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En este número:

China sobre Trump y la perspectiva de las relaciones China-EE.UU.

El panorama de las relaciones China-Estados Unidos no cambiará

Por Wen Xian*

People's Daily - 11/11/2016

El 8 de noviembre, el candidato republicano Donald Trump ganó las elecciones presidenciales tras una campaña plagada de polémicas y escándalos, convirtiéndose en el nuevo presidente de EE.UU. Ante la situación nacional e internacional que experimenta profundos cambios, Donald Trump tiene una carga pesada sobre sus hombros.

El 22 de octubre, Donald Trump pronunció en Gettysburg su plan de cien días, que fue el más claro y concreto planteado por él. El plan contiene unos 10 proyectos, incluido instar al Congreso a aprobar la reducción y simplificación de impuestos de la clase media. Obviamente, sus propuestas políticas y el proceso de elección son para romper las tradiciones y su gobernanza pretende establecer nuevas legislaciones.

Es difícil romper las tradiciones antiguas como establecer nuevas legislaciones. Cada país tiene sus propios obstáculos. El nuevo gobierno estadounidense tendrá que enfrentarse a muchos problemas: la desigualdad de ingreso sigue siendo grave, la injusticia social es difícil de superar y los conflictos sociales, ya sea étnicos o los relacionados con la inmigración ilegal, tienden a la exacerbación. Además, la orientación de Trump en política exterior es motivo de interés para todo el mundo.

No hay duda de que la elección de Trump impactará en la escena internacional y en las relaciones entre China y Estados Unidos. Pero es poco probable que cambie el panorama de las relaciones sino-estadounidenses. Ambos países abrieron un "nuevo modelo de relación entre potencias mundiales", basado en los intereses y aspiraciones de ambos pueblos. Promover el desarrollo saludable de las relaciones económicas es abrazar un canal importante para este fin.

China y EE.UU. tienen una de las relaciones bilaterales más importantes del mundo, y siempre es foco de atención durante las campañas electorales de los Estados Unidos. La fehaciente manifestación de los convergentes intereses de China y EE.UU. es evidenciada por los más de 550.000 millones de dólares de comercio bilateral del año pasado. Y el 2024 se podría superar la cifra de un billón de dólares. En el mundo de hoy, es un hecho objetivo de que "China y EE.UU. se beneficiarán de una relación armoniosa o se lesionarán si alientan enfrentamientos." Abogar por los principios de la no -confrontación, el

respeto mutuo, la cooperación y el beneficio compartido es una sabia decisión que sintoniza los intereses fundamentales que, a largo plazo, mantienen los dos pueblos.

Por supuesto, también hay diferencias. Pero lo más importante es que las dos grandes potencias tienen un marco maduro y eficaz para arreglar las discrepancias. El desarrollo de las relaciones sino-estadounidenses nunca ha ido “viento en popa y a toda vela”. Sin duda, la futura construcción de las nuevas relaciones entre China y EE.UU. no será fácil. Sin embargo, el hecho de ser dos grandes países maduros ha probado que China y EE.UU. son capaces de resolver gran cantidad de complejos y sensibles problemas, cooperar en diversas áreas -tanto a nivel regional como global- y controlar la intensidad de los conflictos, siempre de una manera constructiva.

Sobre todo en los últimos años, ambos países, de manera consciente, aumentaron la confianza estratégica. Los mandatarios de ambos países lo comunicaron en diversos encuentros y reuniones, tanto en China como en Estados Unidos. El diálogo de estrategia y economía y la consulta de alto nivel sobre intercambio humano y cultural celebraron su séptima y octava edición, respectivamente, obteniendo resultados muy fructíferos.

A nivel mundial, al ser China y Estados Unidos grandes países, tienen mayor influencia y responsabilidad. Al ser China el mayor país en vías de desarrollo y Estados Unidos el mayor país desarrollado, aparte de tener las dos mayores economías del orbe, tienen la especial responsabilidad de garantizar la paz mundial y la estabilidad del mundo, promover la prosperidad global y compartir los beneficios. En los últimos años, los dos países mantienen una coordinación y cooperación muy estrecha y exitosa en la lucha contra muchos de los problemas del planeta como el cambio climático, la seguridad nuclear, Irán, Afganistán, Siria y la crisis de la península de Corea.

Desarrollar una relación amistosa y estable entre China y EE.UU. se alinea con los intereses de ambos pueblos y con las expectativas de la comunidad internacional. En el futuro, como bien expresó el presidente Xi Jinping en el telegrama de felicitación enviado a Donald Trump, los dos países deben “impulsar las relaciones bilaterales a un nuevo nivel, en beneficio de los pueblos de ambos países y del mundo”.

**El autor fue corresponsal del Diario del Pueblo (People's Daily) en Estados Unidos.*

El lado positivo de Trump en la construcción de los lazos China-EE.UU.

Sin bien tuvo dichos polémicos sobre China durante su campaña, Trump señaló su interés buscar intereses comunes, no confrontación.

[Positive side of Trump in building China-US ties](#)

By Chen Weihua*

China Daily – 11/11/2016

How will Donald Trump's presidency-after he assumes office on Jan 20, 2017-affect China-US relations? This question is uppermost on many people's minds a day after Republican Trump defeated former secretary of state Hillary Clinton in the US presidential election.

Many have taken seriously Trump's rhetoric on the campaign trail over the past 16 months, such as imposing a 45 percent punitive tariff on Chinese imports and calling China a currency manipulator. This could be misleading. Trump had only talked about tariff in the early period of the campaign and not repeated it for a long while. Besides, the US business community and the Congress are not likely to approve of such mutually destructive measures. And the US Treasury Department has repeatedly said in the past year that China is not manipulating its currency.

But how seriously should we take Trump's campaign rhetoric is a problem. Past US presidential candidates have made crazy vows vis-a-vis China during their campaigns, but they forgot them quickly once elected.

Of far more importance will be Trump's words and deeds after he enters the White House. His victory speech has sent positive messages. For example, he said: "We will deal fairly with everyone...All people and all other nations" and "we will seek common ground, not hostility; partnership, not conflict."

His speech reflects the spirit of President Xi Jinping's congratulatory message on Wednesday to Trump about no conflict, no confrontation, mutual respect and win-win cooperation.

During the campaign, Trump also said that he was willing to meet Democratic People's Republic of Korea leader Kim Jong-un and improve ties with Russia. Such a tone is welcome given the US government has intervened excessively in other nations' internal affairs in the past and US leaders like to lecture others.

President Barack Obama has been regarded by some as being less interventionist. Yet his drastic increase of drone strikes and intervention in Libya have created more problems in countries and regions.

The Obama administration is also partly responsible for triggering a bad action/reaction cycle with China in East Asia and the South China Sea with its "rebalancing to Asia-Pacific" strategy, widely perceived to contain China's rise.

Indeed, as secretary of state, Clinton made some contributions to US-China relations, but her hawkish instinct could have further raised tensions between Beijing and Washington if elected president.

Kishore Mahbubani, dean of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore, said last week that Clinton, if elected, has to unlearn many of her past instincts and develop new ones.

Trump's victory speech does contain encouraging messages, but he has not made a foreign policy speech, especially regarding China. It is still unknown who will become his secretary of state and national security advisor, and who will be the members of his foreign policy team.

The growing interdependence between the two largest economies and the huge potential for mutual cooperation are compelling reasons for the two countries to expand cooperation and better manage their differences.

The US needs to show more confidence in Asia-Pacific countries' wisdom and ability to solve their maritime territorial disputes through bilateral negotiations.

Many Washington pundits I talked to seem to have little confidence in Trump's ability in foreign policy, including US-China relations. I hope Trump upsets them too by demonstrating his ability to keep the relationship on a more stable and healthy track for the benefit of both countries, as well as the region and beyond.

**The author is deputy editor of China Daily USA.*

El lado positivo de Trump para China

Trump acusó a China de manipulador de su moneda y anunció medidas proteccionistas. Pero algunos de sus anuncios no podrían ser implementados y las empresas chinas pueden tener oportunidades en el plan de infraestructura que prometió el nuevo presidente.

[Trump's upsides for China: analysis](#)

By Du Mingming

People's Daily - 11/11/2016

To the surprise of people around the globe, Donald Trump beat Hillary Clinton to win the 2016 U.S. presidential election. Despite certain challenges, opportunities can be found in this upset to improve the China-U.S. relationship, experts pointed out at a seminar held by the Center of China and Globalization (CCG) on Nov. 10 in Beijing.

Trump claimed during his campaign that he would designate China as a "currency manipulator," imposing a 45 percent tariff on imported Chinese goods. He has also urged opposition to TPP and globalization.

Wang Huiyao, director of CCG, pointed out that Trump's campaign statements may not all be implemented, or may not be implemented fully, due to practical national and diplomatic concerns. After all, Trump is tasked with representing the will and interests of the entire nation. The main bilateral challenges therefore lie in the uncertainty of U.S. policies going forward, and the negative impact brought about by backtracking globalization.

According to Wang, trade is where China and the U.S. share the most common interests. Both countries have achieved tangible benefits through bilateral cooperation in the past. As important participants in and beneficiaries of globalization, both China and the U.S. should firmly support and lead the development of globalization, promoting the inclusive growth of all countries in the world.

An Gang, a senior editor and journalist at World Affairs, holds the view that Trump's promises to cut taxes for enterprises and return manufacturing jobs to the U.S. are likely to pose the most major obstacles for China-U.S. cooperation under his leadership. However, Trump also said he would improve the infrastructure of the U.S., and Chinese companies may have a chance to participate in this effort in the future, according to An.

Zhou Xiaojing, former director of the Asia-Africa Development Research Institute under the Development Research Center of China's State Council, also believes that Trump's success may bring more favorable than troubling news for China-U.S. relations. However, China should still make preparations and take measures to handle pressure on the RMB exchange rate and China-U.S. trade.

Qué significa para el futuro de las relaciones China-EE.UU. el ascenso de Trump al poder

Comienza un período de incertidumbre. Trump seguirá el camino de Ronald Reagan construyendo desde el poder. El Ejecutivo y el Congreso pueden aceptar las demandas del Pentágono de desplegar más fuerzas en Asia. Los asesores de Trump apoyan las relaciones de fuerza pero también el libre comercio.

[What Trump's rise to power means for the future of China-U.S. relations](#)

By Curtis Stone

People's Daily - 11/11/2016

The rise of Donald Trump has plunged the world into a period of deep uncertainty about the policies and impact of the next U.S. administration. For China, the big question is what U.S. foreign policy will look like with the next administration.

Nobody knows what to expect, and the deep uncertainty surrounding Trump has been compounded by his contradictory statements and lack of details on how he will address the world's problems. However, Beijing is confident that the world's most important bilateral relationship will remain strong. Soon after Trump's victory, Chinese President Xi Jinping congratulated the President-elect, and President Xi said he hoped they could work together to boost China-U.S. relations.

But despite the confidence, deep uncertainty remains.

A return to 1980 politics?

Trump views Ronald Reagan as "a truly great President," and he sees himself as the next Reagan, at least according to his tweets. The 2016 presidential election also shares some parallels with 1980. Presidential candidate Reagan claimed that America's strength was being eroded by President Jimmy Carter, and he blamed the President for destroying confidence in the nation's strength. In October 1980, presidential candidate Reagan gave a major speech entitled, "A Strategy for Peace in the 80s." Reagan argued that peace is made by economic, military, and strategic strength; and is lost when such strength disappears or is seen as disappearing. "We must build peace upon strength. There is no other way," Reagan said.

Trump will almost certainly follow Reagan's example. If so, Trump will place America's national interests over foreign policy and follow the axiom of "build peace through strength." But a striking difference remains. Reagan valued the bilateral relationship:

Our relationship with the Peoples Republic of China is in its beginning stages. It is one that can and will grow, and I repeat my intention to assist its rapid growth. There is an historic bond of friendship between the American and Chinese peoples, and I will work to amplify it wherever possible. Expanded trade, cultural contact and other arrangements will all serve the cause of preserving and extending the ties between our two countries.

Will Trump pivot away from the pivot?

It is unlikely that the pivot will fade under Trump. In fact, it will probably have a harder edge. The Pentagon has been pushing for a stronger military presence in the region, but has been constrained by the White House. After Trump is sworn into office, America will be under single-party rule for at least two years, because the Republican Party has control over the U.S. Congress. With Trump in office, the Pentagon could get its way. Trump has already stated his intention to increase defense spending, and his vision for national security includes adding 350 ships to the U.S. Navy. Increased military presence in the Asia-Pacific is likely.

No one knows how Trump will approach China, but we do know how some of those around him will approach China. In February 2012, Trump endorsed Mitt Romney for president not because he agreed with him on every issue, he tweeted, but “because he will get tough with China.” Shortly after the endorsement, Romney published a commentary entitled, “How I’ll Respond to China’s Rising Power.” The next day, Trump tweeted that Romney “gets the China problem.” Romney’s plan can be used as a proxy method to understand how Trump might respond to China. Romney argued that the inherent strength of the nation depends on three strengths: economy, military, and values; and that those three strengths must be restored and then applied in policy toward China. Trump’s approach should not differ greatly.

Trump’s inner circle will influence his thinking and push back when needed. Two of those people are Mike Pence, the vice-president elect, and James Woolsey, a former director for the CIA and a senior adviser to the President-elect on national security, defense, and intelligence.

Pence is a strong supporter of free trade and trade partnerships. According to Vote Smart, a website that provides information on candidates and elected officials, Pence voted yea for every free-trade agreement that came before him. At least two of the agreements favored freer trade with China. Pence voted to keep the U.S. in the World Trade Organization and to maintain China’s normal trade relations status with the U.S. in June 2001 and March 2005, respectively. His support for free trade and trade partnerships puts him at odds with Trump, who has vowed to scrap trade deals. In June 2016, Trump praised Britain for taking back their country during a trade speech in Pennsylvania. “Now it’s time for the American people to take back their future,” Trump said.

Woolsey's influence will loom large on China-U.S. relations. On November 10, he offered a peek at the future in an op-ed entitled, "Under Donald Trump, the U.S. Will Accept China's Rise – As Long as It Doesn't Challenge the Status Quo." Woolsey recognized China's leadership role, but also said that the balance of power in Asia depends on America's strength. He signaled major policy change. He called U.S. opposition to the formation of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank "a strategic mistake," and said that the new administration should warm up to the Belt and Road initiative. He expressed hope for a new agreement between the two sides. "I can...see the emergence of a grand bargain in which the U.S. accepts China's political and social structure and commits not to disrupt it in any way in exchange for China's commitment not to challenge the status quo in Asia," Woolsey said.

Deep uncertainty surrounds Trump, but that does not change the importance of the bilateral relationship. China and America depend on each other, so it is critically important for them to work together to strengthen the relationship. Pulling back would weaken America and create even more uncertainty. To make America stronger, Trump must strengthen the China-U.S. relationship by taking full advantage of its benefits, because America's strength depends on China's strength.

¿Por qué Trump es un fracaso de la democracia de los Estados Unidos?

El sistema bipartidista estadounidense no puede evitar los candidatos radicales. Gane o pierda Trump, afectó al sistema con su retórica. Al mismo tiempo la campaña sacó a la luz el lado oscuro de la sociedad norteamericana.

[Why Is Trump the Failure of the U.S. Democracy?](#)

By Zhang Zhixin*

China US Focus – 14/9/2016

The chaotic 2016 US presidential election has highlighted the defects of the US election system and the dysfunction of democracy. The new email-gate uncovered by the release of the Democratic National Committee emails stunned the world, and showed that the so called fair election is nothing more than a lie. Meanwhile, whether the outspoken and reckless real-estate mogul Donald Trump wins the race or not, he has irreversibly damaged the US democracy already.

First, if the new version of email-gate accurately revealed the black box of how party elites manipulated the presidential election, the game of US democracy should be questioned. Even if

their plots were not carried out, it astonished and alerted people outside the political circle. On the one hand, the party establishment and the Democratic National Committee violated the neutrality principle by working with the Hillary Clinton campaign team to help Clinton clinch the nomination. For this purpose, they attempted to attack her rival Bernie Sanders' ethnic identity as a Jew as well as his religion. They went so far as to plan cyber attacks on the supporters of Sanders. When the scandal was uncovered, the supporters of Sanders were furious but the candidate himself was calm, as if unsurprised by the shenanigans against him.

Meanwhile, the Democratic camp made great efforts to defame Trump by highlighting his discriminatory words against women, the disabled, the minority groups, his past bankruptcies, edgy temperament that Democrats said made him unfit to be the president. It is very interesting that this is actually the image the mainstream news media conveyed to the audience and readers. Such negative campaign strategy obviously has tarnished the so called fair and transparent election system in which Americans take pride. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton was never treated this way by the news media, although she also had numerous scandals that were difficult to shake off. What's more, when the email -gate was uncovered, the Obama administration and Clinton campaign team wasted no time condemning Russia as the black hand behind the scandal, which made people suspect they were trying to put the issue behind them by making Russia a scapegoat.

Second, the inherent defects of the US election system cannot prevent a radical candidate like Trump to win the primary election. The de facto two-party system and the winner-takes-all delegates counting system make the radical candidates more popular in the primary. Therefore, the moderate and rational candidates could not stand out without support from the more extreme voters in the early races. In the primary elections, the two party's national conventions can actually function as the goal-keeper. Together with the electoral college, the party's national conventions are designed to work as the cooling system, which was created by the founding fathers of the US to prevent a demagog from hijacking the public and winning the race. In fact, the Republican National Committee could easily have adjusted the rules and prevented controversial Trump from being nominated. However, the RNC chose not because the anti-establishment sentiment was so strong that the traditional candidates like Jeb Bush and Marco Rubio would have less chance to win, and the GOP could not find any capable alternative to replace Trump in such a short time. So they had to accept the hard reality and stand behind Trump to fight against Hillary Clinton.

Third, democracy had to yield to populism when the party was hijacked by the radical politician. The nomination of Trump clearly showed that GOP was not able to control the process of election. Nor could GOP abandon the radical candidate, but rather had to flow with the populist trend. Thus, democracy had been distorted and did not reflect the people's will, and they would not benefit from the result either. In the post-Cold War era, globalization has hastened the economic inequality. The financial crisis just made the middle class shrink and the lower classes

more discontent. Politically, ever since Clinton administration, party politics has widen the gap between the elites and the grassroots. Politicians made irresponsible promises for sake of election, but broke their word after being elected. It resulted in the overwhelming anti-establishment sentiment in this election year. Trump is very smart in making good use of the sentiment and succeeded in a hostile takeover of the Republican party.

Finally, no matter whether Trump wins the election or not, we are seeing the failure of US democracy. Even if he failed, which seems to be quite possible considering his drifting polls, he has irreversibly damaged the US democracy with his radical rhetoric. Meanwhile, Trump has forced Americans to face the inconvenient truth of their democracy and the dark side of US society. The discrimination against the minority groups, the disparity between the rich and the poor and the money politics would not disappear just because the mainstream chooses to ignore them. Because there is big donors' manipulation of the election, both party candidates called for reform of the campaign finance rules; and because there is the unchecked influence of interest groups upon the government's policy making, both candidates promised to restrain the lobbyists' role in the government. In the 2016 presidential election, the right wing and the left wing have reached one important consensus: That is, the special interest groups have "hijacked" the government and the US needs political reform.

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Cómo Estados Unidos y China pueden evitar mayores tensiones

En relación a Asia, Trump usó un lenguaje cáustico que permite generar la preocupación sobre una guerra comercial. Las relaciones se encaminan hacia mayores tensiones lo cual requiere actuar desapasionadamente y buscar acuerdos.

[How the United States and China Can Avoid Greater Tensions](#)

By Scott Kennedy*

Center for Strategic and International Studies – 10/11/2016

During the campaign Donald Trump talked about China and the Asia-Pacific region, often in caustic language, but he only gave little snippets of his potential policy toward the region. Greater tensions are highly likely, but not guaranteed.

A review of his statements and a recent essay in Foreign Policy by two of his advisers suggests a three-pronged approach. Priority number one will be to achieve a fairer commercial relationship with China. Continued access to the U.S. market will likely be conditioned on expanded access in China to U.S. imports and investment. Trump highlighted China's currency policies (and said he'd designate China as a currency manipulator), but he is equally concerned about the full range of Chinese industrial policies that put foreign firms at a disadvantage. Second, he will likely expand the U.S. naval fleet and press allies Japan and South Korea to provide greater financial support in order to continue receiving U.S. military protection. And third, Trump has shown little interest in nation building or in hinging the broader relationship with any country on its human rights record. He's spoken little about human rights, but his criticism of the American media, defense of torture, and caricature of Islam suggests a weak commitment to civil liberties, at least domestically if not internationally.

Given Trump's acerbic language and tone, there is good reason to worry that he may start a trade war with China, put strains on U.S. alliances, and ignore the rights of individuals and ethnic minorities in Asia. The consequences of rash impatience on economic and security affairs could threaten prosperity and peace in the Asia-Pacific region, and an inattention to human rights would legitimize poor governance practices.

It is critical that the Trump administration move cautiously and carefully in Asia once it takes office. The goals of expanded market access in China, greater burden sharing among allies, and avoiding entanglement from nation building are reasonable, but success will not be achieved by blindly riding roughshod over China and U.S. friends and allies or by dismissing the United States' existing regional and global commitments. U.S. industry, workers, and consumers have benefited—and still benefit—immensely from the post-World War II international architecture and from the United States' relationships with China, Japan, South Korea, and others in the region in ways that cannot be measured by a simple mathematical calculation.

How is China likely to respond? There will be an understandable inclination to see the worst in Trump's statements, responding brusquely to any signs of economic pressure, exploiting potential divisions between the United States and its allies, and feeling entirely unconstrained on domestic governance issues. This is doubly true given that China is in the early stages of its own leadership transition that will not conclude until late 2017 at the 19th Party Congress. That said, it would be in China's strategic interest to dissect Trump's messages dispassionately, to try to appreciate his core concerns, and to search for ways to address them that would be in both countries' interests and preserve as much cooperation as possible. Given the deeply felt sense of unfairness in the U.S.-China relationship and in globalization that pervades much of the American electorate and its incoming administration, a knee-jerk defensiveness by China would generate even greater hostility. Similarly, China should recognize that a sudden change in the United States' alliances and military presence in the region could unleash dynamics that create unforeseen consequences that leave China far less secure than it is now.

U.S.-China relations are likely headed for greater tensions. Deft diplomacy on both sides will be necessary to avoid the worst possible outcomes; in fact, it could help achieve a more balanced relationship that is more durable than currently appears to be the case. Prognosticators did not see Trump's election coming. Likewise, perhaps we should hesitate before concluding that a new era of U.S.-China unmitigated enmity and regional disorder is inevitable.

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China ganó la elección estadounidense

China ya no enfrentará la seguramente dura política de Hillary Clinton en Asia sino un presidente con poco conocimiento e influenciabile. Trump no va a presionar por los derechos humanos pero si avanza en el proteccionismo afectará la economía china, dependiente del mercado estadounidense.

[China Just Won The U.S. Election](#)

China's leaders are looking forward to a President Trump who offers less resistance and more hypocrisy. But Beijing's triumph may cost it in the end.

By James Palmer

Foreign Policy – 09/11/2016

The election of Donald Trump will be a disaster for anyone who cares about human rights, U.S. global leadership, and media freedom. That means it's a victory for Beijing, where as I write, the Chinese leaders near me in the palatial complex of Zhongnanhai are surely cracking open the drinks and making mean jokes.

There are four major victories for the Chinese leadership here, tempered by one possible fear. The first victory is the obvious one, the geopolitical victory; China no longer faces the prospect of Hillary Clinton, a tough, experienced opponent with a record of standing up to bullies. Instead, it faces a know-nothing reality TV star who barely seems aware that China has nuclear weapons, has promised to extort money from U.S. allies around China like South Korea and Japan, and has repeatedly undercut U.S. credibility as a defense partner. Trump is also exactly the kind of businessman who is most easily taken in by China – credulous, focused on the external-

ities of wealth, and massively susceptible to flattery. A single trip, with Chinese laying on the charm, could leave him as fond of China's strongmen as he is of Russia's Putin.

Countries like Vietnam, Myanmar, and the Philippines, uncertain about who to back in the contest for power in the Pacific, will swing massively China's way, preferring a country that keeps its promises to one that can turn on the pull of an electoral lever. The strongest U.S. allies, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan, no longer confident in the U.S. nuclear umbrella, will begin seriously considering other alternatives – like acquiring their own nuclear deterrent, prompting new tensions with China.

Generally, these developments will only embolden China. After the 2008 financial crisis, Beijing was convinced the world was going its way, resulting in a spate of overconfident military moves in southeast Asia which pushed some countries more firmly into the U.S. camp. Now China's confidence will return, and few in the region will have confidence in Washington's ability to provide shelter from China's nascent hegemony. Taiwan, already facing tough mainland rhetoric after electing anti-Beijing leader Tsai Ing-wen, will feel completely isolated – and perhaps be vulnerable to actual invasion – without the firm promise of U.S. protection.

The second victory is in the contest between authoritarianism and democracy. From a Chinese point of view, an electoral system that produces somebody like Trump – utterly inexperienced in governance but a skilled demagogue – is an absurdity, the equivalent of picking a major company's CEO through a horse race. In China, leaders need to be carefully chosen, groomed, and pushed, gaining experience at every level of the Communist Party system before being anointed for the top job. (That comes amid a flurry of brutally nasty and corrupt internal struggles at each level, mind you.)

China aspires toward the Singaporean model of carefully controlled elitism, a country in which Trump represents, in the words of one writer, everything they were taught to fear about democracy. The crudity of Trump's triumphant campaign gives credence to Chinese media's criticisms of a "chaotic political farce." The likely split between the popular vote and the Electoral College will only further the often-made case that U.S. democracy is a sham.

Trump himself has given every sign of governing like the authoritarian leaders China has favored from Myanmar to Zimbabwe. Every piece of paranoid security theater he has threatened, from a ban on Muslim immigration to the wall with Mexico, will be used by Beijing to justify its own myriad oppressions.

That leads to the third victory, on human rights. Every year, the United States puts out a report on China's human rights calamities – and every year China responds with its own report, a mixture of indignant bluster and genuine poking at American sore spots, from police treatment of minorities to the gender gap in pay. But under President Trump, Beijing's stockpiled ammunition against U.S. hypocrisy on human rights looks set only to grow, given his close ties to white

nationalist groups, the likely gutting of civil rights, and his supporters' attacks on the notion of press freedom. Any Western attempts to call out China's reassertion of traditional patriarchy, from the arrest of the Feminist Five to the Communist Party's absence of female leaders, can be countered with any number of references to the new groper-in-chief. Resurgent Republican homophobia will be a gut blow to China's gay rights movement. Calls for transparency in China's military spending and local government budgets can be met by pointing out the victory of a candidate who never even bothered to release his tax records. Racist violence, judging by the experience of Brexit and the composition of the Trump base and rhetoric, may see horrifying new peaks, which would give a brutal new credibility to the old Soviet whataboutism whenever they were challenged on the gulag: "But in America, you lynch Negroes."

That's assuming a Trump administration would even press China on human rights at all. Given Trump's often -expressed admiration for dictators ranging from Saddam Hussein to Vladimir Putin, and his call for isolationism in foreign affairs, China might find itself with a reliably quiet White House that would turn a blind eye to crackdowns in Xinjiang – or even Hong Kong.

And finally, the fourth victory is on media credibility. The almost unanimous condemnation of Trump by newspapers from across the political spectrum – to tragically little effect on the voters – will strengthen the case made by Chinese state media that Western media is biased and elitist.

When China wants to bash Trump, on the other hand, they'll point to the failure of TV news to call out his myriad failings.

Those are contradictory criticisms of Western media, of course, but Chinese state media has never balked at hypocrisy, so expect both points to sometimes be made in the same article (China has been quite happy bashing both the shortsightedness of referenda and the corruption of the EU over Brexit, for instance). Secondly, the failure by pollsters – even Nate Silver, though laudably uncertain compared to others, had Clinton as two-to-one favorite – will be used by China to cast doubt on the claims of experts across Western newspapers.

But there's one major worry that may mute the celebrations in Zhongnanhai. Although China regularly trashes the US, the country's growth has been dependent, ironically enough, on a strong, stable and prosperous United States willing to trade with the world. Globalization, as Chinese authors have repeatedly argued in the last few months, is vital for a country that needs the markets of others to keep pushing its population into the middle class and achieve the dream of being a "moderately prosperous" country by 2020.

If Trump actually follows through on his protectionist plans, and his decisions have the same effect on the United States as they have on his many failed businesses, China's own economy, already quivering, will start to shake. Beijing's ambitious plans to develop other global trade networks through the "One Road, One Belt" scheme may be able to compensate for that – or

may prove just as unstable in a rudderless world. China and the United States have often been compared to the two wings of the global economy; if one goes, they spiral down together.

Editor responsable del Boletín: Julio Sevares.