Abstract: 2016年美国总统选举前后，“俄罗斯因素”（the Russian factor）持续发酵，为中美俄大三角注入新的不确定因素。造成川普政府对华“战略傲慢”的原因不仅有物理方面的因素，也包涵美国外交理念中根深蒂固的“文明冲突”意识 (ideational)。川普外交战略中这一“中俄温差”表象的背后，不能排除其强烈美国/白人至上情结。它既是特朗普等“美国第一”论者的支柱，也是意识形态化的美国外交中最为执着、最为持久，但又被知识分子和媒体主流有意无意忽略甚至掩盖的一面。

From the campaign trail to the White House, Trump’s “Russia-kissing-and-China-kicking” rhetoric and actions have injected fresh impetus into the US-Russia-China triangle. To what extent does this brave new geo-politick—Trump style—reflect his own preferences and/or those of his foreign policy team (Lynn, Navarro)? Is there a “civilizational” factor in these very asymmetrical perceptions and policy propensities toward the two large Eurasian powers by the Trump administration and beyond? This is an attempt to examine the “civilizational factor” as part of the ideational constructs in America’s international relations (IR) and area studies (AS), and how they relate to policy making. A preliminary finding is that the once ubiquitous “civilizational,” or racial, origins in IR and AS—though they have largely disappeared from the contemporary intellectual discourse—continue to be part of the ideational matrix for both scholarly and policy worlds, albeit in a latent and unconscious mode.

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