

# 土耳其政變與地緣政治

## 土耳其政變的成敗是一個轉點，成則美國得利，但是不幸失敗了

土耳其政變失敗後，身為總統的埃爾多安立刻指控旅居美國賓州的一位伊斯蘭教派領袖，名叫菲圖拉·居倫，稱他為背後黑手，并要求美國將他引渡回土（居倫堅決否認）。同時，埃爾多安迅速逮捕了一大批法官、教師、警察和軍人，總數高達好幾萬人，說這些人都是居倫運動的同黨，受他指使搞政變。為了替這些政治犯騰出牢房，他還釋放了38,000名犯人。對我們這些不大注意更稱不上瞭解土耳其的人，到底這位居倫是何方神聖，居然能夠遙遠地掌控那麼多信徒，聽起來真的像神話故事。

網上的資料稱，這位老人居住在賓州某處郊外的一所豪宅中，設立的基金擁有二十億美元以上的資產，他雖然在美國閑居了二十多年，可是他不但在土耳其各地開辦了許多學校，宣揚他的宗教思想，並且在世界各地也興建了講授伊斯蘭教義的學校和清真寺。他主張和平，民主，所以他的伊斯蘭教思想似乎可以與西方的民主制度並存，所以被西方接受。網上還有人聲稱他跟中情局保持著密切關係。大概是基於這個原因，土耳其國內的報紙上更公開指控，這次政變是中情局在背後主導的。

為了弄清楚這件事的來龍去脈，我們必需排個時序。首先要排的是2015年年中。經過對阿沙德政權四年多的圍剿，主要是向反對阿沙德政權的許多所謂的“溫和集團”(moderate groups)提供武器和情報(溫和與否，恐怕是搬弄名詞，因為他們互相殺戮，只是效忠的對象不同罷了)，美國和阿拉伯灣區的幾個國家(主要是沙烏地)終於快要達到推翻阿沙德的目的了。那裡知道，就在這個時刻，殺出了一個普京。普京一看阿沙德政權不保，而俄國在地中海的軍事基地恐怕也要被迫關門了，乃向阿沙德政府提供了飛機大砲和軍隊，同時指責美國打擊伊斯蘭國不力，其真實目的是推翻一個合法選出的阿沙德政府。普京的飛機大砲一到，阿沙德政權乃立刻回穩，而美國和沙特阿拉伯等國支持的“溫和集團”反而陷於捱打的被動局面。美國四年來的努力就此泡湯。美國國內的右派就對奧巴馬發出了嚴厲的攻擊，認為他沒有全力支持“溫和集團”，以致於又一次被普京取得了先機。

從地緣政治的角度來看，這個情況對美國確實很不利。因為，在美國帶頭之下，安理會常任理事國加德國(5+1)跟伊朗進行談判，剛剛才成功地逼使伊朗放棄核試，從而解除了國際上對它的制裁。而現在，俄國穩住了敘利亞政局之後，基本上就組建了一個解禁的伊朗、俄國和穩定下來的敘利亞的弧形聯盟的“溫和集團”。雖然，表面上大家的共同敵人仍然是伊斯蘭國。

◎水秉和

我們一看地圖就知道，土耳其是這個弧形聯盟的一個缺口，把俄國擋在中東地塊的北邊，這就使它的地位極端重要。土耳其雖然是北約成員，應當穩穩地站在西方這一邊才對，但事實并不那麼簡單。過去幾年，所有從歐洲潛入中東，為伊斯蘭國效命的傻蛋都是通過土耳其進入伊斯蘭國的，而伊斯蘭國的石油收入也都是經過土耳其轉口運到其他地區的。所以，土耳其是一個兩面派，一方面讓美國用它的空軍基地打擊伊斯蘭國，另一方面又幫助伊斯蘭國獲得兵員和財源。基於此，美國及其其他北約盟友對埃爾多安多有不滿，並且也不信任他。

但是，這種不滿的情緒並不是單方面的。埃爾多安最痛恨和最忌諱的是他國內庫爾特族。他之所以暗中支援伊斯蘭國就是要借助伊斯蘭國來消滅佔據了伊拉克北部的庫族。應當說明的是，庫族是第一次戰後被英法兩國硬分到三個國家的可憐族群，而他們渴望把伊拉克、敘利亞和土耳其三國中的庫族人聯合起來，建立一個獨立國家。伊拉克境內的庫族基本上已經獨立，並且是一支對抗伊斯蘭國的堅定力量，也是美國一直借助的力量。鑒於土耳其的反對，美國對他們的援助可以說是畏畏縮縮，但是越來越積極，幾乎近於支持他們的獨立。這就犯了埃爾多安的大忌。所以，他對美國的積怨也是由來已久。

就在這樣一種複雜的多角關係中，俄國插手到敘利亞就引起了美國軍方的極度憤怒。明明西方就快要贏了，就要把阿沙德趕下臺去，扶植起一個親西方的“民主”政府了，可惜這個美麗前景一下子就被普京給殘酷地破壞掉了。俄國向敘利亞提供補給並不容易，其最佳路線是通過土耳其，所以，不讓俄國穿越土耳其國境是阻擾它的狠招。這就導致土耳其於2015年11月擊落一架穿越其境內的俄國轟炸機。這當然是出乎人們意料之外的事——土耳其怎麼有那麼大的膽子？

小道消息告訴我們，土耳其本身不具備及時偵查到俄國飛機越境的能力。不具備這個能力，它又怎麼能算準時間，派遣飛機去攔截和擊落俄國飛機呢？一個非常合理的結論就是：它一定得到了美國偵查衛星所提供的情報。以此推論，它很可能還得到了美國和北約的默許。至少，憑著北約的護身符，普京不能奈何它。

這個判斷顯然是錯誤的。接下來，普京大怒，立刻斷絕跟埃爾多安的一切關係，停止俄國公民到土耳其旅遊，拒絕土耳其產品進口，也停止提供土耳其俄國的工業產品，因而嚴重地打擊了土耳其的經濟。

另一方面，中東和北非的難民繼續不斷地湧向歐洲。為了不讓這些

難民入境，同時又要照顧到它們所高舉的人道主義，歐盟各國乃達成了協議，給錢讓土耳其收容這些難民。這樣，土耳其境內大約滯留了三百萬難民。想來，埃爾多安對此可能非常不滿。一方面經濟受到俄國制裁，另一方面難民不斷湧入，再加上過去一年間境內連續發生恐襲事件，其中至少一部分來自庫族。他可能覺得自己當了冤大頭。無論如何，6月間，他決定就擊落俄國飛機和射殺飛行員事件公開向俄國道歉。這當然是一個巨大的轉變，表示他願意跟普京和解。到底這個轉變的背後還有多少文章，我們不得而知，總之，可以想象，這個轉變令美國非常不安。但是，到底這個不安是否足以導致美國暗中支持政變呢？我們也不得而知。我們確知的是，埃爾多安相信，政變是居倫發動的，而居倫背後很可能有美國的影子。為什麼呢？因為政變就發生在他向普京道歉的一個月之內。

網上還有消息稱，俄國的情報機構曾經在政變發生之前向埃爾多安發出了警告，使他沒有被刺殺。是否如此，有待後人寫書挖掘證據。我們知道的是，政變之所以失敗，蘋果手機功不可沒：埃爾多安借助CNN在土耳其境內的廣播設施，面對著iPhone向百姓發出了呼籲，要求他們走向街頭，走向廣場，擋住坦克，擋住軍人。結果，數十萬老百姓，不分黨派，都在半夜走到街上，阻擋了叛軍。等到埃爾多安從他渡假的地方趕回伊斯坦堡時，政變就失敗了。

政變的成敗實在是茲事體大。如果政變的確是居倫發動的，那麼成功的話土耳其肯定會更加倒向西方，就像烏克蘭那樣。現在政變失敗了，相信美國決不肯把居倫交給埃爾多安，所以埃爾多安會向俄國傾斜。他讓土耳其退出北約的可能性不大，可是跡象顯示，他很可能願意加入中國主導的上海合作組織，或者俄國主導的歐亞經濟體系。

政變發生在7月15號，埃爾多安於8月6號就飛往聖彼得堡去跟普京會談，可見他轉變的迅速。據報導，他們相談甚歡，盡釋前嫌，恢復旅遊與貿易，討論了安全合作以及如何解決敘利亞內亂的問題。此外，伊朗外交部長也在兩國間穿梭來往。看來，俄國、土耳其和伊朗達成了某些共識和協議，因為其後沒幾天，新聞報導，俄國的轟炸機從伊朗境內的機場起飛，執行了轟炸伊斯蘭國的任務。據稱，這是伊朗第一次允許外國軍機利用它的機場從事軍事活動。毫無疑問，美國軍方對此感到震驚。

國際關係是不斷變化的，而變化的過程中經常會出現一些轉點。例如，當英國沒有跟美國打招呼就驟然加入了中國主導的亞投行，那是一個轉點。英國的這個舉動帶動了

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# 謝天謝地，還要感謝特朗普

## 如果這種人當總統，是不是會為世界帶來災難？

謝天謝地也就罷了，為什麼要感謝特朗普呢？道理很簡單：如果沒有他的自我毀滅，我們真的要捏一把冷汗，擔心他真的會當選總統。現在我們可以放心了：他現了原形。

很多人會奇怪，美國，一個非常文明的國度，通常，在這個如果有人不小心碰到你一下都要說一聲對不起的禮儀之邦，怎麼會讓一名專門以侮辱人為能事的自戀狂，自大狂，不學無術，貪得無厭地撈錢的騙子(彭博的話)擊敗16名對手而登上共和黨總統候選人的寶座？

幸好，老天有眼，讓他自我毀滅。在民主黨的提名大會上，一對巴基斯坦裔夫妻--為希萊莉站台。妻子沒有說話，丈夫面對著全國觀眾，食指遙指，質問特朗普：“你有沒有唸過憲法？”他從胸前口袋裡掏出一本薄薄的憲法小冊子，說，“我可以把我的這本借給你。”他的兒子請纓，為國效命，在伊拉克服役期間，為了保護部下，叫他們尋找掩護，而自己單身去檢查一部駛來的計程車，結果不幸被恐怖份子炸死。毫無疑問，他的兒子是一位為袍澤捨身的英雄，而特朗普要禁止伊斯蘭移民入境？所以，作為一位英雄的父親，他充滿義憤地質問特朗普，“你有沒有唸過憲法？”知不知道憲法的精神是人人平等？他譴責特朗普：“你沒有作出任何犧牲！”這是說，特朗普沒有為國家做過任何犧牲，卻膽敢歧視那些肯為國效命的少數民族。

讀者們，如果你看到這位巴基斯

其他歐洲國家也跟著加入，為習近平倡導的一帶一路奠定了基礎。歐洲國家對亞投行的肯定反而孤立了美國和日本，預示中國能夠成功建立一個獨立於世界銀行的金融體系。英國脫歐是一個轉點，表示國際社會在分化，而不是再歸於一統。土耳其政變的成敗也是一個轉點，成則美國得利，但是不幸失敗了。這一敗不打緊，它使得整個中東局勢改觀。土耳其的重新定位也告訴我們，多極世界必然會逐步到來。

◎彭文逸

坦父親的簡短演說，你多半就會跟成千上萬的觀眾一樣地深受感動。因為他的話發自肺腑，來自內心深處。事後我看到《紐約時報》上的介紹才知道，他移民美國之後進入哈佛法學院讀書，獲得律師資格，而他那位為國犧牲的兒子畢業於一流的維京尼亞大學，本來可以繼續升學的，卻請纓上戰場。當晚，雖然有其他精彩的演講，包括希萊莉自己接受提名的演講，但是沒有任何演講能具有這麼大的威力，因為它不是政治性的演講。它是堅持基本人道精神的演講。可悲的是，特朗普對此毫無感觸能力，居然立刻對這個所謂的“金星家庭”(在台灣我們稱之為遺族家庭)發動無聊之至的攻擊。這看來是一個轉點，突然之間，他的光環暗淡了下來——雖然他自己似乎毫無所覺。

特朗普的個性，老實說，非常特異：他幾乎罵遍天下人。我們可以統計一下，他罵了西裔移民；他的預選對手；婦女；伊斯蘭教徒；美國戰俘買麥肯恩；為國捐軀的巴基斯坦軍人；共和黨領袖；媒體(最低等的人)；奧巴馬和希萊莉。他還罵北約盟友搭便車；罵中國和日本操縱貨幣，等等。唯一沒有被罵的是沒有受太多教育的白人，警察，還有普京，金正恩。

他的另外一個特點就是不肯認錯和不肯道歉。這也就是說，他缺乏反思的能力。我們接觸到的一般美國人能夠在很短的時間裡覺察到自己的話語和行動對別人所產生的影響，並且很能去體會別人的感情或感覺，而特朗普卻沒有這種能力。這應當也是他能夠侮辱人而不肯認錯的原因吧。你懷疑，為什麼還有那麼多人支持他。你會擔憂，如果這種人當總統，後果如何？是不是會為世界帶來災難？

三月時我曾在此論壇說，特朗普會分裂共和黨，送給希萊莉一個大禮。看來這個預言在兩個多月之後就要兌現了。雖然希萊莉有不少缺點，而她的上台未必對中美關係有利，但是，跟特朗普當總統所可能帶來的災難相比，那絕對不會是最壞的結果。

# Can Taiwan Practice An Honest Democracy Leading to a Successful Reunification?

## - Taiping Island a Test Case

Mainstream and Organic Views  
Dr. Wordman

Following the U.S. 'Pivot to Asia' policy and the rising tension in the South China Sea (SCS), the 'Cross-Strait' has once again become a hot spot moving away from a 'peaceful gradual Chinese internal reunification' agenda towards an 'impossible treacherous false independence' path. Of course, the victory of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in this year's presidential election is one basic cause and consequence for cooling off the cross-strait cooperative pro-business economic development path (the previous Administration, Ma Ying-Jeou (KMT) had cultivated with Mainland in the past eight years) and flaring up a wishful but dangerous anti-Mainland China thinking and false independence movement (the current leader Tsai Ing-Wen (DPP) coyly promoted 'independence' ever since she took office).

The most significant and distinct ideological difference between the KMT and DPP is the following: The KMT recognizes one China and the official agreement reached by the two cross-strait administrations in 1992, commonly referred to as 1992 Mutual Understanding. The U.S. has long committed since 1970's to the recognition of one China thus the U.S. has been in agreement with KMT in maintaining a warm and progressive Cross-Strait relation. Whereas, the DPP is purposefully trying to walk away from the 1992 Mutual Understanding to pursue an independence attempt which is aggressively promoted by a faction in DPP insisting on keeping 'Taiwan Independence' in the DPP party platform as an objective. The U.S. is not sure whether or not such a direction will lead to a beneficial outcome to the U.S. in the name of world peace. Hence, the U.S. is studying the situation and the DPP behavior carefully under the still evolving China Policy.

The Taiwan issue is a clear one for the Mainland China, that is, Taiwan must be reunited with the mother land, sooner or later, slower or faster in pace, but never can be denied by any internal entity or any external country including the U.S., Japan or the entire United Nations. In fact, the Taiwan issue is rather clear to most countries in the world. However, the issue is surprisingly unclear in Taiwan existing as a fundamental problem facing the people of Taiwan and a serious challenge to the Taiwan governing administration. Unfortunately, the people was long misled by politicians through misinterpretation of history (even by whitewashing their textbooks to confuse the young generations) and through manipulation of democracy (by lies and fact twisting of policy issues, 政策, and people's wishes, 民意, via media). The people in Taiwan were easily gullible but we must remember: you can fool some people some of the time, even most of the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time! Thus to the title question, I believe the answer is yes and let me explain.

Reviewing the international events, especially concerning the U.S. - China relations, the U.S. seems to be conducting a China Policy in a classroom, that is, it is a case in study; consequently, China's US policy is

in a seminar style, that is, debate, argue and interpret the U.S. China Policy then issue responsive statements. As a result, the two nations engage in occasional hot rhetoric but in reality both sides wish to find mutually acceptable compromises. Since going to war is mutually destructive and unacceptable, no matter how inevitable hawks of each side chant. People in Taiwan must understand this dynamics and be realistic in cultivating a beneficial Cross-Strait policy.

The 'Pivot to Asia' policy is fundamental to the U.S., a correct one from the viewpoint of the U.S. interests and her necessary decision in retreating from the Middle East problems and EU turmoil. However, a correct policy does not guarantee a correct execution particularly when the case is still under study, namely, the rise of China is very dynamic and ongoing, its threat may be over exaggerated or even be elevated by the U.S. herself. The U.S. diplomatic and military moves in the East China Sea now shifting to the SCS have clearly supported my 'classroom' theory and China's corresponding counter actions fitted my 'seminar' metaphor. Hopefully, the think tanks of both sides will engage in more dialogue to complete the classroom and seminar activities into a for-credit case-study course so that others like Taiwan can take such a course and earn credits in the school of geopolitics.

Taiwan politicians and party politics have a false notion that Taiwan has a choice between (A) Relying on the U.S. and U.S. protégé Japan to pursue an independence movement and (B) Yielding to Mainland China to take the reunification path. In fact, the U.S. and Japan do not want to have a truly independent Taiwan, world politics tell us that a truly independent country cannot be controlled easily by another. That is why endless regime changes occur in small countries if they have geopolitical importance. From the purpose of control and influence, often supporting independence does not really mean supporting the establishment of a truly independent entity. Taiwan must understand this, moving towards independence means choosing to be controlled by your supporters. On the other hand, leaning towards reunification does not mean the total loss of identity, especially, when the mainland China is seeking to define her identity as well. Hong Kong is a living example, her former quasi-independent colonial state yields no better welfare than her present status receiving billions of investment. The longest ocean bridge linking Hong Kong, Macao and Zhu Jiang is a huge investment from Mainland to secure Hong Kong's future competitive position.

Singapore is often used as an example of shinning small independent nation. Is it? Singapore is situated between two large Muslim countries,

Malaysia and Indonesia. Singapore has an overwhelming ethnic Chinese population but she is too far from China. She had no choice but relying on the U.S. for security, essentially turning herself as a US military base. Lee Kuan Yew was smart to play world politics; so long China's goods came through Singapore port without problem, China would let Singapore to use China to gain diplomatic leverage. Before China became strong enough, Singapore had no choice but to pick the U.S. for protection. Even though the U.S. regarded Lee as a dictator, there was no need for regime change or making Singapore a truly democratic nation so long she sides with the U.S. Taiwan is in an entirely different situation, Taiwan, in close proximity to Mainland, exports largely to the Mainland. Singapore, as a transfer port might diminish in value if other transfer routes to China could be used as substitute. Singapore's significance as a military base for the U.S. would then diminish accordingly. However, Taiwan will remain forever as a strategic land for China's security; the people in Taiwan must appreciate their Chinese heritage and geopolitical value to the Mainland.

The ridiculous ruling of the arbitration court declaring Taiping Island as a rock not an island is really a good test case for people's will in Taiwan and the real intention of the Tsai administration. The U.S. or Japan will never take the welfare of Taiwan people, especially Taiwan's fishermen, into their hearts. Taiping Island saga proves that Taiwan cannot defend her sovereignty nor ocean rights by just taking a pro-US or pro-Japan stand. The Tsai administration cannot negotiate with Japan on Taiwan's fishing rights (can't even defend the existing agreement Ma administration had scored) is evidence enough for her wrong Cross-Strait policy. In contrast, by aligning with Mainland China, which values Taiwan's strategic importance forever, and by acting as a 'to be reunified' Chinese people, Taiwan can stand up and have a voice in any negotiation on the world stage. Taiwan voters must understand this political reality.

People in Taiwan have enjoyed democracy for several decades; naturally, people in Taiwan have concerns whether they will lose their democracy if united with the Mainland. From an analyst viewpoint, Taiwan's democracy is as good as the people's intelligence and as valuable as it is perceived as true democracy. The likelihood of Taiwan's democracy being hijacked by party politicians is real and Taiping Island is a proven test. Tsai in her Washington Post interview on July 21, 2016, by Lally Weymouth, cited many times 'the will of the people' (民意) as her basis for her policies. Is that really true? When it comes to taking a defending position in Taiping Island and SCS, the people of Taiwan have spoken but they must be clear and leave no room for politicians to be vague or to play word game. Judging on the current development in Taiwan's political affairs, the dropping of performance rating of the Tsai administration, and the boiling emotions of citizens regarding defending Taiwan's rights (such as the Taiping Island status), one is hopeful that Taiwan's people do understand the importance of the Cross-Strait relationship and its dynamics discussed above. So to answer the title question, the answer is yes! Taiwan must and can practice an honest democracy to pursue a successful reunification policy to benefit the people!

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