

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

共寫抗日戰史的兩大障礙

今年九月三日，北京舉行“中國人民慶祝抗日戰爭暨反法西斯戰爭勝利七十週年”大閱兵。很多海外華人看了之後都興奮不已，中華民族經歷一個半世紀的積弱和外侮，已經一去不返了。

但是，這次閱兵卻在台灣引起軒然大波，從黨政高層到軍方將領，一致認為北京竊取了國府的抗戰成果，要求正視歷史。獨派的民進黨和台聯更是對號入座，認為大閱兵威脅到台灣的安全，甚至採取法律行動控告連戰賣國。

抗戰時期，國府從事敵前戰役，是抗日的主力，共軍接受國府領導在敵後牽制日寇，蔣委員長代表中國戰區接受岡村寧次的降書，這些都是不爭的事實，北京方面也意識到此，提出由雙方共寫抗戰史的建議。

共寫抗戰史有其現實的困難，首先，很多史料都是官方檔案，其

~茅威力~

次，很多歷史學家都在官方機構工作，沒有官方的支持，很難寫出公正詳實的抗戰史。我個人認為，只有簽訂和平協議，中止敵對狀態，雙方官民合作，才能共譜抗戰史。

共寫抗戰史的另一障礙是“一中各表”。93年的辜汪會談，北京提出“一個中國”原則，台北堅持“各表”，就產生了“一中各表”這個怪物。根據“一中各表”，雙方互不承認，現在台北要中華人民共和國把抗戰勝利歸功于對方所不承認的中華民國，豈不是出爾反爾，強人所難嗎？台北要北京正視抗戰史實，就必須回到“一中”，割掉“各表”這個怪尾巴。

我希望不久的將來，在北京慶祝抗日戰爭勝利，是由海峽兩岸共同參與。

讀者迴響

~ Julian Liu ~

109期姚雲龍先生“理念之爭 vs 民族大義”一文中，“甯共毋獨”四個字，道出了我和無數熱愛中國者的心聲。

如今中共政權已不再搞政治鬥爭，只專心富國強兵、謀利人民。使中國不再受到外力侵侮的威脅，使百姓脫貧而能過上安和樂利的生活。經濟上走的是國家資本主義，而不再遵循共產主義的教條。誠如姚文所言，中國基本上已達到了民族主義和民生主義的要求。

而我認為中國目前所實施的政治制度，比之三民主義中的民權主義更有過之而無不及。中國已摒棄一人獨裁無限任期的獨夫政制，而走向了一個集體領導廣求諮詢的民主政制。不同于西方的選舉式民主政制，這是一個有任期的、

可以和平傳承的政治制度。國家的領導人都是從基層幹起而層層提拔上來的。成為國家領導人之前，他們已有治理數億人口、解決過無數難題的行政經驗。相比較，Obama 只當過一任參議員，而完全沒有行政經驗，難怪在他治理下的美國，問題層出不窮。西方的民主制度是要花費上千億美元，去選出伶牙俐齒、有個人魅力、而不一定有能力的實才的領導人，這種制度極勞民傷財而缺乏實益。所以中國選出的國家領導人，都比西方民主制度下產生的領導人更為優秀。

在現行制度下，中國政府是個有效率、能辦事的靈活政府，所以能夠史無前例地，在短短三十多年間，把一個一窮二白的中國極速提升為世界上第二大經濟體，使得幾億中

獨裁與亂邦 中東到底有幾層“地獄”？

就在這個勞工節周末，我讀到極為有趣的一段話。這段話出自一位共和黨總統候選人的外交顧問 Richard Fontaine 之口：

“在伊拉克，我們推翻了政權，佔領了它，結果它下了地獄(went to hell)。在利比亞，我們推翻了政權，沒有佔領它，結果它下了地獄。在敘利亞，我們沒有推翻政權，也沒有佔領它，結果它也下了地獄。所以，總之，這就是中東，不管怎麼樣，它都下地獄…”

這位顧問說的很有趣，但是，對哪些生活在“地獄”中的阿拉伯人而言，又未免太冷酷。在這篇《紐約時報》週刊介紹共和黨總統候選人的外交團隊的報導中，這些專家們眾口一詞，都批評奧巴馬的政策太軟弱，他們一致認為，美國還應當採取更多的軍事行動。可是，我們要問，如果美國一開始的時候不去推翻人家的政權，中東會產生那麼多“地獄”嗎？

這裡牽涉到一個相當根本的問題，那就是中東各國的獨裁者：伊拉克的薩達姆、埃及的穆巴拉克、利比亞的卡達菲和敘利亞的阿薩德。他們有許多兇殘暴戾的行為：薩達姆，曾經用毒氣毒死一大批反對者；穆巴拉克，經常以酷刑對待穆斯林兄弟黨徒；卡達菲，曾經派遭恐怖份子炸毀國際班機；阿薩德對付異己的手段極其毒辣，等等。總的來說，他們都是惡跡昭著，可能死有餘辜。但是，對這些國家的廣大子民來說，比起內亂、逃難、饑餓和死亡的命運，他們維穩的暴力惡行是不是有其存在的價值呢？如果說他們統治的社會裡存在著極大的種族或宗教分歧，他們是否甚至有應當存在的理由呢？我們不妨拿利比亞作例子。

伊拉克地獄無疑是小布什一手造成的，而利比亞地獄則毫無疑問是

~彭文逸~

奧巴馬和喜萊利的傑作。位於北非的利比亞，一個由許多大大小小的部落組成的國家，許多部落仍然以遊牧為生，它邊界開放，任何時候都有約兩百萬外國人在境內居住（在美國這些就是非法移民）。依靠石油收入，人民的教育和醫療皆免費，並且卡達菲和其他獨裁者一樣，都不是虔誠的伊斯蘭教徒，所以男女兒童教育機會均等。2010年12月，突尼斯一名失業的大學生自焚，引發了一場群眾運動，乃在阿拉伯世界掀起了所謂的阿拉伯之春（或許應改名為阿拉伯之冬）。西方媒體以為這是一場偉大的民主運動，乃立刻給予道義上的支持，以及其他明的和暗的支持。但是，它其實是兩種截然不同的群體參與的反抗獨裁的運動，一邊是穆斯林教眾，一邊是受過西方式的思想教育的知識分子。突尼斯的群眾運動很快就傳到埃及與利比亞等中東國家。利比亞在2011年2月17日就發生了所謂的憤怒日(day of rage)，也就是發生了重大的警民衝突。

奧巴馬和他的國務卿喜萊利大概是以為巨大的民主浪潮已經洶湧地掩蓋了中東大地，勢不可擋，不過仍然需要外力幫助才能得勝，所以就在一個月之後，3月17日，促使安理會通過了決議，理由是卡達菲對群眾運動的鎮壓有可能造成種族清洗，所以國際有責任干預。法國、英國爭先恐後地向利比亞進軍，並在美國的支持之下在利比亞上空設立禁飛區，以消除政府軍的空中優勢，同時向反對派提供武器和衛星情報。2011年10月，也就是在短短的7個月之後，反對派在美國的支持下把卡達菲射殺在陰溝裡。然後呢？出乎西方意料之外，然後利比亞很快陷入混亂，一直到四年後的今天。我們可稱之為亂邦(failed state)。

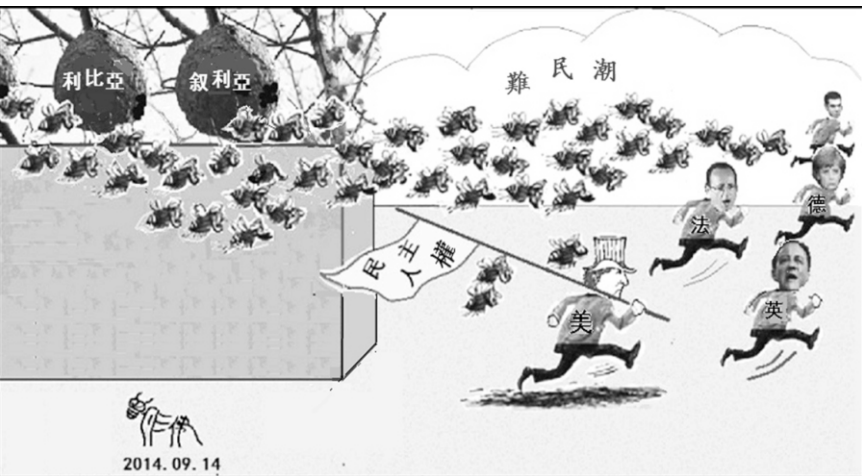
《外交事務》雙月刊在本年3/4月號登載了德州大學教授 Alan Kuperman 的文章，題目是“奧巴馬帶給利比亞的災難”。文章說，事實證明，卡達菲鎮壓反對派的時候並沒有大開殺戒，沒有如西方媒體報導地挨家挨戶地殺人。據他取得的資料，死亡人數可能在1,000人左右。可是，在卡達菲政權垮臺之

後，四年間族群衝突不斷，產生了兩個各自為政的政府和許多地方上的獨立勢力，死亡人數據作者多方收集的資料，高達10,000人。石油產量銳減，經濟活動低落，而被新政權驅逐的境內外國人也向四面八方逃難。他指出，另外兩個後果就是伊斯蘭恐怖主義份子潛入利比亞，以及卡達菲多年累積的精良武器流失在廣大的非洲。作者說，“在利比亞所犯的錯誤不是干預後的努力不夠，而是錯在一開始作出的干預決定。”奧巴馬後來也承認，這是最感遺憾的一件事。

反對派在利比亞的成功激勵了敘利亞的反對派，使得該地的和平抗議轉變為暴力衝突，而奧巴馬在利比亞造成的災難使他不肯在敘利亞用兵。這是另一個悲劇性的後果。此外，埃及在推翻了穆巴拉克之後選出了的總統不是西方所期望的民主鬥士，而是穆斯林兄弟黨的莫西。莫西黨政不久就被另一批軍人抓了起來，判了死刑，恢復了軍人專政，而這次美國就悶聲不響了。

根據聯合國難民事務高級專員辦事處的数据，2014年年底，全世界的難民人數高達六千萬。比2013年年底增加了約八百萬，其中絕大部分都出現在中東。現在，這些難民，許多已經無法忍受在難民營裡的生活，大批大批地湧向歐洲。美國是製造中東難民最大的機器，但是國內正在為非法移民爭吵不休，所以遲遲不肯對難民問題表態。最近，看到德國居然肯收容八十萬難民，大概實在感到慚愧，奧巴馬宣佈原意接受一萬難民。可是，除非能夠穩定中東的局勢，數以百萬計的難民將不斷地提出一個質問：美國，你支持民主，你要推翻獨裁，你怎麼替這麼做所造成的地獄性後果負責？

是在這個問題的關照下，我們要考慮：到底我們應如何看待獨裁這和專制政權？我個人的結論是：第一，治比亂好。第二，在民智未開的地方，或者族群分裂嚴重的地方，民主運動只會造成內戰和亂邦，幾乎不可能產生穩定的民主制度，對經濟造成嚴重破壞，而經濟發展是硬道理。第三，按照佛家的說法，地獄一共有十八層，獨裁政權優劣各異，可能佔據了上面的十層，而亂邦則佔據了十層以下的八層。



惡有惡報難民潮

Americanization, Bigotry, China Threat, Doomsday, and Exceptionalism

The United States is a melting pot of immigrants; she welcomes migrants and brands them Americans within one or two generations of time by an unique but hard-to-describe **Americanization Process**. Inevitably children get Americanized when they grow up in the United States regardless whether their parents are citizens or permanent residents or just fresh immigrants. This Americanization process works with all immigrants from all over the world, turning their children to American grown-ups. If any difference in this Americanization process were observable, it would be most likely attributable to 'discrimination' inherently existed in different races or national origins in the US society. Discrimination is **bigotry** with a history in the U.S. Many American immigration and anti-discrimination laws were legislated, for example, the removal (1943) of the infamous Chinese Exclusion Act which was signed by President Chester A. Arthur on May 6, 1882 and later the abandonment of the immigration quota based on national origin (1965). The positive laws do help reduce discrimination and make the United States an exceptional country regarding immigrants.

This **Americanization Process (AP)** works because the U.S. is a resource rich country providing bountiful opportunities for immigrants to pursue a good life. The seemingly abstract Americanization process perhaps can be related to the concept - '**American Exceptionalism**'. American Exceptionalism is not just patriotism or about number of Olympic medals won or Hollywood stars who are Americans. AP binds Americans together and makes them feel exceptional, righteous and patriotic (not nationalistic) when they believe in the U.S. political system and their country being exceptional. On the other hand, Americans become alienated when they are confused or lied to by their government (often through mass media) or when they are discriminated in a bigotry way making them no longer feel exceptional. This nation building process is unique and hard-to-describe because it is difficult to pin down a clear causality principle (more circular) between **American Exceptionalism and Americanization Process**. One may say that Americanization is a process fueled by American Exceptionalism and in turn making Americans feeling Exceptional, contributing to American Exceptionalism. It doesn't matter which is chicken or egg, so long as no **bigotry** to destroy them both.

The above paragraphs pave the way for discussing how Americans feel about the US foreign policies; in particular, the important US-China relation as China is rising as the largest economy. For Chinese Americans, they have a stronger cultural and heritage bond with the history and current state of China; they naturally pay more attention to what the media report and what the government is doing regarding the U.S.-China relation. Because of their understanding of 'Chinese', they are

Mainstream and Organic Views Dr. Wordman

more sensitive and more critical to the U.S. foreign policy towards China, more than Americans with no such background. The Chinese Americans are growing in number in the American population (1.2% by 2010 census, approximately 3.8 million, 4 million by Pew study), but the mass media seem to pay little attention to their feelings, sensitivities and criticisms on the issue of the current U.S.-China policy. Few opinions of Chinese Americans get published in the mass media is a clear indicator. Post 1965 (removing some restrictions on Chinese migrants to the U.S.), Chinese immigrants are predominantly educated and skilled, coming from the pool of foreign students in the U.S. higher education and the source of employer-sponsored H1 visa holders. These educated and skilled Chinese immigrants have far more to contribute beyond American economy, particularly in shaping the US-China relation.

In the U.S. mass media, there are two prevailing themes driving the U.S.-China relation, neither seems to be well grounded with facts or sound assumptions. Especially unfair is that the mass media pays little attention to the Chinese Americans' (different) views, feelings and beliefs. The first theme is the '**China Threat**' which basically targets China as the enemy of the United States. Coming with this theme is a strategy of aligning China's neighbors, as military allies to contain China's rise as a developing country. The second theme is the '**Dooms Day**' which paints a degenerate and malfunctioning Chinese government doing everything wrong from pollution, housing-infrastructure bubble, and economic policies to her foreign relations. Predicted by the second theme is a phenomenon spelling a dooms day for China in a decade or sooner. These two themes are fundamentally contradictory to each other. If China's government were doing so badly to its country and people how could she pose any threat to the U.S. a few thousand miles away? If China were to collapse in a decade or so why should the U.S. go through an elaborate effort to align half of the world to fight against China? These contradicting themes not only puzzle the Chinese Americans (who remember very well a little more than one hundred years ago, eight foreign countries including the U.S. and Japan were gangling together to divide up China), but also bother any right-minded US citizens or any of its migrant groups - what is the US-China policy really leading up to? A serious consequential issue every American (citizens and leaders) should ponder is: Would the US-China policy

festered under the two contradicting themes destroy the American Exceptionalism which bonds all American immigrants (including Chinese Americans) to keep the U.S. being exceptional.

China had a treacherous path fighting Western powers trying to establish a republic nation. New to foreign political ideology, China was divided but vowed to unite while experimenting with capitalism, communism and any -ism suitable for China. China's founding father, Sun Yat Sen, (respected by all Chinese) had written a guide book (The Three Principles of the People) for constructing a modern China through a gradual experimental process to achieve a successful Republic. At the end of WW II, KMT retreated to Taiwan and CCP took over the mainland, but each wanted a united China. The Mainland China, facing a no-win choice of having Soviet troops coming through China and stationing on her border to control another puppet state (the communist North Korea) or the US army establishing a satellite nation and a US military base on her front door, was coerced into the Korean War. Mao took a crazy bet and caused a Chinese casualty of over 150,000 dead and over 250,000 wounded. Mainland China's experiment with communism had multiple failures far from any glorious success, her pulling out of Vietnam War and departure from the Soviet communism was the clear testimony. By playing a China card, the U.S. ended the Vietnam War with Mainland China's influence. The U.S. policy switch of accepting only one China, abandoning KMT's claim of independence and the whole China, opening up to Mainland China and letting her into the world economic system was the winning strategy not only quickened the ending of the Vietnam War but in the long run isolated and collapsed the Soviet Union and won the Cold War - A success story of leveraging China against the Soviet Union. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, China has risen from a poor third world country to a rapidly developing nation. What on earth is the logic for targeting China as the enemy now (in view of the post Cold War Russia behavior), just because her economy has become the largest? Ironically, Qing Dynasty had the world's largest economy but no military strength, Qing was carved to pieces by the Western powers and diminished. Owing to Japan's extreme greed of wanting all of China for Japan herself, her six month war/victory plan became eight years of Sino-Japan War and eventually China would defeat Japan, with or without the American atomic bomb. No matter which party (CCP, KMT, DPP or others) is experimenting with what kind of ideology and government system, the Chinese people has one dream - a peaceful reunification and a stable government to provide a prosperous future. People with that kind of dream should not be targeted as the enemy of the United States! When the Chinese leader, Xi Jin-Ping, who is dedicated to fulfill the Chinese dream, visits the U.S., let us hope the mainstream media keep an open mind to observe and report and let the American **Exceptionalism** shine!