

Hey listeners! If Putin's attack on Ukraine has got you feeling anxious and wondering how the hell did we get here, and what should be done to deescalate the situation, I give you an interview with Prof. John Mearsheimer

昨天朋友問我到底為什麼普丁要打烏克蘭。他是瘋了嗎？而這場戰爭對台灣又會有什麼樣的影響呢？

據政治科學家 Prof John Mearsheimer 的分析，真正的始作俑者其實是美國、NATO 和 EU，包括德國的前總理 Angela Merkel。現在我們就開始導讀這篇 The New Yorker 訪問 Mearsheimer 的文章。

Looking at the situation now with Russia and Ukraine, how do you think the world got here?

這個訪問者問了大家都在問的問題。為什麼我們今天會走到這一步？

I think all the trouble in this case really started in April, 2008, at the NATO Summit in Bucharest, where afterward NATO issued a statement that said Ukraine and Georgia would become part of nato. The Russians made it unequivocally clear at the time that they viewed this as an existential threat, and they drew a line in the sand.

在 2008 年4 月的北約峰會 NATO 宣布歡迎烏克蘭和格魯吉亞加入北約。當時俄國就已經發出警告將此等行為看成宣戰的動作。**And they drew a line in the sand.** 就在沙灘上畫了一道線，也就是不要越界的意思。

那在這裡訪問者就覺得這不合理啊。

NATO can decide whom it admits, but we saw in 2014 that it appeared as if many Ukrainians wanted to be considered part of Europe. It would seem like almost some sort of imperialism to tell them that they can't be a liberal democracy.

雙方你情我願，俄國制止豈不是帝國主義者的行為。他用的是單字是 **imperialism**。但是 **Mearsheimer** 在這裡糾正他。

It's not imperialism; this is great-power politics. When you're a country like Ukraine and you live next door to a great power like Russia, you have to pay careful attention to what the Russians think, because if you take a stick and you poke them in the eye, they're going to retaliate. States in the Western hemisphere understand this full well with regard to the United States.

It's not imperialism; this is great-power politics. 這不是帝國主義。這是大國政治。

這個概念對台灣也是非常實用的。

When you're a country like Ukraine and you live next door to a great power like Russia,

當你是一個像烏克蘭一樣的小國，邊竟就是俄羅斯這樣的大國，

you have to pay careful attention to what Russians think.

你必須要注意觀察俄國人的想法。

Because if you take a stick and you poke them in the eye, they're going to retaliate.

如果你拿一根竹子戳他們的眼睛，他們一定會有所回擊。意思就是小國激不起大國。

而且不止俄國這樣，所有的強國也都是如此。好比美國就有 Monroe Doctrine 門羅主義。Monro Doctrine 就是劃地盤的意思，把西半球的領域歸為美國所有，如果東半邊的大哥來他們的地盤鬧事就不要怪美國不客氣。在60年代古巴導彈危機就是因為古巴和俄國過於友好。但是古巴當時會想接遠水來救火，也是因為美國對他們的經濟制裁。以歷史上來看，美國一直是一個外交手段相當惡劣的一個大國。

When we're thinking about foreign policies, should we be thinking about trying to create a world where neither the U.S. nor Russia is behaving that way?

這個天真的訪問者問：以外交政策來說，難道我們不能嘗試去創造一個世界，不論美國或俄國都不會有以大欺小的行為？

Mearsheimer 直接回答：

That's not the way the world works. When you try to create a world that looks like that, you end up with the disastrous policies that the United States pursued during the unipolar moment. We went around the world trying to create liberal democracies. Our main focus, of course, was in the greater Middle East, and you know how well that worked out. Not very well.

That's not the way the world works 就是真實世界不是這樣運作的。

When you try to create a world that looks like that,
當你想要創造那樣的世界

You end up with the disastrous policies
最後得到的結果只會是災難性的政策。

That the US pursued during the unipolar moment.
好比美國在單極時刻執行的這些政策。

Unipolar moment 單極時刻就是當世界只有一個 **super power**, 也就是美國。但是現在中國快速晉升為美國的 **competitor** 競爭者, 所以 **Mearsheimer** 一直說美國不應該激怒俄國, 而是和俄國建立互惠的關係。

When you said that no one's talking about this as imperialism, in Putin's speeches he specifically refers to the "territory of the former Russian Empire," which he laments losing. So it seems like he's talking about it.

訪問者還是不同意 **Mearsheimer** 的觀點, 因為他始終覺得普丁是個帝國主義者。 , 因為普丁自己說過:

The territory of the former Russian Empire,

俄羅斯帝國之前的領域...

which he laments losing

他感嘆失去了它們。

但是 **Mearsheimer** 馬上糾正訪問者。

I think that's wrong, because I think you're quoting the first half of the sentence, as most people in the West do. He said, "Whoever does

not miss the Soviet Union has no heart.” And then he said,
“Whoever wants it back has no brain.”

所以他說這個訪問者和西方的媒體一樣斷章取義。普丁真正說的是：

Whoever does not miss the Soviet Union has no heart.

不想念蘇聯的人民沒心沒肺。

Whoever wants it back has no brain.

但是想要重建蘇聯的人則沒腦。當然 **action speaks louder than words**. 我們不知道普丁是不是說一套做一套。

The much more important point is: he understands that he cannot conquer Ukraine and integrate it into a greater Russia or into a reincarnation of the former Soviet Union. What he’s doing in Ukraine is fundamentally different. He’s going to take some territory away from Ukraine, in addition to what happened with Crimea, in 2014. Furthermore, he is definitely interested in regime change. Beyond that, it’s hard to say exactly what this will all lead to, except for the fact that he is not going to conquer all of Ukraine. It would be a blunder of colossal proportions to try to do that.

這段 **Mearsheimer** 估計普丁知道他是不可能佔領烏克蘭的。

He understands he cannot conquer Ukraine.

He’s going to take some territory away from Ukraine, in addition to what happened with Crimea, in 2014.

他會吃掉烏克蘭都部份領域，這包含**2014**年已經拿下的可里米亞。

Furthermore, he is definitely interested in regime change.

除此之外，他絕對會想要轉移政權。

Beyond that, it's hard to say exactly what this will all lead to, except for the fact that he is not going to conquer all of Ukraine.

到這裡，接下來就很難說到底這場戰爭會如何演變下去。但 **Mearsheimer** 堅信普丁無法也不會佔領烏克蘭。

What do you think our policy should be in Ukraine right now, and what do you worry that we're doing that's going to undermine our China policy?

訪問者問到重點了。美國現在該採取什麼樣的政策。

We should be pivoting out of Europe to deal with China in a laser-like fashion, number one. And, number two, we should be working overtime to create friendly relations with the Russians. The Russians are part of our balancing coalition against China. Instead, what we have done with our foolish policies in Eastern Europe is drive the Russians into the arms of the Chinese. This is a violation of Balance of Power Politics 101.

Mearsheimer 說第一點：美國應該要將所有重點從歐洲轉移到中國。**in a laser-like fashion** 給其雷射般的注意力。

And, number two, we should be working overtime to create friendly relations with the Russians.

第二點：剛說過了，要和俄國建立友好的關係。

Instead, what we have done with our foolish policies in Eastern Europe is drive the Russians into the arms of the Chinese.

但是我們愚蠢的東歐政策卻直接逼俄國投入中國的懷抱。

This is a violation of Balance of Power Politics 101.

這直接破壞了最基本的權力平衡。

Is there still time, despite what we're seeing from the ground, for Ukraine to appease Russia somehow?

訪問者這裡問:還有回轉的餘地嗎?

I think there's a serious possibility that the Ukrainians can work out some sort of modus vivendi with the Russians. And the reason is that the Russians are now discovering that occupying Ukraine and trying to run Ukraine's politics is asking for big trouble.

Modus vivendi 就是權宜的妥協。其實俄國也想趕快結束這場失算的硬仗。如果接下來雙方都能放下面子,談判成功,人民就能早日重建家園。不要把普丁逼急了。畢竟俄國是個核能武器強大的國家。誰知道狗急會不會跳牆。

On that note, next week Scott will talk about the Chernobyl disaster. I know. Here at SCU universe we definitely like to keep things light (sarcasm). 三月的主題都比較沈重。但是與其鴛鴦心態,希望可以透過這個雙語節目提升我們自己和大家的國際觀。畢竟台灣像烏克蘭,正義和利益之間,往往只是強國的一枚棋子。

Thanks for listening. Here at Scu Universe, we pray for Ukraine. We pray for peace.

