



俄罗斯 国家利益观的 嬗变

陈宪良

著

ЭВОЛЮЦИЯ
РОССИЙСКИХ
ВЗГЛЯДОВ
НА
НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ
ИНТЕРЕСЫ

国家利益观决定外交政策
从叶利钦、普京到梅德韦杰夫
俄罗斯的国家利益观经历了怎样的变化
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摘 要

维护国家利益是一个国家制定和推行对外政策的基本依据，是其开展对外活动的出发点和归宿。理论上，一个国家的内外政策由其国家利益决定。但实际上，国家的外交政策是由该国的国家利益观决定的。国家利益观是一个国家的统治集团判定本国国家利益的基本价值观，是其代表国民通过各种途径和手段来维护和实现国家利益的方法论。国家利益是一种客观存在，具有客观性。国家利益观则是对这种客观存在的主观认知。国家利益一经人们的认知，便可能出现偏差。这种偏差有时会导致决策者为维护其认知的利益而采取未必能够真正维护本国利益的手段。因此，能否准确地判断国家利益，是一个国家是否能够正确制定外交政策的基础。

国家利益观的形成主要由主客观两方面因素决定。主观方面，主要受国家发展方向的选择、对本国在国际舞台上的定位、决策者对国际形势的研判及实现国家利益的主要依靠手段等因素的影响；客观方面，受国家所处的国际环境、国家的自身实力及所处时代的科技水平等因素影响。另外，一个国家的民族特性和地理环境及领导人的个性特点也是影响该国国家利益观变化的重要因素。

本书力图从俄罗斯国家利益观嬗变的角度对其独立以来的外交政策进行解读，同时，简要地分析俄罗斯国家利益观嬗变给中俄关系及中国和平发展战略的推行带来何种影响。全文包括导论、正文和结语部分。

第一章分析了国家利益与国家利益观及二者的关系。本章对国家利益和国家利益观的概念进行界定，区分二者差异。着重阐述决定国家利益观的四个基本要素，简要介绍俄罗斯独立以来国家利益观变化的几个阶段。

第二章对“一边倒”时期俄罗斯的国家利益观及其外交政策进行分析。俄罗斯将国家的发展方向确定为走西方民主道路。此时，俄罗斯认可美国在西方世界的领导地位，甘当美国的“小兄弟”。“亲西方派”力图快速恢复国民经济，尽早融入西方文明社会，把经济复苏的期望寄托在西方发达国家的援助之上。在这个阶段，俄罗斯以谋求西方民主式发展道路为途径，希望国家顺利实现转轨；谋求同西方发达国家建立平等的伙伴关系，希望尽快成为世界强国；为了给国家经济发展创造良好的国际环境，俄罗斯通过加强与西方国家合作的方式实现国家利益。本章从该阶段俄罗斯的国家利益观角度，针对俄罗斯外交行为中的具体事例进行分析，认为该时期俄罗斯外交理想化色彩浓重，以意识形态划线，实行向西方国家“一边倒”的外交政策，导致俄罗斯国家利益受损。

第三章对多极化外交时期俄罗斯的国家利益观进行分析。在该阶段，由于以美国为首的西方国家对俄罗斯的经济援助“口惠而实不至”，弱俄、遏俄的意图日渐明显且不断挤压俄罗斯的地缘战略空间，俄罗斯被迫放弃“一边倒”政策，开始竭力谋求成为多极化世界中强大的一极。该阶段俄罗斯的国家利益观是：继续推进政治民主化、经济自由化以确保国家改革成果；谋求建立多极化世界，维护其大国地位；视北约东扩及地区分离主义为主要威胁。俄罗斯力图谋求成为多极化世界中的强大一极，不再唯美国等西方国家马首是瞻，开始与西方国家在北约东扩、俄美核裁军和科索沃等一些重大问题上展开斗争。但俄罗斯的目标和手段与其自身实力失衡，导致其国家利益受到损害。

第四章主要阐述谋求与西方建立反恐合作伙伴关系时期的国家利益观及其对外交政策的影响。普京接任总统后，俄罗斯的国家利益观突出以经济利益为核心的特点。其外交策略比叶利钦时期显得灵活、务实。“9·11”事件发生后，俄罗斯积极支持美国进行反恐战争，谋求与西方国家建立反恐的合作伙伴关系，从而为国家经济发展营造一个和平稳定的国际环境。不过，此时俄罗斯国家利益受到的损害，更多是“两害相权取其轻”。总之，普京在第一任期不再为维护其虚幻的大国地位而与美国等西方国家进行抗争，而是采取“妥协方式”为国家营造一个相对稳定与平和的国际环境。

第五章主要阐述谋求自主外交政策时期俄罗斯的国家利益观及其对外交政

策的影响。为了维护国家利益,抵制来自美国等西方国家的压力,俄罗斯在许多问题上与以美国为首的西方国家针锋相对。随着实力的增强,俄罗斯对美国等西方国家进行外交反击。乌克兰发生“颜色革命”后,俄罗斯意识到,西方国家遏俄、弱俄之心依然强烈。为防止国内自由思潮影响国家经济发展,俄罗斯加强了政府对国家政权的控制力度,提出了“主权民主”思想。俄美两国的关系因美国欲在中东欧地区部署反导防御系统而急剧恶化,双方在一系列问题上针锋相对。俄罗斯认识到,只有按照自己的独特道路行进,俄罗斯才能真正走上强国之路。

第六章分析了梅德韦杰夫担任总统后俄罗斯的国家利益观及其外交政策。美国在中东欧部署反导防御系统,格鲁吉亚欲武力统一国土后加入北约,这些都给俄罗斯的安全利益造成巨大威胁。为了维护国家安全利益,梅德韦杰夫以前所未有的强硬态度予以应对:出兵格鲁吉亚、宣布在加里宁格勒州部署“伊斯坎德尔”导弹。在美国等西方国家威胁对俄罗斯进行制裁时,俄罗斯适时表示可能打出能源和航天器的牌,令美国等西方国家不敢轻率行事。为了尽快摆脱经济危机,俄罗斯又积极调整与欧美国家的关系,与美国最终在削减战略武器的问题上达成协议。同时,俄罗斯加强了与金砖国家、东南亚国家的关系,进而扩大了其在国际上的影响力。在同日本领土争端的问题上,梅德韦杰夫态度强硬,成为第一个视察北方领土的国家领导人。从梅德韦杰夫处理问题的方式和手段,可以看出其务实、灵活的外交风格。

第七章阐述了中国的和平发展战略及俄罗斯国家利益观的嬗变对中俄关系及中国和平发展的影响。和平发展道路的选择既是对中国及世界以往经验教训总结的结果,也是对中国传统文化的承袭,是中国发展的必然选择。叶利钦执政时期,中俄关系经历了冷淡、友好和蜜月几个阶段。普京执政时期中俄关系虽有起伏,但总体相对平稳。梅德韦杰夫执政的四年里,中俄关系稳步发展,达到历史最好水平。俄中关系的这种变化主要是源于俄罗斯不同阶段的国家利益观发生了变化。纵观俄罗斯的对华政策,可以说,两国关系总体呈上升态势,基本上有利于中国和平发展战略的实施。但在此期间,两国关系也出现过反复,主要是因为两国间尚存在猜忌,此外还有两国利益相左等因素。

结论部分指出,任何国家利益的判定均受国内、国际、民族和文化等多方

面因素的影响，同时也受该国领导人的性格、判断力及思维模式等因素的影响。俄罗斯作为一个强势总统的国家，国家领导人的个人意志对国家内外政策的影响相对更大。另外，俄罗斯的国家利益观之所以发生很大变化，还同俄罗斯与美国等西方国家的相互认知、双方对对方行为的解读有着密切的关系。将对方的防范政策解读为进攻政策，是俄罗斯与西方国家关系恶化的一个重要原因。俄罗斯作为国际社会的一个大国和中国的最大陆邻国家，其外交政策的调整将给中国带来一定的影响，处理好与俄罗斯的关系，将是中国推行和平发展战略的重要举措。只有了解俄罗斯、了解俄罗斯的国家利益观，我们才能够及时采取措施，规避风险，维护中国的国家利益。

关键词：国家利益 国家利益观 俄罗斯 中国 和平发展

Abstract

Maintaining the national interest is both one of the fundamental principals for one country in formulating and implementing its foreign policy, and is the starting point and ultimate goal in its foreign activities. In theory, the national interest decides one country's domestic and foreign policies. Nevertheless, one country's foreign policy is, in reality, always dependent on its concept of national interest. The national interest is objective because whenever one tries to explain it, misunderstandings may arise. Such misunderstandings will inevitably make decision-makers, with the goal of upholding the national interest grounded in the understanding of their own, adopt measures that don't always necessarily contribute to their national interest.

The concept of national interest is both one of the fundamental concepts for one country's ruling group in defining its national interest, and is one kind of methodology with which the ruling group, in the name of people, maintains and realizes its national interest by various methods and means. The national interest is objective, the country's concept is the subjective of objective existence. Whenever one tries to explain it, misunderstandings may arise. Such misunderstandings will inevitably make decision-makers, with the goal of upholding the national interest grounded in the understanding of their own, adopt measures that don't always necessarily contribute to their national interest. Therefore, whether or not the national interest accurately can be judged is the base that a country can formulate its foreign policy correctly.

The formulating of concept of the national interest mainly depends on two factors: Objectively, it is influenced by international circumstances, national strengths, and level of scientific and technological development; Subjectively, one country's orientation for its development, choices of its role in international arena, judgement for the international situation, and means by which one country realizes its national interest, all of these may make impacts on formulating of concept of the national interest. In addition, one country's ethnic characteristics, geological circumstances, and character of its rulers may also be one of the most important determinants of its concept of national interest.

This book explores Russia's foreign policy from the perspective of the evolution of Russia's concept of its national interest since it gets independent. The book includes such seven parts as introduction, main text, and conclusion.

The first chapter analyzes the relationship of national interest and the concept of national interest. In this chapter, I define the terms of national interest and concept of national interest and make a distinction between the both. Furthermore, I make an emphasis on the four basic determinants of the concept of national interest, and briefly introduce the several development stages of Russia's concept of national interest since its independence.

The second chapter makes an analysis of Russia's concept of national interest and its foreign policy in the period of "Russia's totally leaning to the West". In this period, Russia chose the West mode as its development path, acknowledged America's leadership in world affairs, and was willing to be one of America's "little brothers". The "Pro-west" group in Russia tried to recover Russian economy quickly, would like to be integrated into the Western Community as soon as possible, relying on the western countries to realize its economic recovery. In this same period, Russia wished to push forward its transitional process smoothly by following the development path of the West; wished to be one of the major powers as soon as possible by seeking to establish equal partnership with the developed countries in the West; wished to secure an favorable international environment for its

domestic economic development by strengthening its cooperation with the West. From the perspective of Russia's concept of national interest in this period, the chapter analyzes Russia's diplomatic behavior by case studies and concludes that Russia's foreign policy in this period was too idealistic and excessively emphasized ideology. Russia's foreign policy of "totally leaning to the West" in this period impaired its national interest.

The third chapter points out that Russia had to begin reorienting its foreign policy from "totally leaning to the West" to "seeking to be one of the major poles in a multi-polar world", because the western countries led by the U. S. had not actually followed their promises of providing economic aids for Russia and were constantly pressing Russia's strategic space. In this period, Russia preserved its reform fruits by continued pursuing its liberal democracy; strengthened its status of being one of the major powers by seeking to establish a multi-polar world; and viewed NATO's eastward expansion and regional separatism as its major threats. This chapter indicates that Russia began seeking to be one of the major poles in a multi-polar world, was not willing to be submitted to the western countries' leadership, and began its struggle with the western countries on such significant issues as NATO's eastward expansion, nuclear disarmament between Russia and the U. S. , and the Kosovo conflict, etc. However, Russia's national interest had been hurt because of the imbalance between the goals of Russia's foreign policy and its national strengthen.

The fourth chapter mainly illustrates Russia's concept of national interest and foreign policy in the period that Russia sought to establish the anti-terrorism partnership with the West. Since Putin took office, Russia's concept of national interest demonstrated the characteristic of having the economic interest as its central consideration and Russia's foreign strategy was more flexible and realistic than that of Yeltsin administration. In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, Russia provided active supports for the U. S. anti-terrorist war and sought to establish an anti-terrorist partnership with the West, with the goal of securing a peaceful and stable outside environment for its domestic economic development. This chapter points out that in

this period Russia improved its relations with the U. S. by supporting America's anti-terrorism war. However, Russia's concession had made its geopolitical situation deteriorate further. Nevertheless, The loss of Russia's national interest in this period was, for the most part, to choose the lesser between the two worst. All in all, in Putin's first tenure, Russia no longer struggled with the West to preserve its illusionary status of being a great power, rather, in most cases, Russia had pursued a "means of compromise", so as to create a relatively stable and harmonious international environment for its domestic development.

The fifth chapter mainly illustrates Russia's concept of national interest and foreign policy in the period that Russia sought independent diplomacy. In order to preserve its own national interest and resist the pressure from the West which was led by the U. S. , Russia had begun firmly struggling with the West on many issues involved. With the strengthening of its national power, Russia had begun countering the West. The "Color Revolution" happened in Ukraine had made Russia realized the western countries' intention of containing and weakening Russia was still intense. To prevent the extreme liberal trend of thought hinder its economic development, the Putin administration strengthened its control of domestic politics and put forward the so-called "sovereign democracy". The Russia-U. S. bilateral relationship was rapidly worsened because America planned to deploy the anti-missile defensive system in central and east Europe. Given all of this, Russia recognized that only by developing in its own way, Russia can move into a road of peace and prosperity.

Chapter six analyzes national interests and diplomatic policy since Medvedev became president of Russia. The United States deployed anti-missile defense system in Middle Eastern Europe, and Georgia wanted to join NATO after unify the homeland through the use of force. These pose a great threat to Russia, in order to safeguard national security interests, Medvedev countered it at an unprecedented hardball. He sent troops to Georgia, and then deployed Iskander in Kaliningrad Oblast. Facing the threat of sanctions from the United States and other Western countries, Russia plays the energy and spacecraft, and the United States and other Western countries can not

react rashly. in order to get rid of the economic crisis as soon as possible, Russia has actively adjust the relationship with the United States and European countries, and finally came to an agreement with the United States on the reduction of strategic weapons. Meanwhile, Russia strengthened relations with the BRICs countries and Southeast Asian countries to expand its influence. On the issue of territorial disputes with Japan, Medvedev took a tough stance, became the first national leader who visited the northern territory. From the above, we can find out pragmatic and flexible is Medvedev's diplomatic style.

Chapter seven expounds China's peaceful development strategy, and the change of the Russian national interest on two country's relations and the influence of China's peaceful development. It points out that the choice of peaceful development is the results of summing up the past experience lessons in China and world, is the heritage of Chinese traditional culture, and is the inevitable choice of China's development. During Yeltsin years, China-Russia relations experienced several cool, friendly and honeymoon phase. During the administration of Putin, though the relations were ups and downs, but overall relatively stable. In Medvedev's four years, China-Russia relations were developing steadily, achieved the best level in history. The reason of relations change is mainly due to Russia's national interest's change at different stages. Throughout Russia's policy towards China, in general, the relations between two countries on the rise, it is basically conducive to the implementation of the strategy of China's peaceful development. But there was capriciousness appeared, the main reason is suspicion and contradiction of national interests.

The conclusion part points out that any judgment of national interest is affected by various factors such as domestic, international, ethnic, and cultural ones, as well as the character of one country's top leader, his capability to make judgment, and his mode of thought. In Russia, the top leader's personality will has made more influences on its domestic and foreign policy because its president was more dominant and powerful than that of others. What's more, the dramatic changes in Russia's concept of national interest were related to inter-perceptions between Russia and the

West, and their respective understanding of the behavior of each other. The misunderstanding of other countries' defensive policy as threats to its own national interest was one of the main reasons why the relationship between Russia and the West worsened. As a large country and the biggest one next to China, Russia's foreign policy adjustment will influence China, handling the relationship between Russia will be the important strategic initiatives of China's peaceful development. Only if understand Russia, understand the national interest of Russia, then we can take measures in time, avoid risk, protect China's national interest.

Keywords: National Interest; Concept of National Interest; Russia; China; Peaceful Development

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导 论

一 选题来源及理论和实践意义

（一）选题来源

利益原则是国家间相互交往的一条基本原则，是国家处理对外关系的出发点和归宿，也是各国关系纵横交错的原因所在和国家间确定敌友关系的基本标准。在当今世界政治生活中，各国均以国家利益为准绳，不断调整本国的内外政策。但对于究竟什么是国家利益、怎样才能更好地维护本国的国家利益，学术界和政界众说纷纭、莫衷一是。从大部分观点中，可以梳理出两种主要观点：一种认为“国家利益”是客观存在的，不随人们意志而转移；另一种认为“国家利益”是主观认知与客观存在两者结合的产物。本文认为，国家利益对于一个国家而言本身是客观存在的，它不以人们的主观意志为转移，但可以随着时间和国内外环境的改变而不断变化。不同国家的国家利益存在差异，同一个国家在不同时期国家利益的具体内容也不尽相同。而国家利益观则是主观的，它是人们对国家利益的主观认知。

众所周知，对于执政者来说，在对内、对外政策中，其行动的准绳应该是国家利益，但对于什么是国家利益、怎样判定其国家利益，在不同时期，甚至同一个时期，不同的人看法也不尽相同。对国家利益判定的不同自然使当权者产生不同的执政理念，也必然导致不同的执政侧重点，从而引起国家内外政策的变化。

很多人认为，判定一国的国家利益比较容易。但是事实证明并非如此。实