2020-10-12 아주대 중국정책연구소 Bunker ｜ 중국 싱크탱크 및 학계 ｜ 서민혜

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**国民党破坏国共互信**

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 中国国民党“立法院”党团提出“台美复交”、“政府应请求美国协防台湾”两项决议案，已于10月6日在“立法院”通过。上海国研院副院长、上海市台湾研究会会长严安林就此接受中评社记者采访时指出，国民党“立法院”党团提出的这两项决议案违背了2005年以来国民党所确立的两岸政治和解的路线、违背了台湾地区的相关法律规定、违背了两岸关系和平发展的潮流和国际社会的一中格局。其危害性很大，既不利于两岸关系的和平稳定，也破坏了国共的互信，又会助长民进党当局继续挑衅两岸关系。

    严安林说，国民党“立院”党团提出“台美复交”、“政府应请求美国协防台湾”两项决议案有三个“违背”。第一，违背了2005年以来国民党所确立的两岸政治和解的路线。2005年，时任国民党主席连战访问大陆，并在此期间确立了国共和平发展的五点共同愿景。其中，和平发展共同愿景最后被列入国民党党纲。因此，连战访问大陆实际上是确立了国民党在两岸政治上实行国共和解的政治路线。

   “显然，日前国民党‘立院’党团提出的两项决议实际上是跟着民进党走所谓的‘反共保台’路线。这违背了2005年以来国民党所确立的两岸政治和解的路线，也不符合国民党党纲，”严安林表示，再进一步看，这其实也违背了2008年马英九上台执政八年以来领导国民党所推行的两岸和平的政治图景。

    第二，违背了台湾地区的相关法律规定。严安林说，所谓的“中华民国宪法”实际上体现的是一中原则。按照一中原则，世界上只有一个中国，大陆和台湾同属一个中国，中国的主权和领土完整不可分割。中华人民共和国政府是在国际上代表中国的合法政府。现在国民党“立院”党团提出“台美复交”实际上是“台独”的另一种表现形式，违反了所谓的“中华民国宪法”。

    第三，违背了两岸关系和平发展的潮流和国际社会的一中格局。严安林表示，国民党“立院”党团提出的两项决议案根本不符合两岸关系和平发展潮流。尤其是，国际社会已经确立一个中国大框架，美国秉持的也是一中政策。所以，这两项决议案是行不通、办不到的。
    这两项决议案的提出危害性何在？严安林分析，这两项决议案的提出危害性很大，具体表现在三个方面：其一，不利于两岸关系的和平稳定。国民党有关人士提出的两项决议案实际上是“开错了药方、吃错了药”，甚至是“请鬼开药方”。因为美国才是引发台海地区不稳定的重要外在根源，“请求美国协助来抵抗大陆”恐怕是引狼入室，某种程度上说是“与虎谋皮”，很有可能会引火烧身。众所周知，当前台海不稳定的根源是民进党蔡英文当局一直在谋求“台独”，表面上维持现状，实际上挟洋谋“独”，包括大力提升跟美国之间的关系。而大陆当前在台海搞的一些军演，其宗旨在于制止“台独”，谋求两岸稳定。两岸目前出现的一些紧张不稳定的局势，其根源不是大陆的军演，而是民进党的谋“独”。

   其二，破坏了国共的互信。严安林说，国民党跟共产党有政党交流机制和政党交流平台，国民党“立院”党团提出的这两项决议是破坏了国共之间的互信，也不利于政党平台之间开展正常的交流。实际上，国民党有关人士的这样一种做法是放弃了其原来在两岸政策上的优势，是在拿香跟拜民进党、跟民进党比赛谁更“反共爱台”。这样的做法，使国共之间的互信受到了严重破坏，也不利于国共政党交流的顺利展开。

    其三，会助长民进党当局继续挑衅两岸现状。严安林说，国民党的两岸政策向民进党靠拢，这在民进党看来似乎是证明了其两岸政策的“正确”。虽然国民党“立院”党团的用意是想跟民进党比谁“更爱台湾、更加亲美”，但是这种行为不仅引狼入室，而且会导致民进党更加为所欲为。

 严安林分析，国民党部分人士在两岸政策上跟着民进党走，可谓是拾人牙慧。国民党在选举中失利，并没有去检讨根本原因；而民进党也在污名化国民党，给其带“红帽子”，导致国民党部分人士找错病根、将选举失利的原因归结为“跟大陆关系好”。

他指出，主张两岸交流、主张两岸和平稳定依然是台湾的主流民意。如果国民党能在促进两岸关系和平稳定上占据主动、给台湾老百姓交出一个靓丽的成绩单，国民党仍旧会占有很大的政策优势。

● 环球时报总编辑胡锡进 - 환구시보 총편집인 후시진

**国民党"立院"党团这副德性，国家统一是指望不上他们了**

来源：胡锡进微博  |   时间： 2020-10-08

国民党党团在台湾“立法院”提出“政府应请求美国协助抵抗中共”和“台美复交”两个法案，被普遍分析认为是要将民进党当局的军，给后者出难题。但无论如何，在老胡看来，国民党的这波“立委”都是吃错药了，他们堕落了，市侩化了，为了摆脱在岛内的政治被动，让他们干什么都可以，没出息。看国民党“立法院”党团破落的砸锅卖铁的这副德性，未来的两岸和平和国家统一是指望不上他们了。也好，这批政客的变节让大陆社会更加看清了岛内在发生什么，在朝哪个方向走。我们决不可再抱幻想，唯有充分做好军事斗争的准备，要随时能够给“台独”以决定性的惩罚。随着岛内谋“独”气焰不断变得嚣张，那一历史性的转折时刻正在越来越近。可以肯定的是，台湾今天的割据情况只是历史的一个短暂片段，它一定要终结的。如何让终结它的过程对中国崛起的损失最小、带来的促进最大化，主动权牢牢掌握在大陆的手里。台湾那边越是折腾，大陆收拾“台独”的决心就下得越早，这个逻辑是铁定的。

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Blaming China won't solve America's problems

**A Report on US Response to COVID-19 and its Blame Game**

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作者： CIIS ｜ 时间： 2020-10-10 |  原文载《中国日报》

**Blaming China Won't Solve America's Problems**

As of Monday, July 20, the US case tally for coronavirus that causes COVID-19 topped 3.81 million, with over 140,000 deaths, the highest case toll in the world, according to data aggregated by Johns Hopkins University. Noting that the United States reported its first confirmed case on January 21, people in the US and around the world have been stunned by the surging cases which approached one million within 14 weeks, then surpassed the two million mark in 6 weeks and now hit the third million milestone in just four weeks, still showing no signs of ebbing. They can't help but wonder what's happened in the US and why.

**A Botched Response**

There is a general belief in the international community and among most Americans that the US federal government botched its initial response to the coronavirus outbreak.

President Donald Trump signed a national emergency declaration over the coronavirus pandemic on March 13, 70 days after the US government was officially notified of COVID-19 by China and the World Health Organization (WHO), and 50 days after the Chinese city of Wuhan with 11 million residents went into lockdown due to the outbreak of COVID-19.

During the span of these days, what was the US federal government doing to stem the spread of the virus? Were these days lost opportunities which should have been seized to better prepare for and respond to the outbreak?

**Missed warnings**

"What a problem. Came out of nowhere." That's how President Trump described the coronavirus pandemic in early March, during a televised visit to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) of the US It is a big problem, indeed. But it did not come "out of nowhere".

Numerous news reports of interviews with current and former US officials, internal emails, memorandums and other recently unearthed evidence from Washington indicate that the White House was being warned of a coming pandemic and its possible consequences. Throughout January, as the White House repeatedly played down the seriousness of the virus and focused on other issues, an array of figures inside the government, from top White House advisers to experts deep in the cabinet departments and intelligence agencies, identified the threat, sounded alarms and made clear the need for aggressive action, according to the *New York Times*.

For weeks, however, repeated warnings went unheeded and the White House had been giving Americans the same "be happy, don't worry" advice: "We have it totally under control", and "USA in great shape!"

**Missteps and lost opportunities**

In addition to these missed early warnings, other major missteps and lost opportunities at the federal level have also contributed to the surging cases, especially stalled testing issues.

Coronavirus testing, early treatment, contact tracing, isolation, mask wearing, social distancing, travel restrictions, shelter-in-place, and lockdowns are all blunt but crucial steps and instruments in fighting a pandemic. Testing is a key link in the chain of necessary measures of response. As Dr. Bruce Aylward, a senior adviser at the World Health Organization said, testing was "absolutely vital" for understanding how to defeat a disease. He said at the WHO media briefing on COVID-19 on March 16 that "we have a simple message for all countries: test, test, test."

The White House assembled a task force that "coordinates and oversees the Administration's efforts to monitor, prevent, contain, and mitigate the spread" of COVID-19. But early on the members of the coronavirus task force typically devoted only five or 10 minutes, often at the end of contentious meetings, to talk about testing, several participants recalled, according to the New York Times interviews. The CDC insisted upon devising its own test for COVID-19, and came out with a flawed test that didn't work as expected, then took weeks to figure out a fix. Hence a lost month for the US.

Another problem hampered timely and extensive testing. On many occasions, testing was delayed for a long time because the patient didn't fit restrictive federal criteria, which limited tests only to symptomatic patients who recently traveled to China. The restrictive testing guidelines helped mask the numbers contracting the coronavirus in the US.

If you don't run tests, then you won't have a clear picture of confirmed cases and how the virus spreads. Armed with such an under-reported case number, the Trump administration could boast of keeping the spread under control, but missed its best chance of containing the virus's spread. Had the US been able to track the virus's earliest reach and identify hidden hot spots of community transmission, local quarantines might have been able to confine the disease, according to reports in the *New York Times*.

The federal government's failure to respond to the coronavirus pandemic has been apparent in its bungled messaging downplaying the crisis, in its inability to send out millions of much needed test kits and protective medical gear for health care workers, and its lack of will to seek national solidarity and international collaboration on fighting COVID-19.

There are some root causes for the negligence, inaction and loopholes in dealing with the pandemic.

**Ignoring the science**

The White House has engaged in a tug-of-war with experts over coronavirus policy. As an *Economist* opinion piece pointed out, to fight the outbreak, America needs clear, unvarnished public information and policies based on the best science. But as *CNN*, *New York Times* and other US and international media report, the Trump administration is shunting science aside in the battle against coronavirus, and scientists' advice in government is no longer sought or pointedly ignored.

*Associated Press* writers recently stated that the President's gut sense collides with science. A case in point, President Donald Trump and the government's top infectious disease expert, Dr. Anthony Fauci, are politely but publicly sparing over whether a malaria drug would work to treat people with coronavirus disease. The President also openly clashed with his top public health officials on the likelihood of the virus returning for another assault in the fall. The President's idea of injecting disinfectants is only the latest episode.

Trump seems to put science, medicine and controlled studies on equal footing with rumor and anecdotes, said Sudip Parikh, a biochemist who is chief executive officer of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), according to a report by AP. Mixing those two up when talking to the public is "terrible for communication," Parikh said.

"Trump ignores science at our peril," opined Elliott Negin, a senior writer at the Union of Concerned Scientists, for the *Hill* on March 28. Alexei Bayer, a Senior Editor at The *Globalist*, in his article entitled "Trump's Dangerous War on Science", states that long before the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the world has known that Donald Trump has been playing fast and loose with science." Comments in an AP news report by M. Granger Morgan, a Carnegie Mellon University engineering and policy professor, echoed these appraisals: Presidents of both parties often put politics before science, and the Trump administration has regularly contradicted science and doctors.

**Reduced preparedness**

Lack of attention to federal preparedness and coordination also helps explain why the Trump administration has consistently botched its response to the coronavirus pandemic.

*Fortune* Magazine reports that over the past two years, the Trump administration has systematically been dismantling government agencies specifically designed to protect against pandemics like COVID-19. They have eliminated funding for an Obama-era disease security program. In 2018, Rear Adm. Timothy Ziemer, whose responsibility was to lead a US response to a pandemic such as COVID-19, left the administration as his global health team was disbanded.

According to Dr Peter Mjos, retired after over four decades in general medicine and public health in Anchorage, Donald Trump called for an overall $18 billion reduction in health care spending in 2018, including slashing the global disease fighting budgets of CDC, the National Security Council (NSC) and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). He eliminated global health security teams at NSC and DHS. These cuts have crippled the production and availability of COVID-19 test kits. In 2019, he eliminated the Predict Program of the USAID, an institution established in 2009 to improve the "detection and discovery of zoonotic viruses (such as COVID-19) with pandemic potential", a program credited with identifying nearly 1000 new zoonotic viruses. Right before the onset of the COVID 19 pandemic, the White House released its budget request for fiscal 2021, Trump proposed further cuts in scientific and medical research.

All in all, the cuts, coupled with the administration's repeated calls to cut the budget for the CDC and other public health agencies, made it clear that the Trump administration wasn't prioritizing the federal government's ability to respond to disease outbreaks.

**Politics v.s. public health**

Does the Trump administration prioritize politics over public health amid the worst public health crisis in the US in a century? The answers depend on who you ask in the US

For President Trump as well as his opponent in the 2020 general election, this year will be the COVID-19 election. Like it or not, voters will almost certainly be asked to choose sides concerning how Trump performs during the pandemic: condemn or endorse his handling of the crisis.

Polls and surveys of social media in the past few weeks show that voters are mostly divided along party lines on how President Donald Trump handles coronavirus outbreak. Though his overall approval rating has ranged between 40% and 44% with some bumps since the onset of the US coronavirus crisis in early March, the support of his response among Republicans has been just as overwhelming as condemnation of his performance among Democrats. But recent polls suggest that confidence in the president to handle the outbreak has slipped among some crucial voting blocs in the general election, fueling Republican anxieties, according to the New York Times.

The White House and Republicans certainly do not want to take any responsibility for a sluggish response to the outbreak as clearly shown by the President's statements at his daily briefings. Amid rising discontent with his pandemic response as well as a record-breaking number of Americans filing for unemployment, Trump and his political strategists feel very comfortable with their familiar playbook of the 2016 campaign as he seeks a second term: blame the outsiders.

And for Democrats, they would put all the blame on Trump, highlighting how he initially downplayed the pandemic, and finger-pointing his subsequent stumbles. They would try to show voters that they could offer good governance.

According to Mr. Lee Drutman, a senior fellow in the Political Reform program at New America, the COVID-19 blame game is going to get uglier. In his view, for both the Republicans and Democrats, there is a crude calculation: If Democrats can successfully associate the substantial harm wreaked by COVID-19 with Trump, they win in November. But if Trump and the Republicans can deflect enough blame elsewhere and Trump gets credit for making things less bad than they could have been, Trump will win.

Indeed, any year would have been a bad year for a pandemic. But a presidential election year in the US makes it even worse. A political battle leading to bigger and bitter polarization among Americans does not bode well for the pandemic battle. Among other things, a blame game ensues.

**A Senseless Blame Game**

For Trump and Republicans, the "outsiders" to blame include Democrats, the "mainstream media" or the "Fake News", even some of America's governors, as well as China and the WHO.

In the case of COVID-19, China is an easy target. President Trump, Vice President Pence, Secretary of State Pompeo, some members of the US Congress and their supporters accuse China of covering up the epidemic, not sharing sufficient information sooner, and understating the number of cases. They claim, explicitly or implicitly, that the coronavirus originated in a lab in Wuhan. They even would like to make China accountable for US losses in the pandemic. President Trump accused WHO of being "China centric", and said he was halting funding to WHO and would begin a review WHO's "role in severely mismanaging and covering up the spread of coronavirus."

These accusations and claims do not square with the facts.

**A timeline of Chinese transparency and response**

Did China offer accurate and sufficiently detailed information on COVID-19 to the WHO and countries such as the US in a timely manner?

On December 27, 2019, Zhang Jixian, director of the Department of Respiratory and Critical Care at Hubei Hospital of Integrated Traditional Chinese and Western Medicine, reported the first three suspected cases of pneumonia of unknown cause, followed by epidemiological investigation carried out by related centers for disease control and prevention and hospitals in Hubei and Wuhan, leading to an "urgent notice on the treatment of pneumonia of unknown cause" issued by Wuhan Municipal Health Committee on December 30.

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As for those who would pursue lawsuits or other means against China based on their allegations of the so-called China's responsibility for the global spread of COVID-19, there is no legal basis for any such lawsuits and no factual evidence to support their allegations against China. They will go nowhere. What matters is the attitude of American politicians toward the coronavirus outbreak in the US Are they willing to take responsibility for COVID-19 fight in their own country?

Whereas China faced a sudden surprise in the early stage of encounters with the unknown virus, the Trump administration has been on notice for weeks. The China blame game is going on as if weeks of warnings from China, Asia and Europe, and especially the lockdown of a Chinese city of 1.1 million people have not been strong enough a message to the White House and its supporters. Then exactly what kind of transparency, data, response and message on China's part would have been enough for the Trump administration to get serious and ready about the pandemic? Could the White House name a date in the timeline of Chinese response as the best possible moment for the US to get the right message from China or the WHO that might have prompted the US to engage in a timely, effective, comprehensive, coordinated national response?

"They've simply lost time they can't make up. You can't get back six weeks of blindness," Jeremy Konyndyk, a senior policy fellow at the Center for Global Development and an Obama-era administration staffer involved in the government's response to the spread of the Ebola virus, told the Washington Post. "To the extent that there's someone to blame here, the blame is on poor, chaotic management from the White House and failure to acknowledge the big picture."

**Rising animosity**

China has been a punching bag for political forces in the US for decades, and China-bashing has taken on new intensity in the recent decade since China overtook Japan as the second biggest economy in the world. China has been increasingly viewed as a strategic competitor, a clear and present rather than a potential challenge or even threat to America. President Trump cashed in on China-bashing during his first presidential campaign, and now downplaying the Trump administration's bungled response to the pandemic and focusing on blaming China is already part of a well-publicized Republican campaign strategy.

The China blame game is both undesirable and deadly. It has further soured the atmosphere of China-US relations and sharpened tensions between the two countries. As a result, the number of Americans holding negative views of China is increasing, with Republicans being more likely than Democrats to view China unfavorably, according to recent survey data from the Pew Research Center. Besides, scapegoating hurts both the US response to COVID-19 and cross-border coordination over the outbreak, leading to greater loss of life. In face of a global health threat, international coordination and cooperation is essential. That is also a common sense shared by the international community.

For instance, some Americans tend to view the coronavirus breakout in China as a result of its unique political system, and China's vigorous response measures as being "draconian", "totalitarian". The White House and many of its supporters continue to view China's interaction and cooperation with other countries during the COVID-19 crisis through a prism of great power competition.

This line of ideologically driven logic might have clouded American judgement of the COVID-19 situation and their ability to act in proportion to the severity and nature of the coronavirus. When China is demonized, and deemed as untrustworthy, American opinion leaders may tend to treat China as "other", regard it as inconvenient to acknowledge effective measures taken by China to tackle the pandemic. They might believe that the US, a wealthy nation, a hub of scientific and technological innovation, and a democracy with free flow of information, is not prone to the threat of COVID-19 or that it is in a better position to deal with any outbreak.

It appears to them that it is politically incorrect to discuss progress of Chinese response. They may want to talk about how the Republic of Korea, Japan, Singapore responded to the outbreak, without mentioning that China, with a far larger population, might offer equally if not more important references for the US Under such circumstances, reporting and discussing China's effectiveness in mitigating and containing COVID-19 are often viewed as parroting "Chinese propaganda", siding with China, and undercutting Trump's presidential campaign.

For example, on April 10, the White House included in its online "1600 Daily" summary of key news and events a statement entitled "Voice of America Spends Your Money to Speak for Authoritarian Regimes." The statement referred to a Voice of America (VOA) story and two posts that, it asserted, "amplified Beijing's propaganda" about COVID-19. The statement criticized VOA, America's own official propaganda tool and foreign policy instrument, for running an Associated Press article on its website on April 7, which referred to Wuhan's lockdown as a "model" for other countries battling the coronavirus.

CNN and its journalists, often running negative coverage of China, have recently been accused by the pro-Trump camp of "shielding China amid growing suspicion of its handling of the outbreak as well as its data of reported cases and deaths from the virus", because CNN.com ran an article about the People's Liberation Army (PLA) of China, saying that "a Chinese naval flotilla headed into the Pacific over the weekend, evidence that the People's Liberation Army Navy has done a much better job controlling coronavirus than the US Navy, according to a story posted on the PLA's English-language website."

On May 10, in a tweet, Trump accused CBS and "*60 minutes*" of "doing everything within their power" to "defend China". His tweet came shortly after the network aired a story featuring virologist Peter Daszak, debunking false claims about the Wuhan lab. Peter Daszak told CBS News that "we're a nonprofit research organization that focuses on understanding where the pandemics come from, what's the risk of future pandemics and can we get in between this pandemic and the next one and disrupt it and stop it." However, the funding from the NIH, the US National Institutes of Health, to EchoHealth was recently removed due to the political disinformation campaign targeting the Wuhan lab, according to CBS News.

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As Richard Haass, President of Council on Foreign Relations, recently wrote, "It would be a major strategic error to make confronting China the organizing principle of US foreign policy. To do so would be to misread a world in which the most significant threats come from global problems such as disease, climate change, & terrorism."

**A Way Out and Forward**

Since the COVID-19 outbreak, the Chinese government believes that the prevention and control of COVID-19 is a major test for China's system and capacity for governance, which has brought both experience and lessons. Despite difficulties and shortcomings experienced by China in its initial encounter with COVID-19, China has made decisive progress in fighting the invisible enemy. Human beings make progress by getting wise from mistakes. With a huge population of 1.4 billion, China has vowed to draw lessons from the ordeal and further reform and improve its preparedness to deal with similar events in the future.

In the same vein, global governance has been put to a test in face of the pandemic. The coronavirus knows no borders, nationalities, or beliefs. The pandemic takes a toll not only on life and health but also on economy, society and politics. The spread of the virus around the globe is destabilizing and introduces many uncertainties. In medical terms, until a vaccine is ready, a cluster of cases in one country may leave the health and safety of another in danger. No country can weather the unprecedented pandemic crisis alone. As UN Secretary-General António Guterres put it, "This is, above all, a human crisis that calls for solidarity." World leaders must come together and offer an urgent & coordinated global response, he said, "More than ever before, we need solidarity, hope and the political will to see this through together."

As the world's two largest economies, UN Security Council permanent members and major players in many multilateral institutions, the US and China have shared interests and responsibilities in prioritizing cooperation over competition and avoiding tensions and conflicts. Just imagine how consequential for the world it will be for the US and China to pull together and join hands with other countries to work out a collective and coordinated response ensuring cross-border supplies of medical products and food, collaboration in research into treatment and vaccines, as well as economic rescue packages.

As Henry Kissinger recently argued, today's leaders should choose a path of cooperation that will lead toward improved international resilience. A review of history shows that the US and China, despite their persistent differences, have worked together on major global issues, such as nuclear nonproliferation, counter-terrorism, climate change, energy security, the 2008 international financial crisis, Ebola, etc. Fighting the spread of COVID-19, which is termed by UN Secretary-General António Guterres as a global health crisis unlike any in the 75-year history of the United Nations, should be a point of rally rather than conflict for the US and China. There might be a thousand reasons for the two countries to embark on a path of cooperation, but not a single one to leave the bilateral relation drifting astray.

To begin with, stop the blame game.

**Appendix**

**An Integrated Timeline of China's Early Response to COVID-19 & Interaction with WHO as Well as US Rhetoric and Actions on COVID-19**

https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202009/24/WS5f6bfaaba31024ad0ba7b708\_13.html