

### Rising rates

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Organic wine list makes a new tapas bar a happening place LIFE, PAGE 15

# WEEKEND CHINA DAILY

中國日報

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## Xi says more help on way for Syrian refugees

By AN BALJIE in Geneva and MO JINGXI in Beijing

President Xi Jinping announced on Wednesday that China will provide an additional 200 million yuan (\$29.1 million) in humanitarian assistance to help refugees and the homeless in the Syrian crisis.

In his keynote speech at the United Nations' Geneva headquarters on "Working Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind," Xi said the world is facing many uncertainties and people are expecting a brighter future despite frustration with the current situation.

"When our neighbors have difficulties, we should offer a hand rather than just tighten our fences," he said, adding that China's determination to safeguard world peace will not change.

Through various channels, China provided nine packages of humanitarian aid worth 885 million yuan to Syria and neighboring countries by January last year, according to Liu Jieyi, China's ambassador to the UN.

In November, Xie Xiaoyan, China's special envoy on the Syrian issue, said the Chinese government was implementing a plan to provide 230 million yuan in humanitarian aid and 10,000 tons of food assistance to Syria and the region.

All countries should be treated equally, no matter

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### Quotes from president's speech

President Xi Jinping delivered a keynote speech, "Working Together to Build a Community of Shared Future for Mankind" on Wednesday at the United Nations Office at Geneva. Following are several highlights:

1. The essence of sovereign equality is that the sovereignty and dignity of all countries, whether big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor, must be respected, their internal affairs allowed no interference and they have the right to independently choose their social system and development path.
2. Nuclear weapons, the Sword of Damocles that hangs over mankind, should be completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed over time to make the world free of nuclear weapons.
3. No country in the world can enjoy absolute security. A country cannot have security while others are in turmoil, as threats facing other countries may haunt it also. When our neighbors have difficulties, we should offer a hand rather than just tighten our fences.
4. Fighting terrorism is the shared responsibility of all countries. In fighting terror, we should not just treat the symptoms but remove the root causes.
5. The Paris Agreement is a milestone in the history of climate governance. We must ensure this endeavor is not derailed.



US President-elect Donald Trump salutes a soldier next to his wife Melania (center) and daughter Ivanka as they arrive at the pre-inaugural concert at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on Thursday. MIKE SEGAR / REUTERS

## Uncertainty clouds China-US ties

By CHEN WEIHUA in Washington chenweihua@chinadailyusa.com

It is said that the US news media take Donald Trump literally but not seriously, while his supporters take him seriously but not literally.

When the New York real estate tycoon takes office today as the 45th president of the United States, the world will listen carefully to the message coming from his inauguration speech. Especially China.

Unlike his recent predecessors, Trump is seen as full of uncertainty and unpredictability by the rest of the world, including many foreign policy experts on China-US relations.

As president-elect, Trump broke a four-decade US diplomatic protocol in early December by speaking on the phone with Taiwan leader Tsai Ing-wen. He told The

Wall Street Journal last week that the "One China" policy is negotiable.

During his presidential campaign, Trump talked about slapping 45 percent tariffs on Chinese exports, triggering wide concern about a possible trade war between the world's two largest economies. He has also vowed to name China a currency manipulator once in office.

The 70-year-old Trump has also caused anxiety among US traditional allies by saying that Japan should pay more for the US military stationed there. Early this week, he called NATO obsolete.

Michael Pillsbury, a senior fellow and director of the Center for Chinese Strategy at Hudson Institute and an adviser to Trump's transition team, noted that Trump mentioned in his 2016 campaign book Great Again his admiration for China's negotiation skills, and said

he wanted to appear "unpredictable" to the Chinese.

"In this, he has richly succeeded," Pillsbury wrote in his Jan 13 article posted on Hudson's website.

Trade war Since announcing his presidential campaign on June 16, 2015, Trump has blamed China, Mexico and other countries for US trade deficits and loss of manufacturing jobs. He threatened to impose punitive tariffs on imports from China.

Though he has not mentioned the 45 percent tariff for a long while, he continued to say that the US is disadvantaged by China in trade, including blaming then-president Bill Clinton for allowing China to join the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Trump's pick of Peter Navarro, a long-time China hawk, as head of his new National Trade Council, has increased concern about more trade friction. Navarro wrote several books on China, including

Death by China, in which he blames US economic woes on China.

On Wednesday, Trump's nominee for Commerce secretary, Wilbur Ross, a billionaire who has done business in China, called China "the most protectionist country" in his Senate confirmation hearing.

China has struck back. Officials and scholars argue that China is "invulnerable" to trade war given its centralized government system. Some experts even list major US companies, such as Apple and Boeing, as possible targets of Chinese retaliation. China is the largest overseas market for Boeing. The company expects that China will buy 6,800 new planes worth \$1 trillion over the coming two decades.

US agricultural products might also be a target, China replaced Canada in 2011 as the largest market for US agricultural goods.

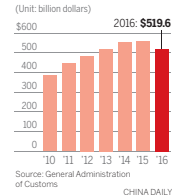
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## Trade ties are called unshakable

China, US can solve any disputes by talking, Commerce Ministry says

By ZHONG NAN and JING SHUYU in Beijing

### China-US bilateral trade volume



China and the United States can resolve any trade disputes through talks, since bilateral trade and economic cooperation have made the two countries inseparable, the Ministry of Commerce said ahead of US president-elect Donald Trump's taking office on Friday.

Even though there are voices in the United States calling for protectionist trade measures or having a trade war with China, the two sides can work out new solutions, and bilateral ties won't be shaken by such opinions, said Ministry of Commerce spokesman Sun Jiwen.

### \$519 billion

Bilateral trade volume between US, China in 2016

Bilateral trade volume amounted to \$519.6 billion in 2016 — 21 times higher than in 1979. Two-way investment also notably surged, exceeding \$170 billion by the end of last year, data from the ministry shows.

"The Chinese government is willing to work with the new US administration to generate more benefits for businesses and consumers on both sides," said Sun.

Bilateral trade and investment created 2.6 million jobs in the US and contributed \$216 billion to the US economy in 2015 alone, according to a report released earlier this month by the US-China Business Council.

The Chinese middle class will continue to grow over the next decade and will likely exceed the entire US population by 2026, the report said. Goods and service exports from the US to China are expected to reach \$369 billion by 2026 and \$520 billion by 2050, it added.

Jack Ma, executive chairman of Alibaba Group Holding, said at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, that a

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trade war between the world's two biggest economies would be a disaster for the global economy and he would do anything within his power to prevent it.

Ma said he would even sacrifice his company if that would prevent such a conflict.

Ren Hongbin, chairman of China National Machinery Industry Corp, known as Sinomach, said companies on both sides believe there are still opportunities.

"Sinomach has set goals to deepen ties with General Electric on a wind-power project in Africa after they put a pilot project into operation in Kenya in 2016," said Ren.

Zhao Ping, director of the department of international trade research at the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, said: "Rising frictions are normal... But this doesn't mean that there will be an intensive trade war, as their economic and trade relations have become more interdependent."

When asked to sum up relations with the US under President Barack Obama, who leaves office on Friday, Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying said on Thursday that "important progress" has been made on bilateral ties and the two countries should move forward as partners rather than competitors.

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## Chinese securing their places at inauguration

By HEZI JIANG and WANG LINYAN in New York

Over the past several months, Chinese have been paying an unprecedented amount of attention to American politics — on social media and at dinner tables. On Friday, a group of them will stand at the west front of the Capital Building to see Donald Trump sworn in as the 45th president of the United States.

"They are not here just to see a new US president or a businessman who becomes a president. They are here to see Trump," said Yang Jingzhu, founder of AmeriChina, which partners with US charities to bring Chinese clients willing to pay a high price as a charity donation to attend exclusive American events, including the Academy Awards and Berkshire Hathaway's annual meeting.

"Unlike those annual occasions, this is a one-time historical event," she said. Yang started marketing a \$15,000 package to the official inauguration ceremony and the formal ball two days after Trump won the election.

Ding Chenling from Beijing is one of Yang's clients. He is the founder of Redbang, a Chinese internet celebrity



Supporters of US President-elect Donald Trump attend a pre-inaugural concert at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington on Thursday. SHANNON STAPLETON / REUTERS

consulting firm, and has written a commentary on the Trump phenomenon. The piece has been read by millions.

"I'm here to see Trump and to see how divided America is," said Ding, who had studied in the US as an exchange student 20 years ago. "I want to see how much has America changed."

LLL International Travel, a New York-based travel agency, is leading a group of Chinese businesspeople to participate in the inaugural events. A few of the people are on Hurun's China Rich List, though the agency declined to disclose their names. "They want to witness

this historical moment because Donald Trump is a very controversial figure. There is lots of curiosity," said Susan Chen, marketing manager.

"Secondly, it may be helpful for their business in the future. They can say, 'I attended the inauguration' if a conversation with the US comes up or so. And it's personal branding too," she said.

Yang said she expects to see a good number of Chinese, many of whom could be businesspeople, at the show. Tickets are available from various unofficial channels — individuals, travel agencies and organizations — if one is willing to pay for it.

"It's a good opportunity for networking and experiencing first hand in American society, and to explore business opportunities," said

Yan Xiaozhe, Chinese Association of Iowa

Daniel Lou, president of Long Innovations International Group and a New York-based Trump supporter.

Chinese Americans also will be represented at the ceremony, including supporters, businesspeople and community leaders.

In a WeChat group, some 100 Chinese-American Trump supporters were discussing the plans for their victory trip. They rented Airbnb homes together, invited newcomers to crash on their sofas and shared traffic tips.

"It's a turning point in history. People are looking at how it goes," said Yan Xiaozhe, executive director of the Chinese Association of Iowa. "I want to hear Trump's speech. I also want to see protests on Saturday."

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## Tragedy in Italy



A member of Lazio's Alpine and Speleological Rescue Team stands in front of the Hotel Rigogliano in Farnidola, central Italy, hit by an avalanche. Hopes of finding survivors dwindled on Thursday as rescue workers searched for more than 24 hours after the avalanche struck the luxury mountain hotel, burying up to 30 people under tons of snow and debris. REUTERS

## 20 IN DEPTH

## Trump: Tit-for-tat trade war not expected

From page 1

In Beijing on Thursday, Ministry of Commerce spokesman Sun Jiwen said the Chinese government is willing to join hands and work with the new US administration to continue promoting the healthy development of the bilateral commercial relationship that benefits the two peoples.

"Both sides benefit with cooperation, and both are hurt with conflict," Sun told a press briefing.

"I believe China and the US can resolve any disputes through dialogue and negotiation and that the bilateral commercial relationship will not significantly stray from the path of mutual benefit," Sun said.

"I don't think we are going to have a trade war," said Henry Levine, senior adviser at the Albright Stonebridge Group, a Washington-based consulting firm.

Levine described Trump's advisers and Cabinet picks as people who for many years have encouraged the US to get tougher with China in economic areas. "Therefore, I think we are likely to see some measures on trade and investment directed at China, measures that frankly would make the government in Beijing somewhat unhappy," said Levine, a former US deputy assistant secretary of commerce under George W. Bush's administration.

Some measures taken against China might include restricting its acquisition of US-based companies and more anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases on Chinese exports.

The Obama administration has taken complaints about China to the WTO 16 times, including one last week over China's alleged subsidies for aluminum producers.

A tit-for-tat trade war between the two countries is seen as unimaginable to the already fragile global economy. Some US experts warned that a trade war would almost make it impossible for Trump to achieve his major promise to voters in creating US jobs. US trade with China now supports 2.6 million US jobs, according to a joint study by the US-China Business Council and Oxford Economics.

**Xi on globalization**

At this week's World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland, President Xi Jinping was in the spotlight for his support for globalization, open trade and combating climate change, in sharp contrast to the anti-trade message from the incoming Trump administration.

Douglas Paal, vice-president for studies and director of the Asia program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, believes raising tariffs against China will be hard, due to opposition in Congress. House Speaker Paul Ryan, a Republican, said early this month that "we're not going to be raising tariffs."

But Paal said the Trump administration will be looking for progress with China in market access or intellectual property rights. "Overall, the message will be 'it's not good enough, we need a better situation' in our bilateral relationship," Paal said.



**Both sides benefit with cooperation, and both are hurt with conflict."**

Sun Jiwen, Ministry of Commerce spokesman

Trump's accusation of China being a currency manipulator has drawn rebuke from Fred Bergsten, an economist at the Washington-based Peterson Institute for International Economics. Bergsten, a sharp critic of China's currency policy years ago, is now saying that "China is no longer manipulating its currency."

Many US economists share that view, saying the Chinese government is actually propping up its currency, known as yuan or RMB, from falling, thereby helping the US economy become more competitive.

"It would thus be factually incorrect, as well as ineffectual, for a new Trump administration to label China a currency manipulator," Bergsten said.

**One-China policy**

Trump's threats are widely seen as a tactic to get better deals with foreign countries. But when he took the phone call from Taiwan leader Tsai on Dec 2 and later tweeted that the One China policy is negotiable, he sparked not only the strongest protest from the Chinese government, but a campaign by the Chinese media, both official and social media.

Sovereignty and territorial integrity, especially regarding Taiwan, touches the sensitive nerve of Chinese who still bitterly remember how China was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan under the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki after losing the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Taiwan was returned to China in 1945 after the Second World War.

The Taiwan issue is widely known in the world as a core interest and red line for China.



US President-elect Donald Trump and his wife Melania take part in a Make America Great Again welcome concert in Washington on Thursday. REUTERS / JONATHAN ERNST



Wilbur Ross, secretary of commerce nominee, testified at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee. CHEN WEIHUA / CHINA DAILY

Rex Tillerson testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on his nomination to be secretary of state. CHEN WEIHUA / CHINA DAILY

After Trump's challenge to the long-standing One China policy, some former US officials and scholars on Taiwan also criticized Trump's ignorance. Richard Bush, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, wrote a long open letter to Trump on Dec 13 on the One China policy.

Rex Tillerson, Trump's nominee for secretary of state and a former CEO of Exxon Mobil, said in his confirmation hearing last week that "I don't know that there is any plan to alter the One China position."

While no US leader in the last 40 years has publicly challenged the One China policy, the Taiwan issue heated up at times, causing a major setback in China-US relations. It happened when the US sold arms to the island. For most Chinese, selling arms to a Chinese island is totally unacceptable.

Relations between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan experienced unprecedented peace and development under the eight years of Taiwan's Kuomintang party leader Ma Ying-jeou from 2008 to 2016. The mainland is by far the largest trade partner for Taiwan, with \$71 billion, or more than a quarter of Taiwan's exports, going to the mainland in 2015.

The winning of the 2016 election by the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has brought uncertainty to the ties since Tsai has refused to acknowledge a 1992 consensus reached by the two sides on One China.

**North Korea**

During his presidential campaign, Trump said that he would be willing to meet with North Korea leader Kim Jong-un. He also said after a North Korea nuclear test in January 2016 that China has "total control" over North Korea and that if China doesn't "solve the problem, we should make trade very difficult with China."

Trump tweeted early this month that "China has been taking out massive amount of money & wealth from the US in totally one-sided trade, but won't help with North Korea. Nice!"

US officials, including Trump's secretary of State nominee Tillerson and defense secretary nominee James Mattis, have listed North Korea as a major security threat to the US. Last week's hearings for Tillerson and Mattis came a few days after North Korea announced that it will launch an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) "anytime and anywhere" determined by its supreme headquarters.

"The US is wholly to blame for pushing the DPRK to have developed ICBM as it has desperately resorted to an anarchistic policy hostile toward the DPRK to encroach up its sovereignty and vital rights," DPRK's official

KCNA news agency quoted the country's Foreign Ministry spokesman as saying.

In response to Trump's latest tweet, Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said "China's efforts are widely recognized, and we hope all sides will avoid remarks and actions to escalate the situation."

US officials, including outgoing Secretary of State John Kerry, have spoken positively of China's efforts in the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, including China's latest endorsement of the UN Security Council resolution in late November of imposing new sanctions on DPRK for its nuclear test in September.

Lin Jieyi, China's ambassador to the UN, applauded the resolution. But he said it pointed out that relevant measures are not intended to produce negative consequences on DPRK's humanitarian situation and the livelihood of its people, not to affect its normal economic and trade activities.

China has long urged resumption of the Six-Party Talks suspended since 2008. The talks on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula involve DPRK, South Korea, China, the US, Japan and Russia.

While endorsing the UN resolution, China has expressed strong protest over the planned US deployment of THAAD (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) anti-ballistic missile system in South Korea. Both China and Russia regard the system as posing a strategic security threat to their nations.

Charles Armstrong, a professor of history at Columbia University and an expert on the Korean Peninsula, said these are the strongest sanctions imposed so far, but he is not sure if the sanctions alone could make the DPRK cease its nuclear and missile testing.

"A resolution of the problem can only be reached if there are positive inducements for North Korea to give up or suspend its nuclear program, and that would have to involve dialogue with the US," he told China Daily.

"We will have to see what the Trump administration's policy will be toward North Korea," Armstrong said.

Ted Carpenter, a senior fellow of defense and foreign policy at the Cato Institute, said imposing more sanctions simply continues a strategy that hasn't worked.

"China's willingness to go along with tougher sanctions, though, reflects Beijing's growing impatience with North Korea. It will be interesting to see if Trump adjusts Washington's policy on this issue," Carpenter said.

**South China Sea**

Trump, known for his loose talk, said during the presidential campaign that "we have rebuilt China, and yet they will go in the South

China Sea and build a military fortress the likes of which perhaps the world has not seen."

But the real attention on Trump's views on the South China Sea was focused last week when Tillerson described China's land reclamation in the area as "akin to Russia's taking of Crimea."

"We are going to have to send China a clear signal that, first, the island-building stops," he told lawmakers during the hearing. "And second, your access to those islands also is not going to be allowed."

Tillerson's words drew a sharp response from Beijing, with Foreign Ministry spokesman Lu Kang saying that the tension in the South China Sea, has cooled down, and China and countries in the region have returned to two-way talks.

On Tuesday, Ben Rhodes, Obama's deputy national security adviser, expressed US concern over the South China Sea, but he said "we've not thought that military confrontation would be the right approach to the South China Sea," a pointed response to Tillerson's suggestion.

China has long regarded the US as biased in its words and deeds regarding the maritime territorial disputes between China and some of its neighbors in a bid to bolster US influence in the region where China is the top trade partner for most economies. The US was believed to be behind the Hague ruling last July on the South China Sea in a case brought about by the Philippines.

However, the new Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, unlike his predecessor Benigno Aquino III, has chosen to distance his country from the US and has sought closer ties with China.

Just last week, Nguyen Phu Trong, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) paid a four-day trip to China where he had "a candid exchange of views" on maritime issues, according to a communique issued. In Beijing, Nguyen met both President Xi, Premier Li Keqiang and other senior Chinese officials.

China's warming relationship with both the Philippines and Vietnam also came at a time when Trump announced its intent to withdraw from the 12-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement. Trump, and Ross, the secretary of commerce nominee, argued that the US will benefit more from bilateral agreement instead of multilateral agreement.

TPP, signed last February, has long been regarded by the Obama administration as the essence of its rebalance to Asia strategy. Trump's planned cancellation and his anti-trade rhetoric have raised serious doubts in the other 11 partners about the US commitment.

**Harvey Morris****Trump breaks new ground in unpopularity stakes**

In a somewhat inauspicious start to the presidency of Donald John Trump, who will be sworn in on Friday as the 45th president of the United States, opinion polls in the run-up to the ceremony put his approval rating as low as 37 percent.

US presidents normally only become that unpopular after they take office. The surveys gave him the lowest rating of any incoming president in 40 years. Polls, of course, can lie. Or in this case, as Trump told his 20.2 million Twitter followers: "They are rigged!"

Either way, the numbers suggest an uncertainty about the forthcoming presidency that may extend even to some of those who voted for the winner. Internationally, that uncertainty has been fueled by the statements of a man who, as both candidate and president-elect, has proved to be an equal opportunities abuser.

He has angered China, which he clearly regards as a rival, rather than a partner, by accusing it of destroying US jobs, and he has been cozying up to Taiwan.

Beijing protested in advance to the Trump transition team following reports that a Taiwan delegation would attend the inauguration.

At the same time, Trump has alienated some of the closest friends and allies of the US - Germany, NATO, the European Union and next-door neighbor Mexico - by sniping at the fundamentals of the Western alliance.

Trump said NATO was "obsolete." He accused Chancellor Angela Merkel, a stalwart of that alliance, of having committed a "catastrophic mistake" by opening Germany's doors to refugees from the Middle East.

Merkel responded with admirable diplomacy by promising that "we will cooperate with him on all levels, of course."

Only Russian President Vladimir Putin has so far been spared the sharp edge of Trump's tongue.

Worries abroad are matched by a divisive atmosphere at home that has extended to the inauguration itself. A galaxy of invited entertainment stars declined to perform on the big day and some high-profile politicians announced they would boycott the event.

The group Bikers for Trump has volunteered to patrol the event after denouncing in advance any protesters as "being paid and provided [sic] untruthful propaganda".

"People are pouring into Washington in record numbers," Trump announced on Twitter. "Bikers for Trump are on their way. It will be a great Thursday, Friday and Saturday!"

It is not the first inauspicious start to a presidential term. George W. Bush took office in 2001 after a contested recount that was tied up in the Supreme Court for a month.

When Richard Nixon was sworn in for a second time in 1973, he was already under the shadow of the Watergate scandal that would unsettle him the following year. It ended a presidency in which he made a historic breakthrough in relations with China.

Even John F. Kennedy, a highly popular president when he was assassinated in 1963, had taken office two years earlier amid unproven allegations that the Mafia had helped him to the White House. Many US citizens still believe, similarly without proof, that it was the Mafia who killed him.

Those US citizens alarmed by the prospects that their country will start to look inward, once Trump is in office, have already warned that he could be a second Herbert Hoover. The first year of Hoover's term saw the 1929 Wall Street crash.

Hoover initially put his faith in infrastructure spending to rebuild the broken US economy and then reluctantly endorsed tough protectionist measures that only made the Depression worse. Sound familiar?

"Hoover's economic strategy didn't turn out so well, either for the nation or for the GOP (Republican Party)," according to a recent article in the National Review titled *Does Trump aspire to be a 21st-century Hoover?*

The writer is a senior media consultant to China Daily.



Online

See more by scanning the code



译文：

## 笼罩中美关系的不确定性

人们常说美国媒体对特朗普所言锱铢必较，但却对他本人嗤之以鼻，而特朗普的支持者把他真当回事，但却不在乎他说什么。

今天这位纽约地产大亨就任成为美国第 45 位总统，届时，全世界特别是中国，将专心聆听他就职演说中传递出的信息。

与其前任不同，特朗普被普遍认为充满不确定性和不可预知性。很多研究中美关系的国际问题专家也持这一观点。

作为尚未就职的当选总统，特朗普在 12 月初破坏了美国四十年来的外交传统，与台湾领导人蔡英文通了电话。他上周对华尔街日报说“一个中国”政策是可以谈判的。

在选战期间，特朗普大谈将对中国出口产品征收 45% 关税，引发人们对世界两大经济体爆发贸易战的担心。他还信誓旦旦地表示，一旦入主白宫，第一天就要宣布中国为货币操纵国。

七十岁的特朗普也令美国传统盟友不安。他说日本应为美国驻军支付更多费用。本周早些时候，他说北约早已过时。

白邦瑞是哈德逊研究所中国战略中心主任，并担任特朗普过渡团队顾问。他说特朗普在为其 2016 大选出版的书《再次伟大》中表露出对中国谈判技巧的欣赏，并说要让中国人觉得不可预料。

“从这方面来讲，他已经成功了，”白邦瑞在 1 月 13 日发表在哈德逊网站上的文中如是说。

### 贸易战

自 2015 年 6 月 16 日宣布参加总统竞选以来，特朗普一直在指责中国、墨西哥和其他国家应为美国贸易赤字和制造业就业岗位的流失负责。他威胁要对中国实施惩罚性关税。

虽然他已很久没提 45% 关税这件事，但他仍不停地说，中国在对美国贸易中占了便宜，并责怪当时的美国总统克林顿让中国加入了世界贸易组织。

特朗普挑选对中国持强硬态度的纳瓦罗担任其新成立的全国贸易委员会负责人，增加了人们对两国贸易摩擦的担忧。纳瓦罗写过几本有关中国的书，包括《致命中国》。在该书中，他把美国的经济问题归咎于中国。

本周三，特朗普提名的商务部长罗斯在参议院听证会上称中国为“贸易保护主义最严重”的国家。罗斯身为亿万富翁，曾长期与中国做生意。

中国奋起反击。官员和学者纷纷强调中国因其不同的治理体系，在贸易战中并不会像美国那么脆弱。有的专家甚至列出主要的美国公司，如苹果和波音，作为中国的报复对象。中国是波音在美国之外的最大市场，波音预计中国未来 20 年将向其购买 6800 架飞机，总价值约 10000 亿美元。

美国的农产品也可能成为目标。中国在 2011 年已取代加拿大成为美国农产品的最大海外市场。

中国商务部发言人孙继文周四在北京表示：中国政府愿意与美国政府携手共同促进双边贸易关系健康发展，造福两国人民。

他在新闻发布会上说：“合则两利，斗则两伤。”

“我认为中美可以通过对话协商解决纠纷，双边经贸关系不会偏离互利的轨道。”

李凡是位于华盛顿的咨询公司奥尔布莱特石桥集团高级顾问，他说：“我认为我们不会进行贸易战。”

他认为特朗普的顾问和内阁成员中包括很多常年鼓吹对中国强硬的人士。“所以我认为美国政府会针对中国的贸易和投资采取一些相应的手段，坦率地说这些手段会使北京政府不快。”李凡在小布什政府中曾任商务部负责中国事务的前副助理部长。

这些针对中国的手段可能包括限制并购美国公司以及更多针对中国出口产品的反倾销关税。

奥巴马政府曾十六次在世贸组织起诉中国，其中一次就在上周，针对的是中国对铝产品厂家的补贴问题。

两国之间的贸易战将让已经脆弱的全球经济雪上加霜。有些美国专家警告说，贸易战将使特朗普不能兑现其对选民做出的有关创造就业的承诺。美中贸易委员会和牛津经济研究所的报告显示，中美贸易为美国创造了约 260 万个就业岗位。

## 习近平倡导全球化

在本周于瑞士达沃斯举行的世界经济论坛上，习近平主席倡导全球化、开放贸易体系和应对气候变化，引人注目，这与即将上任的特朗普政府贸易保护主义的言行形成强烈反差。

卡内基国际和平基金会副会长、亚洲项目主任包道格认为，由于国会的反对，针对中国产品提高关税会很难。众议院发言人共和党人莱恩本月初已说过：“我们不准备提高关税。”

包道格认为特朗普政府会期望在中国市场准入或知识产权上取得进展。他说：“总的信号就是：目前的现状不够好，我们需要一个更好的双边关系。”

特朗普对中国操纵货币的指责受到华盛顿彼得森世界经济研究所伯格斯坦的反驳。这位经济学家几年前曾批评过中国的货币政策，不过他现在说“中国已不再操纵其货币。”

很多美国经济学家都持这种看法。他们认为中国政府其实在支撑其货币，不让它贬值，这其实让美国经济更具有竞争力。

伯格斯坦说：“如果特朗普政府把中国定义为货币操纵国，这既不符合事实，也不会奏效。”

## “一中”政策

特朗普的威胁被普遍认为是一种手段，旨在与外国的谈判中获得更多筹码。但他 12 月 2 日接听了台湾领导人的电话，并之后在推特上说“一中”政策可以谈判。这不仅招致中国政府最强烈的抗议，而且受到中国官方和社交媒体的一致声讨。

主权和领土完整，特别是与台湾有关的问题，会触动中国人的敏感神经。他们还痛苦地

记得 1895 年甲午战争后的《马关条约》迫使中国割让台湾给日本。台湾于二战结束后的 1945 年回归中国。

台湾问题在世界上被普遍认为是中国的核心利益，是不能触及的红线。

在特朗普挑战既定的“一中”政策之后，一些前美国官员和研究台湾的学者也对他的无知提出批评。布鲁金斯学会高级研究员卜睿哲 12 月 13 日就“一中”政策给特朗普写了一封很长的公开信。

被提名为美国国务卿人选的蒂勒森是埃克森美孚的前首席执行官，他在上周的听证会上说：“我并不知有任何改变‘一中’立场的计划。”

虽然美国领导人在过去四十年并未公开挑战“一中”政策，但台湾问题不时会升温，成为中美关系的绊脚石，这包括美国对台军售。对大多中国人而言，美国向中国所属的一个岛卖武器是不可接受的。

在 2008 至 2016 年国民党领导人马英九执政下，大陆和台湾关系出现了前所未有的缓和发展。大陆目前是台湾的最大贸易伙伴，年贸易额为 710 亿美元。2015 年，台湾四分之一的出口都是运往大陆的。

但 2016 年有独立倾向的民进党获得选举胜利后给两岸关系带来不确定性。蔡英文至今拒绝承认两岸达成的“九二共识”。

## 朝鲜

在选战中，特朗普表示他愿意与朝鲜领导人金正恩会面。他也曾在 2016 年 1 月朝鲜核试验后表示：中国“完全控制”着朝鲜，如果中国不“解决这个问题，我们应该让与中国的贸易变得很困难”。

特朗普本月初在推特上说“中国从与美国一边倒的贸易中攫取了很多金钱和财富，但却不肯在朝鲜问题上帮我们。好啊！”

美国官员，包括被提名为国务卿人选的蒂勒森和提名为国防部长人选的马蒂斯都把朝鲜列为对美国安全的主要威胁。

上周朝鲜宣布它将根据最高指挥部命令，在任何时间向任何地方发射洲际导弹。几天之后蒂勒森和马蒂斯举行了听证会。

朝中社援引该国外交部发言人说：“美国疯狂和过时的敌对政策侵犯了朝鲜的主权和权益，迫使朝鲜不得不发展洲际导弹。”

针对特朗普最近的推特言论，中国外交部发言人耿爽表示：“中国的努力众所周知，我们希望各方避免导致冲突升级的言论和行为。”

美国官员，包括将离任的国务卿克里，对中国在推动朝鲜半岛无核化上的作用表示赞赏。这包括中国最近 11 月在安理会上同意联合国安理会决议，对朝鲜 9 月违反决议的核试验进行新一轮制裁。

中国驻联合国大使刘结一对决议表示赞赏，但指出相关措施无意对朝鲜的人道主义状况、人民生活 and 正常经贸活动造成负面影响。

中国一直呼吁恢复从 2008 年以来暂停的六方会谈，这个旨在实现朝鲜半岛无核化的会谈的参与方包括朝鲜、韩国、中国、美国、日本和俄罗斯。

在支持联合国决议的同时，中国也对美国在韩国计划部署萨德反导系统表示强烈抗议。中国与俄罗斯均认为这将对他们的国家战略安全构成威胁。

哥伦比亚大学历史教授和朝鲜半岛专家阿姆斯特朗认为这些是迄今为止最严厉的制裁，但他不确定制裁是否能让朝鲜停止其核试验与导弹试验。

他告诉中国日报：“只有给朝鲜一些好处才可能让他们放弃或停止核计划，而这也必须包括和美国的会谈。”

他表示，还要观察特朗普政府对朝鲜的政策才能做出判断。

卡朋特是卡托研究所防务和外交政策高级研究员，他认为继续制裁只是继续一种至今没有效果的策略。

他说：“中国愿意参与更严厉的制裁反映了北京对朝鲜越来越失去耐心。我很有兴趣看看特朗普如何调整华盛顿在此问题上的政策。”

## 南海

特朗普向来以讲话随便著称，他在总统选战中称：“我们重建了中国，而他们却去南海造那种全世界都不曾见过的军事堡垒。”

而特朗普关于南海的看法因国务卿候选人蒂勒森上周的话成为焦点。蒂勒森称中国填海造地“如同俄罗斯占领克里米亚”。

他对国会议员们说：“我们必须给中国以明确信号。首先，岛礁建设必须停止。第二，你们将不被允许去这些岛礁。”

蒂勒森此番话引起北京强烈反应。外交部发言人陆康表示，南海紧张局势已降温，中国和此地区其他国家已开始直接谈判。

周二，奥巴马的副国安顾问罗兹表达了美国对南海的关切。但他说：“我们认为军事冲突不是解决南海问题的方式。”这话明显是针对蒂勒森表态的回应。

中国一直认为美国在中国与邻国的南海领海争端问题上言行有所偏袒，目的是提升美国的影响力。中国是南海周边大多数经济体的最大贸易伙伴。去年 7 月海牙对菲律宾提起的“南海仲裁案”的仲裁被认为是美国在作祟。

不过菲律宾新总统杜特尔特与其前任阿基诺三世不同。杜特尔特选择与美国拉开距离，而寻求与中国建立更紧密的关系。

上周，越南共产党总书记阮富仲对中国进行了为期四天的访问。公报显示他与中方在海事问题上坦率地交换了意见。他会见了习近平主席、李克强总理和其他中国高级官员。

中国与菲律宾和越南的关系回暖正值特朗普宣布美国要退出由 12 个国家签署的跨太平洋伙伴关系协定。特朗普和被提名为商务部长的罗斯认为美国会从双边协定，而不是多边协定中获得更多好处。

这个协定于去年 2 月签订，被奥巴马政府认为是其“亚洲再平衡”战略的核心。特朗普退出协定的决定和贸易保护主义言论让其他 11 个伙伴对美国的承诺产生严重怀疑。

原文：

# Uncertainty clouds China-US ties

It is said that the US news media take Donald Trump literally but not seriously, while his supporters take him seriously but not literally.

When the New York real estate tycoon takes office today as the 45th president of the United States, the world will listen carefully to the message coming from his inauguration speech. Especially China.

Unlike his recent predecessors, Trump is seen as full of uncertainty and unpredictability by the rest of the world, including many foreign policy experts on China-US relations.

As president-elect, Trump broke a four-decade US diplomatic protocol in early December by speaking on the phone with Taiwan leader Tsai Ing-wen. He told The Wall Street Journal last week that the "One China" policy is negotiable.

During his presidential campaign, Trump talked about slapping 45 percent tariffs on Chinese exports, triggering wide concern about a possible trade war between the world's two largest economies. He has also vowed to name China a currency manipulator once in office.

The 70-year-old Trump has also caused anxiety among US traditional allies by saying that Japan should pay more for the US military stationed there. Early this week, he called NATO obsolete.

Michael Pillsbury, a senior fellow and director of the Center for Chinese Strategy at Hudson Institute and an adviser to Trump's transition team, noted that Trump mentioned in his 2016 campaign book *Great Again* his admiration for China's negotiation skills, and said he wanted to appear "unpredictable" to the Chinese.

"In this, he has richly succeeded," Pillsbury wrote in his Jan 13 article posted on Hudson's website.

## Trade war

Since announcing his presidential campaign on June 16, 2015, Trump has blamed China, Mexico and other countries for US trade deficits and loss of manufacturing jobs. He threatened to impose punitive tariffs on imports from China.

Though he has not mentioned the 45 percent tariff for a long while, he continued to say that the US is disadvantaged by China in trade, including blaming then-president Bill Clinton for allowing China to join the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Trump's pick of Peter Navarro, a long-time China hawk, as head of his new National Trade Council, has increased concern about more trade friction. Navarro wrote several books on China, including *Death by China*, in which he blames US economic woes on China.

On Wednesday, Trump's nominee for Commerce secretary, Wilbur Ross, a billionaire who has done business in China, called China "the most protectionist country" in his Senate confirmation hearing.

China has struck back. Officials and scholars argue that China is "invulnerable" to trade war given its centralized government system. Some experts even list major US companies, such as Apple and Boeing, as possible targets of Chinese retaliation. China is the largest overseas market for Boeing. The company expects that China will buy 6,800 new planes worth \$1 trillion over the coming two decades.

US agricultural products might also be a target. China replaced Canada in 2011 as the largest market for US agricultural goods.

In Beijing on Thursday, Ministry of Commerce spokesman Sun Jiwen said the Chinese government is willing to join hands and work with the new US administration to continue promoting the healthy development of the bilateral commercial relationship that benefits the two peoples.

"Both sides benefit with cooperation, and both are hurt with conflict," Sun told a press briefing.

"I believe China and the US can resolve any disputes through dialogue and negotiation and that the bilateral commercial relationship will not significantly stray from the path of mutual benefit," Sun said.

"I don't think we are going to have a trade war," said Henry Levine, senior adviser at the Albright Stonebridge Group, a Washington-based consulting firm.

Levine described Trump's advisers and Cabinet picks as people who for many years have encouraged the US to get tougher with China in economic areas. "Therefore, I think we are likely to see some measures on trade and investment directed at China, measures that frankly would make the government in Beijing somewhat unhappy," said Levine, a former US deputy assistant secretary of commerce under George W. Bush's administration.

Some measures taken against China might include restricting its acquisition of US-based companies and more anti-dumping and countervailing duty cases on Chinese exports.

The Obama administration has taken complaints about China to the WTO 16 times, including one last week over China's alleged subsidies for aluminum producers.

A tit-for-tat trade war between the two countries is seen as unimaginable to the already fragile global economy. Some US experts warned that a trade war would almost make it impossible for Trump to achieve his major promise to voters in creating US jobs. US trade with China now supports 2.6 million US jobs, according to a joint study by the US-China Business Council and Oxford Economics.

## **Xi on globalization**

At this week's World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland, President Xi Jinping was in the spotlight for his support for globalization, open trade and combating climate change, in sharp contrast to the anti-trade message from the incoming Trump administration.

Douglas Paal, vice-president for studies and director of the Asia program at the Carnegie



Endowment for International Peace, believes raising tariffs against China will be hard, due to opposition in Congress. House Speaker Paul Ryan, a Republican, said early this month that "we're not going to be raising tariffs".

But Paal said the Trump administration will be looking for progress with China in market access or intellectual property rights. "Overall, the message will be 'it's not good enough, we need a better situation' in our bilateral relationship," Paal said.

Trump's accusation of China being a currency manipulator has drawn rebuke from Fred Bergsten, an economist at the Washington-based Peterson Institute for International Economics. Bergsten, a sharp critic of China's currency policy years ago, is now saying that "China is no longer manipulating its currency."

Many US economists share that view, saying the Chinese government is actually propping up its currency, known as yuan or RMB, from falling, thereby helping the US economy become more competitive.

"It would thus be factually incorrect, as well as ineffectual, for the new Trump administration to label China a currency manipulator," Bergsten said.

## **One-China policy**

Trump's threats are widely seen as a tactic to get better deals with foreign countries. But when he took the phone call from Taiwan leader Tsai on Dec 2 and later tweeted that the One China policy is negotiable, he sparked not only the strongest protest from the Chinese government, but a campaign by the Chinese media, both official and social media.

Sovereignty and territorial integrity, especially regarding Taiwan, touches the sensitive nerve of Chinese who still bitterly remember how China was forced to cede Taiwan to Japan under the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki after losing the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. Taiwan was returned to China in 1945 after the Second World War.

The Taiwan issue is widely known in the world as a core interest and red line for China.

After Trump's challenge to the long-standing One China policy, some former US officials and scholars on Taiwan also criticized Trump's ignorance. Richard Bush, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institute, wrote a long open letter to Trump on Dec 13 on the One China policy.

Rex Tillerson, Trump's nominee for secretary of state and a former CEO of Exxon Mobil, said in his confirmation hearing last week that "I don't know that there is any plan to alter the One China position."

While no US leader in the last 40 years has publicly challenged the One China policy, the Taiwan issue heated up at times, causing a major setback in China-US relations. It happened when the US sold arms to the island. For most Chinese, selling arms to a Chinese island is totally unacceptable.

Relations between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan experienced unprecedented peace and development under the eight years of Taiwan's Kuomintang party leader Ma Ying-jeou

from 2008 to 2016. The mainland is by far the largest trade partner for Taiwan, with \$71 billion, or more than a quarter of Taiwan's exports, going to the mainland in 2015.

The winning of the 2016 election by the pro-independence Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) has brought uncertainty to the ties since Tsai has refused to acknowledge a 1992 consensus reached by the two sides on One China.

## North Korea

During his presidential campaign, Trump said that he would be willing to meet with North Korea leader Kim Jong-un. He also said after a North Korea nuclear test in January 2016 that China has "total control" over North Korea and that if China doesn't "solve the problem, we should make trade very difficult with China".

Trump tweeted early this month that "China has been taking out massive amount of money & wealth from the US in totally one-sided trade, but won't help with North Korea. Nice!"

US officials, including Trump's secretary of State nominee Tillerson and defense secretary nominee James Mattis, have listed North Korea as a major security threat to the US.

Last week's hearings for Tillerson and Mattis came a few days after North Korea announced that it will launch an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) "anytime and anywhere" determined by its supreme headquarters.

"The US is wholly to blame for pushing the DPRK to have developed ICBM as it has desperately resorted to an anachronistic policy hostile toward the DPRK to encroach up its sovereignty and vital rights," DPRK's official KCNA news agency quoted the country's Foreign Ministry spokesman as saying.

In response to Trump's latest tweet, Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said "China's efforts are widely recognized, and we hope all sides will avoid remarks and actions to escalate the situation."

US officials, including outgoing Secretary of State John Kerry, have spoken positively of China's efforts in the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, including China's latest endorsement of the UN Security Council resolution in late November of imposing new sanctions on DPRK for its nuclear test in September.

Liu Jieyi, China's ambassador to the UN, applauded the resolution. But he said it pointed out that relevant measures are not intended to produce negative consequences on DPRK's humanitarian situation and the livelihood of its people, not to affect its normal economic and trade activities.

China has long urged resumption of the Six-Party Talks suspended since 2008. The talks on denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula involve DPRK, South Korea, China, the US, Japan and Russia.

While endorsing the UN resolution, China has expressed strong protest over the planned

US deployment of THAAD (Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) anti-ballistic missile system in South Korea. Both China and Russia regard the system as posing a strategic security threat to their nations.

Charles Armstrong, a professor of history at Columbia University and an expert on the Korean Peninsula, said these are the strongest sanctions imposed so far, but he is not sure if the sanctions alone could make the DPRK cease its nuclear and missile testing.

"A resolution of the problem can only be reached if there are positive inducements for North Korea to give up or suspend its nuclear program, and that would have to involve dialogue with the US," he told China Daily.

"We will have to see what the Trump administration's policy will be toward North Korea," Armstrong said.

Ted Carpenter, a senior fellow of defense and foreign policy at the Cato Institute, said imposing more sanctions simply continues a strategy that hasn't worked.

"China's willingness to go along with tougher sanctions, though, reflects Beijing's growing impatience with North Korea. It will be interesting to see if Trump adjusts Washington's policy on this issue," Carpenter said.

## South China Sea

Trump, known for his loose talk, said during the presidential campaign that "we have rebuilt China, and yet they will go in the South China Sea and build a military fortress the likes of which perhaps the world has not seen".

But the real attention on Trump's views on the South China Sea was focused last week when Tillerson described China's land reclamation in the area as "akin to Russia's taking of Crimea".

"We are going to have to send China a clear signal that, first, the island-building stops," he told lawmakers during the hearing. "And second, your access to those islands also is not going to be allowed."

Tillerson's words drew a sharp response from Beijing, with Foreign Ministry spokesman Lu Kang saying that the tension in the South China Sea has cooled down, and China and countries in the region have returned to two-way talks.

On Tuesday, Ben Rhodes, Obama's deputy national security adviser, expressed US concern over the South China Sea, but he said "we've not thought that military confrontation would be the right approach to the South China Sea," a pointed response to Tillerson's suggestion.

China has long regarded the US as biased in its words and deeds regarding the maritime territorial disputes between China and some of its neighbors in a bid to bolster US influence in the region where China is the top trade partner for most economies. The US was believed to be behind the Hague ruling last July on the South China Sea in a case brought about by the

**Philippines.**

**However, the new Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte, unlike his predecessor Benigno Aquino III, has chosen to distance his country from the US and has sought closer ties with China.**

**Just last week, Nguyen Phu Trong, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) paid a four-day trip to China where he had "a candid exchange of views" on maritime issues, according to a communique issued. In Beijing, Nguyen met both President Xi, Premier Li Keqiang and other senior Chinese officials.**

**China's warming relationship with both the Philippines and Vietnam also came at a time when Trump announced its intent to withdraw from the 12-nation Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade agreement. Trump, and Ross, the secretary of commerce nominee, argued that the US will benefit more from bilateral agreement instead of multilateral agreement.**

**TPP, signed last February, has long been regarded by the Obama administration as the essence of its rebalance to Asia strategy. Trump's planned cancellation and his anti-trade rhetoric have raised serious doubts in the other 11 partners about the US commitment.**