



中国浦东干部学院博士文库（第二辑）

冷战后美国在亚太地区的 多边安全行为研究

余建军·著

A Study on the Multilateral Security Behavior of the United States in
the Asia-Pacific Region in the Post-Cold War Era



上海社会科学院出版社

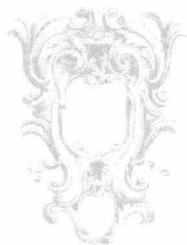


中国浦东干部学院博士文库（第二辑）

冷战后美国在亚太地区的 多边安全行为研究

余建军·著

A Study on the Multilateral Security Behavior of the United States in
the Asia-Pacific Region in the Post-Cold War Era



上海社会科学院出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

冷战后美国在亚太地区的多边安全行为研究/余建军
著. —上海:上海社会科学院出版社, 2008
(中国浦东干部学院博士文库. 第2辑)
ISBN 978-7-80745-286-7

I. 冷… II. 余… III. 美国对外政策-研究-亚太地区
IV. D871.20

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2008)第 150364 号

冷战后美国在亚太地区的多边安全行为研究

作 者: 余建军

责任编辑: 徐祝浩

封面设计: 闵 敏

出版发行: 上海社会科学院出版社

上海淮海中路 622 弄 7 号 电话 63875741 邮编 200020

<http://www.sassp.com> E-mail: sassp@sass.org.cn

经 销: 新华书店

印 刷: 上海惠顿实业公司印刷部

开 本: 890×1240 毫米 1/32 开

印 张: 10.125

插 页: 2

字 数: 273 千字

版 次: 2009 年 1 月第 1 版 2009 年 1 月第 1 次印刷

ISBN 978-7-80745-286-7/D · 054

定价: 25.00 元

版权所有 翻印必究



中国浦东干部学院博士文库
(第二辑)

中国浦东干部学院博士文库编委会

主 任：冯 俊

副主任：王金定 崔玉宝 陈伟利 夏健明

成 员：（以姓氏笔画为序）

王金定 冯 俊 刘靖北 成旦红 宋 今 何立胜 张生新

陈伟利 郑金洲 周曦民 姜海山 赵荣根 奚洁人 夏健明

崔玉宝 萧炳南

总 序

P R E F A C E

创办中国浦东、井冈山、延安干部学院，是党中央从推进中国特色社会主义伟大事业和党的建设新的伟大工程全局出发作出的一项重大决策。

中国浦东干部学院自2005年3月正式开办以来，按照胡锦涛总书记提出的联系实际创新路、加强培训求实效的指示精神，秉承实事求是、与时俱进、艰苦奋斗、执政为民的办学要求，以把学院办成中国共产党领导骨干的信念教育和开放教育基地、全国干部教育培训体制改革创新基地、中国干部教育培训国际化基地为目标，努力探索干部教育培训的浦东模式，取得了较为突出的业绩，正在向世界一流的执政党骨干和国家公务员培训学院的方向稳步迈进。

办好一所学院的关键是教师。人才是事业之本，人才兴则事业兴、事业旺。“所谓大学者，非大楼之谓也，有大师之谓也”，这句话对中国浦东干部学院来讲同样有指导意义。中国浦东干部学院汇集了一批优秀的教师，他们当中，既有国外学成归来的学子，也有来自国内著名高校、科研机

构的青年才俊。他们有火热的创业激情,有对干部教育培训事业的执著和热爱。他们大多拥有博士学位,在自己所属的学科领域已崭露头角。这支队伍是建设好中国浦东干部学院的人才支持和智力保证。为他们搭建平台,促进他们成长,引领他们发展,是学院义不容辞的职责。

支撑一所学院的基础是学术。学院之称,有学科、学养、学理之意蕴。没有了学术,学院也就失却了原动力和根基。中国浦东干部学院创办以来,坚决贯彻并创造性地执行中央的战略决策和一系列办学要求,明确了教育培训、科学研究、咨询服务、领导测评、网络教育五位一体的功能定位,突出强调了学术研究、学科建设在学院发展中的重要地位。整合学术资源、加强学科建设对学院发展至关重要。

体现一所学院办学水平的重要标志是品牌。品牌汇集了办学的智慧,凝聚了办学的精华,同时也提升了学院的美誉度。中国浦东干部学院以问题为核心,以能力为导向,以现场教学资源为依托,自创办以来培训了大批学员,培训成果显著,一批具有较高质量的课程品牌、教学品牌正在形成。从一所学院的发展来看,既要有教学的品牌,也要有科研的品牌;既要有品牌学员,也要有品牌教员;而这一切都需要长期积累。求木之长必先固其本。积累品牌素材,探寻品牌来源,滋养品牌发展,是学院发展的长远大计。

基于上述认识,我们组织出版了这套中国浦东干部学院博士文库。入选文库的书稿均为学院青年教研人员的博

士学位论文,并经过了严格的“双盲”评审。作者根据评审意见和所论问题的发展以及研究的深化,都进行了认真修改,可以说基本反映了所论问题的学科前沿。我们希望,这套分辑出版的文库能开启和激励我们的后续研究,促进学院自身研究特色和学术传统的形成,促进相关学科领域的建设,促进学术交流与繁荣。

文库的出版得到了上海社会科学院出版社领导和编辑同志的鼎力支持和帮助,借此表示诚挚谢意。同时,对为文库的建设作出贡献的评审专家和付出辛劳的同志表示诚挚的感谢。

文库中存在的不足,敬恳广大读者批评指正。

中国浦东干部学院博士文库编委会

2008年10月

ABSTRACT

This paper makes a specific study on the multilateral security behaviors of the US in the Asia-Pacific region in the Post-Cold War era, aiming to make clear: 1) what kind of multilateral security arrangements the US prefers, 2) what are the patterns and dynamics of America's multilateral security behaviors, and 3) how the security role of the US has changed.

The study features the following: First, "multilateral security behavior", the concept for analysis, is originally defined and employed to describe how the US has managed to achieve its security benefits and goals in the Asia-Pacific region by engaging in and establishing multilateral security arrangements. Second, region, rather than the traditional "Three Images", is targeted as the level of analysis, with a view to explaining regional security matters from regional perspective. Third, significant amendments and supplements are made to John G. Ruggi's theory of multilateralism, upon which the paper is based. Finally, in terms of research methods, this paper employs both traditional ones like historical, qualitative and comparative methods and modern tools such as text analysis, quantitative

method and case study.

This paper is divided into six sections, including Main Body (five chapters) and Conclusion.

The purposes of Chapter One are: 1) defining the research subject; 2) explaining the significances of this research; 3) raising the research questions; 4) reviewing the relevant literatures on this study; and 5) elaborating the theoretical tools and research methods employed in this paper.

Chapter Two mainly deals with the multilateral security conceptions and practices in the Asia-Pacific region. The author first makes a new and broad definition of "multilateral security" and identifies five multilateral security patterns in theoretical rather than empirical terms, among which common security and cooperative security are the important ideational basis for the multilateral security cooperation in this region. Then follows the historical investigation of the multilateral security initiatives and efforts made by the Asia-Pacific nations, particularly by the US, with the two cases of "the Pacific Ocean Pact" and SEATO as a focus of study. Finally, according to the redefined concept of "multilateral security" and the reestablished standards, the author sorts out some governmental and non-governmental multilateral security arrangements emerging and existing in the Asia-Pacific region after the Cold War, and analyzes them one by one.

In Chapter Three, after making a general study on America's multilateral behaviors, the author looks specifically into the multilateral security behaviors of the US in the Asia-Pacific

region in the Post-Cold War era. Vertically different American administrations have different attitudes and approaches to the multilateral security dialogue and cooperation; horizontally the US shows a preference for the multilateral security, which is treated as one of means of its security presence in the Asia-Pacific region. Finally, the author discusses two models of the multilateral security behaviors of the US: participating and establishing.

Chapter Four and Chapter Five consist of case studies, focusing on ASEAN Regional Forum and the Six-Party Talks. Chapter Four investigates empirically America's attitudes towards and behaviors within ARF and explains theoretically the driving forces behind America's participation in ARF. In Chapter Five, the author first analyzes the unilateral, bilateral and multilateral approaches actually and potentially taken by the US in solving the North Korea nuclear issue, and then makes a specific study on the Six-Party Talks and the dynamics behind America's behaviors.

Finally, this paper comes to three conclusions. 1) The US prefers the multilateral security arrangements with functional substance and institutionalized form. 2) Generally, the US has needs for multilateral security in the Asia-Pacific region in the Post-Cold War era. Nevertheless, in contrast with its ambivalence in participating the existing multilateral security arrangements, the US has deliberately sought to initiate some multilateral security efforts with intended goals and tactic calculations. 3) Within the new multilateral security framework, America's freedom of action has been constrained and its security role has been transformed from leadership to partnership.

目 录

CONTENTS

第一章 绪 论	001
一、研究对象的界定	001
二、研究意义与问题	009
三、研究现状	012
四、研究理论与方法	023
第二章 亚太地区的多边安全:理念与实践	041
一、多边安全:概念与模式	041
二、冷战时期亚太地区的多边安全:历史考察与理论解释	053
三、冷战后亚太地区的多边安全:第一轨道和第二轨道	072
第三章 冷战后美国在亚太地区的多边安全行为	097
一、冷战后美国的多边主义行为:整体的考察	097
二、冷战后美国在亚太地区的多边安全行为:纵向的考察	108
三、冷战后美国在亚太地区的多边安全行为:横向的考察	122
第四章 参与行为:美国和东盟地区论坛	139
一、东盟地区论坛:目标、议题与运作方式	139
二、美国和东盟地区论坛:实证视角	150
三、美国和东盟地区论坛:理论视角	161

第五章 创设行为:美国和六方会谈	176
一、朝核问题	176
二、美国解决朝核问题的手段选择	190
三、美国和六方会谈	217
结论	240
一、美国的多边安全偏好:功能性实质和制度化形式	240
二、美国的多边安全行为模式:参与和创设	242
三、美国的安全角色:从领导者到合作伙伴	244
附录 1 冷战后亚太地区多边安全事件“月历表”(1999~2003)	248
附录 2 朝核问题与六方会谈相关资料	262
附录 3 专有名词缩写及中英文全称	278
参考文献	282
后 记	303



CONTENTS

Chapter 1	Introduction	001
Section 1	Defining the Research Subject	001
Section 2	Research Significances and Questions	009
Section 3	Research Literatures Review	012
Section 4	Research Theories and Methods	023
Chapter 2	The Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific Region: Ideation and Practices	041
Section 1	Multilateral Security: Conception and Patterns	041
Section 2	The Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific Region During the Cold War Period: Historical Investiga- tion and Theoretical Explanation	053
Section 3	The Multilateral Security in the Asia-Pacific Region In the Post-Cold War Era; the First and Second Track	072
Chapter 3	The Multilateral Security Behaviors of the US in the Asia-Pacific Region In the Post-Cold War Era	097

Section 1	The Multilateralism Behavior of the US In the Post-Cold War Era; A General Investigation	097
Section 2	The Multilateral Security Behaviors of the US in the Asia-Pacific Region In the Post-Cold War Era; A Vertical Investigation	108
Section 3	The Multilateral Security Behaviors of the US in the Asia-Pacific Region In the Post-Cold War Era; A Horizontal Investigation	122
Chapter 4	Participating Behaviors; the US and the ASEAN Regional Forum	139
Section 1	The ASEAN Regional Forum; Goal, Agenda and Working Way	139
Section 2	The US and the ASEAN Regional Forum; An Empirical Perspective	150
Section 3	The US and the ASEAN Regional Forum; A Theoretical Perspective	161
Chapter 5	Establishing Behaviors; the US and the Six-Party Talks	176
Section 1	The North Korea Nuclear Issue	176
Section 2	The Approaches of the US to the North Korea Nuclear Issue	190
Section 3	The US and the Six-Party Talks	217
Conclusion		240
Section 1	The US' Multilateral Security Preference; Functional Substance and Institutional Form	240

Section 2	The US' Multilateral Security Behaviors Pattern: Participating and Establishing	242
Section 3	The US' Security Role: From Leadership to Partnership	244
Appendix 1	The Calendar of the Multilateral Security Events in the Asia-Pacific Region in the Post-Cold War Era	248
Appendix 2	The Documents on the North Korea Nuclear Issue	262
Appendix 3	The Abbreviations of Terminologies and their Chinese and English full name	278
Bibliography		282
Postscript		303



第一章 绪 论

自第二次世界大战以来,美国在国际层面以及欧洲等地区有着半个多世纪的多边安全实践。与此形成鲜明对比的是,冷战时期美国在亚太地区一直维持着双边的安全联系与合作。一些国际性的多边安全条约、协定、组织或机制确实部分地“覆盖”了这个地区,美国也尝试过将成功的多边安全安排(如北约的集体防务制度)“移植”过来,但直到冷战结束后,亚太地区才出现真正意义上的多边安全对话与合作。

显然,美国也许可以借鉴其在国际层面和欧洲等地区积累的多边安全经验,来应对亚太地区出现的多边安全进程;它也可以按照它所理解和熟悉的多边安全模式,在亚太地区创设新的多边安全安排,以构建它所期望的地区安全秩序。但是,美国既有的多边安全经验能够起到多大的指导作用,美国的多边安全设想能够在多大程度上得以实现,这是令人怀疑的。即便不能说亚太地区是“例外”,也有足够的理由认为亚太地区是特殊的。无论是对于美国政策制定者还是对于国际关系分析家,冷战后美国在亚太地区所进行的多边安全实践是一个新的事物:美国政策制定者需要具有新的思路,国际关系分析家需要进行新的思考。

一、研究对象的界定

对于整项研究工作而言,对研究对象进行界定的意义不仅仅在于使研究具有可操作性,而且直接关系到研究的科学性,因为其中所涉及