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US-CHINA FORUM
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每星期六出刊 第282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

川普危機對 2019世局的衝擊

◎張文基

2018年的冬天象徵川普的處境：內外交困，寒意四襲。過去一周，川普政府內的一個穩定力量，廣受尊重的國防部長Mattis辭職，招致國內外近乎一面倒的批評。此外為了區區修築邊牆的50億美元經費，川普不惜與民主黨國會黨團全面決裂，導致部分聯邦政府機構因為沒有經費而必須歇業。這再一次充分展示了美國內部的嚴重分裂。川普為什麼要這麼做？分裂的美國又會對2019的世界局勢和美中關係有什麼影響？

川普和美國精英階級的深刻矛盾

川普所面臨問題的本質是川普所代表的力量和美國精英階級有不可調和的矛盾。2016年川普的支持者主要是美式全球化政策下的受害者，是美國內陸的以白人為主的中下層階級。他們質疑兩黨精英階級過去卅年所走的路線違背了美國人民的根本利益而只是維護金融寡頭集團的利益。在意識形態上這些人包括川普都受美國傳統保守主義的影響，在對外政策上具有孤立主義的傾向。而兩黨精英大多是在冠冕堂皇的價值觀下打破主權國家的限制為金融寡頭力量開疆辟土的鬥士。

在選舉期間兩黨的精英力量合力阻擋川普，希拉蕊自然如此，共和黨主流也相同。一個重要的例子是在2016十月中，投票前數周，當川普陷入好萊塢視頻風波時共和黨精英，包括衆院議長Paul Ryan和當時的共和黨全國委員會主席Reince Priebus都公開表示希望川普退選，讓位給Pence。

川普當選後，透過通俄門事件反川普集團首先剪除川普核心人物，首任國安助理 Flynn將軍。12月18日聯邦法官延期對Flynn的判刑到明年3月13日，其目的似乎是為了配合獨立檢察官Mueller爭取Flynn的進一步合作以便取得不利川普通俄門的證詞和物證。如今川普的許多重要前幕僚都被起訴或定罪，而調查不僅延伸到川普的兩個兒子，甚至他最愛的女兒Ivanka。

從10月初以來美國的股票持續下跌，如今已經進入正式的衰退期。川普歸罪於聯儲會的連續四次加息，許多人歸罪於川普的對中貿易戰，雖然美國經濟的基本面，如GDP成長率和就職率都沒有惡化跡象。不可否認股市是金融大鱷操縱世界，包括美國安定的重要手段。

新保守主義集團企圖掌控政權

川普原來沒有班底，因此他必須聚集一些代表各方利益的強悍人士，表現在政策方面以及白宮的國家安全戰略報告就充滿矛盾，這在過去兩年的美中關係的跌宕起伏中就可以看到。

在2017年8月時主導川普的外交團隊中有代表三種不同理念的群體：1. 民粹力量及經濟民族主義者的Stephen Bannon, 貿易談判代表Robert Lighthizer，及白宮經濟助理，Peter Navarro. 2. 代表軍方務實派的陸戰隊退休上將國防部長 James Mattis和白宮幕僚長 John Kelly，國安顧問陸軍中將 H.R. McMaster 及3. 支持經濟全球化的首席經濟顧問 Gary Cohn，財政部長 Steve Mnuchin 和國務卿 Rex Tillerson。後二者的主導使得2017年的中美關係基本穩定。

2018年3月期間, Gary Cohn, Rex Tillerson 和 H.R. McMaster 先後被 Larry Kudlow，Mike Pompeo，和 John Bolton 取代。2018年10月 9日駐聯合國代表Nikki Haley辭職。12月23日川普因為對 Mattis的辭職信內容不滿，宣佈後者必須於明年1月1日前離職。之前，白宮幕僚長Kelly也宣佈將於12月31日離職。預期參聯會主席陸戰隊上將Dufford也將在明年10月1日任期截止前離職。如此，川普將失去政權內的最後一股可以平衡以副總統Mike Pence, 國安助理 John Bolton 和國務卿 Mike Pompeo為首 的新保守主義集團的力量，他們的以意識形態，價值觀為基礎的對外冒險主義政策將給美國，美中關係和世界帶來災難。

川普的絕地反擊和對世局的影響

過去兩年川普也試圖與精英階級保持妥協關係，然而情勢的發展讓川普感受到他的妥協並沒有減輕他在國內的困境，特別是通俄門調查的緊迫壓力。為了反擊精英階級全方位的緊逼，川普企圖回歸他基本支持群眾的訴求，重振他支持者的熱情，因此才有敘利亞撤軍和邊牆預算的攤牌事件。

2019年頭六個月的發展將決定川普的未來。兩黨精英都希望迫使川普下臺，共和黨內的新保守主義力量希望是由Pence繼任，然後贏得2020的總統大選，維持他們的執政權。

如今川普面臨一系列的挑戰：在國內他需要維持就業率，促進經濟成長，穩定股票市場，國際上需要改善美俄關係，妥善處理伊朗和朝核問題，然而重中之重是穩定美中關係。由於時間緊迫，他必須要很快的創造一些成績，因此他不顧新保守主義集團和軍方現實主義集團的反對，宣佈從敘利亞撤軍，減少與土耳其，俄羅斯和伊朗在陸地上衝突的可能性。其次希望與金正恩第二次會談能進一步推動朝鮮去核進程，重新定義美日韓的聯盟關係。

然而，最可能發揮立即效應的是迅速結束美中貿易戰，而這也是美國廣大群眾及精英階級內的全球化支持者的希望，同時也是習近平的希望，因此明年三月前有極大的可能取得突破。即使美中貿易休兵，美國新保守主義和新自由主義集團對中國道路和中國迅速發展的不安預示2019的美中關係仍然充滿挑戰。

從長遠看，美國精英階級希望全方位與中國脫鉤，重新回到冷戰時期的美蘇關係。第一步就是在高科技新技術領域脫鉤，關閉西方市場，封鎖技術輸出以打擊中國的發展勢頭。第二步用各種藉口和手段增加中國一般製造業產品輸入美國的成本，促使外資包括台資撤出中國，希望進一步造成中國內部不安。這肯定短期間會傷害美中兩國，損害甚至世界許多國家的經濟利益，然而中國會挺過危機成為最終的勝利者。因為，1. 中國的體制可以更有效的集中力量應對危機；2. 中國堅持改革開放，科技創新，互利共贏的國策順應全球化潮流，將越來越受到許多國家的歡迎，創造新的市場；3.美國在高科技雖然擁有基礎創新的優勢，但是中國正在迅速追趕，更何況今天中國在將技術轉換成商品方面有速率和市場的優勢。

美國國內矛盾正加速惡化，這也是全球性的現象，基本上是庶民與精英的利益冲突，是對西方制度和價值觀的反思，而這個矛盾絕對不是短期內能解決的。所以2019年將是一個不穩定的世界。

台灣九合一選舉民意的轉向

◎佟秉宇

過去兩年多以來在蔡英文領導下民進黨的施政乏善可陳，甚至可以說是倒行逆施不斷，搞得民怨沸騰，這次選舉選民抱定以選票來教訓民進黨。我個人對蔡政府的所作所為亦感到無可忍受，毅然決定回台投票。

自從蔡英文2016年上台以來兩岸局勢緊張，台灣在國際上日益孤立，資金撤離或外流，旅遊餐飲業蕭條，導致經濟蕭條，老百姓倍感生活每下愈況，尤以南部的高雄、台南為甚。年輕人北漂到台北，甚至到大陸，找尋待遇較好的工作。這造成南部相當一部分家庭成員分離，兩代人皆心存不滿與怨情！

但從九月中起高雄湧起了一股勢不可擋的韓流，追其原因實應歸功於韓國瑜能洞察時弊，隻身南下綠營老巢高雄，深入了解民情，以拼經濟為競選主軸，獲得廣大選民的支持。他更以清新競選作風，僅以礦泉水一瓶招待支持者，不對競選對手作任何人身攻擊，提高了台灣民主選舉的水準。他說："寧願乾乾淨淨的輸，也不願骯髒的贏！"贏得了道德的制高點，讓民進黨的選舉奧步無從下手。

韓流不斷外溢，帶動了國民黨其它縣市候選人的選情。選舉結果：22縣市國民黨候選人贏得15席，民進黨6席，無黨派1席。

雖然這次選舉結果國民黨籍候選人贏得15席，但不能認為這是國民黨的勝利，我個人認為這是台灣老百姓對決民進黨的結果，而非藍綠對決！老百姓厭惡了意識形態的惡鬥，用選票來教訓民進黨！

韓國瑜在高雄三山的造勢大會，每次皆有數萬民眾自動自發的參與，熱情洋溢的唱着歌，喊著"韓國瑜，凍蒜！"揮舞着青天白日滿地紅的旗幟，質樸的臉孔，期待的眼神，感人至深！那首"古月照今塵"的歌更是喚醒了埋藏在選民內心深處的中華情懷！

這次回台還與幾位臉書上的朋友見了面，雖然在臉書上有過書面的溝通，但都是初次見面。交談間了解了他們對台灣時局的體會與看法。他們分別來自台北、新北、桃園，苗栗、台中、彰化、台南及高雄，可以說台灣西部從北到南都覆蓋到了，唯有東部如宜蘭、花蓮、台東因交通不太方便沒有約到朋友。他們的省籍分佈除台北的朋友有1/4的廣東血統，桃園的朋友有1/4雲南血統外，全部為台省籍。他們的職業大部分是為大小公司打工，或是小生意人，有國外公司在台灣的倉庫出貨員、送貨司機、成衣廠員工、機械設備零件銷售員、食物零售攤位小主管等。其中經濟狀況較好的是一位彰化的退休蛋糕店老闆，他們家幾年前都是綠的，但這兩年多來眼見蔡英文及民進黨不合理的施政，以及日漸蕭條的經濟，決定不再支持民進黨，由綠轉藍。據他說他的朋友中作同樣轉變的也大有人在，這也具體的印證了造就韓流的群眾基礎。

我這次的約談對象的取樣並不具備完全的代表性，他們都是我臉書上的朋友，對我的論點如不是極為贊成也應該是可以接受，因此不可能包括深綠。他們政治傾向光譜應該是由淺綠到深藍。對於我們經常提到的政治詞彙如"九二共識"、"一國兩制"，他們之中除了一位深藍的之外幾乎完全不了解。其他訪談者裏唯有其中一個人對"一國兩制"的反問是："就是和香港一樣的制度嗎？"我向他們解釋一國兩制的意思是兩岸統一後，台灣所實行的制度與大陸的制度不同，具體的內容台灣應該去和大陸談判，爭取更多的權益。我向他們提到台灣漁民在釣魚島附近捕魚，經常受到日本水產廳人員船隻的驅趕或扣押，雖然現在已經受到大陸方面的保護，但是兩岸統一之後台灣的漁民不論在那裏作業都會受到更全面的保護，這樣不好嗎？

"九二共識"這個詞彙本身就是有意在模糊中求共同點，但26年過去了，兩岸的實力有巨大的變化，現在還有必要繼續模糊嗎？應該明確指出就是"一個中國"，去除"一中同表"或"一中各表"的爭論。

九合一選舉剛剛落下帷幕，13個月後2020年一月台灣將要舉行下一屆總統選舉，目前兩大黨內有企圖的政治人物已開始操作，有明說的，有故作忸怩等人拱抬的。民間也不斷對這些政治人物開始評頭論足。從政客或評論者的發言中不難看初幾種傾向：1. 支持台獨理念的仍大有人在，態度語言上或因九合一選舉的結果稍有收斂，但理念不變；2. 希望以中華民國統一中國或保持現狀者也因此次九合一選舉的結果而有所膨脹；3. 主張兩岸和平統一的或因時機不成熟的判斷而不明說的亦有之。我個人認為評判一位候選人是否會成為一個帶領台灣走出困境的領導人，要看他/她有無買辦心態。買辦顧名思義是要替所代理的東家辦事的，東家的利益與老百姓的利益有衝突時，買辦會以東家利益為重，看看現任蔡英文的倒行逆施就再清楚不過了。國民黨裏的老一輩人物裏除了洪秀柱外，個個都是。民進黨就更不用說了，沒有一個不是雙料買辦，東家除了美國之外還有日本。

這次九合一選舉的結果對政治人物最大的教訓應該是民心向背的重要性，正所謂"得民心者得天下"。韓國瑜在高雄市長的競選中因為能痛人民之所痛，急人民之所急，才能翻轉綠色大本營高雄。那麼下一步就是要落實各勝選人的競選承諾，讓老百姓切實體會到在沒有意識形態對立的作祟下共同發展經濟的好處，增進兩岸人民的交往與互信。有了民意的支持才能讓台灣的政治人物願意坐到談判桌前來與大陸相關人員商討台灣的未來，促成兩岸的和平統一！

Oh! Sabrina Meng, Justice Will Prevail!

Mainstream and Organic Views
Dr. Wordman

Save Sabrina! Demand Justice for Sabrina! Where were the American liberal democratic ladies when Sabrina was arrested and needed their support? Who is Sabrina? Sorry, our mainstream media seem to pick their political position (bias) and down play certain reporting. You might not know Sabrina, but you should know her story (Google Wikipedia) and defend her if you ever cared about human rights, woman's dignity and American justice system. In the following, Dr. Wordman will tell Sabrina's story, a movie-script like story to urge the world to stand behind her.

Sabrina (Ms. Meng Wanzhou) is the CFO of Huawei Corporation, daughter of the founder Ren Zhenfei and his first wife Meng Jun who divorced Ren and married again. Wanzhou adopted her mother's name at age of 16 (born 2-13-1972 in Chengdu). Wanzhou got out of college in 1992 and started her first job at China Construction Bank then joined Huawei next year as a secretary, some said that she started working at the telephone switch board. In 1997, she went for graduate studies at HuaZhong University of Science and Technology clearly feeling the need of technical training for getting ahead in Huawei. She returned to Huawei in 1998 working for the accounting department, then growing with the company, rising through the ranks in the finance area from head of international accounting, CFO of Huawei Hong Kong, Director of Accounting Management Department, then becoming the CFO of Huawei.

Huawei, founded in 1987, is a very unique company not only in China but in the world. The founder believes in sharing profits with every worker but demands loyalty and hard work. The company stocks belong mostly to workers, a collective company in their own description. Founder Ren owns only 1.4% of the company and humbly holds the CEO position. Huawei's current Chairman of the Board since March 2018 is Liang Hua, an engineer, the previous COB is a woman, Ms Sun Yafang (born 1955), who had a technical bachelor degree from the University of Electronic Sciences and Technology of China (UESTC 1982) and served in the Chinese army. She worked for Huawei since 1989 and became the Chairwoman in 1999 in ten years. Wanzhou is one of her four appointed Vice Chairmen in Huawei's top executive list. Huawei probably can be considered as one of the world's best companies for women employee.

Sabrina was traveling from Hong Kong to South America for conference and was arrested on December 1, 2018, in Vancouver while in transit by the Canadian government, based on a U.S. extradition request which was revealed later being issued on August 22, 2018 by the U.S. District Court of the Eastern District of New York. Sabrina was treated crudely like a criminal and put in jail while not giving specific charges. Later, some organic news reports stated that she was charged with defrauding multiple international institutions concerning money for Huawei but actually for Skycom, a Hong Kong Company controlled by Huawei. Skycom was charged with selling equipments to Iran violating the Iran sanction, based on a 2013 Reuters report. Sabrina was finally granted her release with a bail of CAN$10million on 12-11-2018 with conditions that she will accept electronic surveillance and pay for the guard services preventing her from leaving Vancouver.

As Huawei's CFO, Sabrina probably signs thousands if not more check transactions for Huawei and its subsidiaries in a month. Picking arrest over serving a legal notice for clarification and employing extradition involving Canada can only demonstrate that the U.S. district court has an extremely long arm in handling prosecution without concrete evidence and with no regard to individual rights, multinational corporation's dignity and value of international diplomacy. Sabrina's release was denied when China made serious protests through diplomatic channels to the U.S. and Canada. The Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau claimed that his government was aware of the extradition request but did not get involved. (Making an arrest is not involvement?) The PM obviously does not remember those righteous speeches made in Canadian Parliament demanding human rights and justice in foreign lands.

White House staff claimed that Trump was not aware of Ms Meng's arrest happening during his meeting with Chinese leader Xi Jinping (12/3-4/2018 at G20 in Argentina) National Security Advisor John Bolton acknowledged advance knowledge of the arrest but chose not to inform President Trump. (How secure the U.S. would be if our NSA could unilaterally decide to hide a US-China matter from the President while he is meeting with the Chinese leader?) Trump however said later he would intervene in Ms Meng's case if it would help get a good deal in the trade war negotiation. (What an honest President not bothering to hide behind hypocrisy!) The Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo also courageously stated that "foreign policy must be taken into consideration in this (Ms Meng's) case, the mission is American First". (Pompeo's remarks draw some criticisms but the sad fact is that CIA tactics seem to be dominating our foreign affairs, even justice matter.) At the end, China made two consequential arrests of two Canadians (one former diplomat and think tank worker, Michael Kovrig, and one business consultant, Michael Spavor) on suspicion of threatening the national security of China; these arrests might have resulted in Ms Meng's release on bail.

Huawei Technologies Co., Ltd. (Huáwéi) is a Chinese multinational telecommunications equipment and consumer electronics company based in Shenzhen, Guangdong, South China. Huawei sells its products and services in more than 170 countries, serving 45 of the 50 largest telecom operators since 2011. Huawei overtook Ericsson in 2012 as the largest telecom-equipment manufacturer in the world and overtook Apple in 2018 as the world second-largest manufacturer of smart-phones, behind Samsung Electronics. Huawei ranks 72nd on the list of the Fortune Global 500. Huawei had over 170,000 employees as of September 2017, about 76,000 of them engaged in R&D on lavishly designed and furnished campuses (some like palaces) distributed as 21 R&D institutes in 16 countries. As of 2017 the company invested US$13.8 billion in R&D, up from US$5 billion in 2013, recently planning to increase its basic research portion from 10 to 20-30%. No wonder Huawei is now the leader in the fifth generation (5G) communication, Internet and smart-phones. The U.S. is advised by the military not to trust Huawei's communication equipment (likelihood of crippling U.S. military communication capabilities during war), hence the U.S. government has issued orders banning US government buying any Huawei equipment and not permitting Huawei to sell its phones in the U.S., presumably protecting Apple.

Huawei's success is obviously a threat to many corporations such as South Korea's Samsung, the U.S. Apple and many EU and Indian corporations. However, the U.S. is the only country to use national security as the reason to blockade and crush Huawei products. The U.S. rallies Japan, Australia and any ally would join to boycott Huawei products. Huawei is definitely feeling the giant 'protectionism' claw scratching its back. So far, France and Germany have stayed with Huawei citing no evidence showing Huawei's products are unsafe. In fact, testing of telecommunication equipments has a long and reliable history since the days that every country uses the equipments from the U.S. (ATT, GTE, Motorola, and the like), France (Ericsson) and Germany (Siemens). Huawei's equipments must have been thoroughly tested by the U.S. military. Any evidence of backdoor would have been widely publicized unless there is none or they are being used by the U.S. Military relying on foreign parts 100% is a concern in the event of war, however, using high-priced parts made by US military contractors is equally vulnerable.

Sabrina's case brought the world's attention to 5G and exposed the 'long arm' practice of prosecution tramping human rights and the ugly government tactics in global commerce and squash competition in the name of national security. The coming of 5G over 4G means 20G over 100M in download speed and 100Mhz over 20Mhz in communication bandwidth thus lifting current video, e-Commerce and virtual reality to higher level applications such as auto-driving car with faster and sharper GPS, telemedicine bringing surgical hospital to everywhere, and intelligent cities with artificial reality and intelligence making human lives more comfortable. A folksy appreciation of 5G would be downloading a two-hour movie in two seconds or watching the Super Bowl at a ring seat in your home. Sabrina's case revealed so many facts for thoughts but Ms Meng did not deserve harsh treatment or many sleepless nights in jail. We must speak out for Sabrina. Where were you when she needed your support? It is never too late to demand Justice for Sabrina!

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