣人民對民族認同的民調，給人們一個印象就是台灣人民不認自己是中國人的比例從1992年後逐年上升。舉例而言，國立政治大學選舉研究中心的對20歲以上人的民調顯示：認為自己只是臺灣人的民眾從1992年的17.6%上升至2024年的61.7%，而認同既是中國人也是台灣人的從46.4%降至32%，而自認只是中國人的從25.5%降至2.4%。美國之音的標題就是臺灣只有2.4%的人自認為是中國人，它投射給世人的印象就是大多數台灣人承認自己與大陸的血緣文化紐帶，目的是給支持台灣獨立製造輿論。

自從40多年前台獨人士從美國南加州開始致力於在美國人口普查中建立獨立的台灣人選項後，他們就把傳統上的Chinese變成一個政治符號，而不再是民族符號。在他們的運作下，把“中國人”等同“中華人民共和國的人”，利用中華人民共和國沒有實際治理台灣的事實，否定自己是“中國人”從而給台獨勢力製造“去中”的不真實的民意基礎。

我在台灣時做了許多實驗，大多數人不承認自己是中國人，但是絕大多數的人，特別是40歲以下的年青人大多同意兩岸文化和血緣上，是同文同種。

當然，大多數的臺灣年青人認為同文同種並不一定必須統一，並舉新加坡和美國為例。然而，新加坡是被趕出馬來西亞的，因為當時新加坡如果留在馬來西亞聯邦中，華人就有足夠的人數挑戰許多優惠馬來人的政策。此外，新加坡並不是從中國獨立出去。所以新加坡的例子和臺灣的現狀沒有關係。

一個比較相關的例子是美國，特別是美國的獨立戰爭和美國的南北戰爭，這兩個戰爭的結果奠定了美國成為今天超強的基礎。然而，兩者都是依靠戰爭的手段和勝利達成的，南北戰爭更是迄今美國參與的所有戰爭中，傷亡最為慘重的。如果，臺灣人民決定選擇戰爭，那是他們的權利，但是也必須要有承受災難的決心。

然而，和一群廿多到卅多歲的年青人聚餐時，他們所表達的確是：如果大陸打來就立馬投降，甚至高喊中華人民共和國萬歲。他們沒有財產，所以不關心大問題，有駝鳥心態。然而，與年長的上兩代不同，透過抖音、小紅書和許多非傳統媒體，他們對大陸的一切並不陌生，都承認大陸制度有它的優點，但是很習慣於自己的小確幸日子，

不願意主動的接受大陸的制度。他們最大的希望是如果大陸打來，新政權能夠保障法制，尊重產權。

他們普遍希望更多的了解大陸，也認為大陸對台灣年青人的了解嚴重的不足。這也許是大陸必須更加努力的地方。

台灣最大的問題是絕大多數的台灣人似乎都活在幻想的世界，認為戰爭不會發生，即使發生也可依靠美國。然而，如果台灣政治人物不能面對現實積極改善兩岸關係，幾年後發生戰爭的可能性是很大的。發生戰爭後，期望美國保護是不現實的，因為今天的美國是既沒有錢、也沒有實力，更沒有根本的利益來保護台灣。

台灣人民需要問自己，台灣能期望一個在絕對武器優勢下都不能順利從阿富汗安全體面撤退的國家，

論 中 壇 美 US-CHINA FORUM

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刊 例 設 計 劉 學 武

每 星 期 六 出 刊 第 574 期

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

一個鼓勵烏克蘭戰爭卻不能提供足夠炮彈的國家，一個不能保護總統候選人，川普，免于受沒有受過任何訓練的青年人在許多人的目視下開槍狙擊，的國家，一個連自己國家邊境都不能保護的國家，來保衛台灣對抗大陸嗎？

兩岸行的一個直覺感受，就是兩岸人民對彼此沒有敵意，在大陸許多地方旅遊時，由於我們胸前都掛著臺胞參訪團的牌子，很多大陸老

百姓都會主動說歡迎、兩岸一家親或類似的話。此外兩岸社會有許多共同優點：交通便利、社會治安及人民的親善都遠遠超過美國。在兩岸的許多地方，晚上11時搭乘捷運或地鐵，或走在路上都沒有安全威脅，夜市都很熱鬧，人聲鼎沸，這在美國是不可想象的。也許，這就是兩岸共有的傳統中華文明的美好展現！

敬 邀

鞏固台海和平基石 深化中華文明傳承

重修台灣“去中”課綱

北一女國文教師 區桂芝
在逆流中重建中華文化的信仰

嘉義大學歷史系主任 吳昆財
歷史虛無主義的108課綱和教科書

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Hegemony and Bullying Versus Opposition and Counterattack

It can be said that the evolution path of Sino-US relations is not difficult to predict based on the accumulation of historical events. Although China and the United States are both big countries, they are located on opposite sides of the world and separated by the Pacific Ocean. There are no direct territorial disputes or resource entanglement. However, conflicts of diplomatic, trade, and economic interests between big countries are inevitable. The U.S. was founded only 250 years ago, but it has been extremely successful. The country's expansion and growth in strength in the past 150 years can be said to be unprecedented, and it has become the world's most powerful nation. In the past 150 years, China has transformed from a weakened dynasty to a republic China. But it was invaded and humiliated by the world's powers for more than seven decades. It took more than one hundred years of hardship and hard work to unify the mainland and embark on the road of independence and rejuvenation. Therefore, U.S.-China relations have always had a natural tendency for the U.S. to look down on China. During World War II, the U.S. entered the war late and declared war on Japan for its attack on Pearl Harbor; and China had the best relationship with the U.S. at that time in allying to fight Japan. After Japan surrendered, a civil war broke out in China. The Communist Party and the Kuomintang fought for power. The U.S. chose to side with the Kuomintang. In the following cross-strait confrontation till today, the U.S. chose to recognize One China but maintained ambiguous US-Taiwan relations.

During the cross-strait confrontation, Taiwan shifted from 'counterattacking the mainland' strategy to committing to implementing 'the Three People's Principles' policy to develop its economy. The Chinese Communist Party unified the mainland and consolidated all its people to develop the economy. Although it started late and rocky, the massive land and massive people were energized with correct policies, and the economy grew rapidly and eventually became the world's second-largest economy. This has caused the U.S. to worry, and it has turned from 'looking down' to 'looking level' at China with anxiety. Especially, the U.S. feels that its hegemonic leadership over the world is hindered and it cannot always do as it pleases. Therefore, it regards China as a competitor and uses all its

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strength to suppress China's rise. Trade tariffs, financial and technology sanctions, and military alliances have become a state of bullying. China has gone from appreciating favors in trade with the U.S. to tolerating pressures from it then to protesting sanctions and to resisting and fighting back. Nowadays, China is in a situation where it must counterattack to protect its economy.

The U.S. strategy has its consistency. Since the 20th century, the U.S. has become the world's largest economy, once accounting for 40% of the world's total. It is natural for the world's largest economy to lead the world, however, holding the banner of fairness and justice but not accepting fair competition is a big mistake made by the U.S. in its diplomatic handling of international affairs. Militarily, the U.S. has been constantly developing arms and has the strongest military power and military-industrial enterprises in the world. Internationally, the U.S. applies regulations to restrict other countries from developing their military, but itself often use military force to arbitrate international disputes, and sometimes use it to interfere in the politics of other countries and create unrest. The U.S. approach is accepted by NATO, Japan, South Korea, the Five Eyes Alliance, etc. with little choice since they are under US control, but it will meet resistance in rising countries.

China is the largest developing country and the country with the fastest progress. Facing the U.S. hegemony and its bullying practice, China often reflects ardently. Therefore, there are different opinions in the country, ranging from 'blaming it on itself' (not keeping a low profile), to having touched the nerves of the U.S. or violated the rules of a major power. It wasn't until tolerance brought more sanctions and suppression, and even led to the US policy of organizing international alliances targeting China, that China's vigilance was awakened. The U.S. apparently respects hard punches, not soft measures or tolerance. China realizes that only counterattack can stop bullying. Although the Chinese do not like the behavior of tit for tat or eye for eye, after the U.S. launched the semiconductor supply cutoff policy and created the Asia-Pacific Quad Alliance to target China, China realized that it had to fight back. Today's Sino-US relationship is a virtual hedging. Although the

U.S. does not refer to China as an enemy on the surface, its strategy is like that of dealing with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Afraid that it would not be powerful enough to contain China with the two island chains in the Asia-Pacific, the U.S. launched two Indo-Pacific strategic alliances (AUKUS and QUAD+), one alliance between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the U.S., and another integrating Japan, India, Australia, the U.S., and the Philippines. These alliances are aimed at controlling and containing China's coastline. As if this is not enough, the U.S. has also pushed NATO which it controls to extend to Asia, into Central Asia, and the South Korean Peninsula. This strategy is indeed very threatening in terms of posture, but these alliance members are closely dependent on China's market and trade, hence they are not willing to voluntarily sacrifice as American pawns. In addition, China maintains friendly and even strategic partnerships with Russia, Iran, and neighboring countries in Central Asia and the Middle East, so China will not be isolated. Militarily, the modernization of China's navy and air force had been quite mature, and it would have a great chance of winning if fighting through the island chain occurred. Therefore, it is not difficult to understand that in the U.S.-China confrontation, the U.S. strives to keep the dialogue mechanism with the highest level of China (including military leaders) open to prevent any conflict from going off the rails and getting out of control. Sino-US hedging is by no means a case of Thucydides' Trap. China and the U.S. have no direct territorial borders or disputes. What the two countries compete for is world influence. The Pacific is big enough, and the world is big enough, allowing the two major countries to pursue a path of mutual benefits—that is co-prosperity and peaceful coexistence. Rational analysis shows that two big nations fighting against each other will hurt both sides and may even destroy the world. Peaceful competition, on the other hand, can be pursued based on the Olympic spirit. During the US election, a 20-year-old young man shot the presidential candidate, Trump. Should we not only understand the mental health state of this young man but also conduct some tests on the mental health of presidential candidates? What people around the world should hope for is that world leaders will make rational analyses and sane decisions!