

构建长期稳定、合作的中美战略关系

Building Toward a Stable and Cooperative Long-Term U.S.-China Strategic Relationship

> 黎弘 〔美〕刘易斯·邓恩 〔美〕拉尔夫·科萨 主编 Li Hong Lewis Dunn Ralph Cossa



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出版说明

《构建长期稳定、合作的中美战略关系》论文集是中美两国学界 2012 年一项联合研究项目的产物。该项目由中国军控与裁军协会、美国战略与国际问题研究所太平洋论坛和美国科学应用国际公司联合举办。中美双方各有八位国际问题资深专家参与撰文,并举行了所谓"2轨"研讨会。本文集共收录了 16 篇论文,以飨读者。

中美关系是当今世界上最重要、最具活力和最具潜力的的双边关系之一,也是最具代表性的新兴大国与守成大国关系之一。

构建健康、稳定的中美关系,不仅符合两国人民的根本利益,而且对于 共同应对挑战,促进世界和平、安全、繁荣也十分重要。21 世纪全球性挑战 层出不穷,世界各国相互依存不断加深,对和平、发展与合作的需求增强。 中美在事关全球稳定与繁荣的众多重大问题上,拥有广泛的合作基础,肩负 重要的共同责任。两国应进一步培育和深化双边战略互信,加强协调与 合作。

毋庸讳言,中美之间既有共同点,也因重大利益和观念不同而有所分歧。双方应从战略高度和长远视野把握两国关系,尊重彼此重要利益,照顾彼此重大关切,加强各层次的实质性对话和沟通,以减少误解、误读、误判,增进了解和互信,扩大合作,推动中美关系持续、健康、稳定地发展。

本文集的内容主要涉及对中美两国在政治、安全、军备与军控(核、外空、导弹、网络等)领域构建战略互信关系的探讨。双方学者各抒己见,既

有共识,也有不同见解,提出了一些新思路和具体建议。这些观点虽然只是 智库学者们的个人意见,但仍不失为各方决策机制的有益参考。其实,这也 正是我们作为非政府组织和智库的价值和职责所在。

在此,我们衷心感谢参与撰文的各位作者,他们的辛勤和严谨为本书的 质量提供了保障。同时,我们也向协会秘书处为组织英文文本的翻译以及世 界知识出版社的领导和编辑人员所做的大量工作一并致谢。

中国军控与裁军协会 2013年3月于北京

Publisher's Note

This collection of papers on "Building Towards a Stable and Cooperative U. S. — China Strategic Relationship" is the fruit of the joint study project conducted by the Chinese and American academic circles in 2012. The project was jointly sponsored by China Arms Control and Disarmament Association (CACDA), the Pacific Forum CSIS as well as Science Applications International Corporation (SAIC). Eight senior experts on international issues from each country contributed papers and held a Track II seminar. This collection incorporates all 16 papers, which, we wish, may cater to the readers.

In today's world, China—U. S. relationship stands as one of the most important bilateral relations bearing the greatest vitality and potentiality, and is likewise one of the most representative cases manifesting the relations between the emerging and the established powers.

Building a healthy and stable China—U. S. relationship is not only in line with the interests of the peoples of both countries, but is also extremely important for the two countries to jointly respond to challenges and promote world peace, security and prosperity. In the 21st century, the global challenges come out in an unending flow and the interdependence between states becomes deeper and deeper, which naturally results in growing demands for peace, development and cooperation. China and the U.S. share extensive grounds of cooperation on numerous vital issues and accordingly bear common responsibilities of great

magnitude. The two countries should further nurture and deepen their strategic muyual trust and strengthen their coordination and cooperation.

There is no need to deny the fact that China and the U. S. share both common grounds and differences as a result of their divergence in some major interests and values. Therefore, both countries ought to treat their relationship from the strategic height and with a long-term vision, respect each other's major interests, give consideration to each other's major concerns. They should step up substantial dialogue and communication at various levels so as to curtail misunderstanding, misreading and misjudgment and to build up understanding and mutual trust, and should expand their cooperation, in order to promote the development of the Sino – U. S. relations in a lasting, healthy and smooth way.

The contents of this collected works mainly relate to the discussions on building strategic mutual trust between China and the U. S. in political, security, arms control and disarmament (nuclear, outer space, missile, cyberspace) areas. Scholars from the two sides aired their own views with both agreement and disagreement, and came up with some fresh thinking and concrete proposals. Despite of the fact that the views expressed are personal viewpoints of the think tankers, they may after all be of reference value to the policy-making bodies of both countries. As a matter of fact, it is precisely in that lies the value and province of such non-governmental organizations and think tanks like ours.

Here, we would like to express our heartfelt appreciation to the authors of these papers for their painstaking and meticulous work that assured the best quality of this book. We would also like to convey our gratitude to the CACDA Secretariat for its effort to organize the translation of the English edition, and to the leaders and the editorial staff of the World Knowledge Publishing House for their vast amount of work.

China Arms Control and Disarmament Association Beijing, China, March 2013

鸣谢

本项目各主办方在此感谢所有参加本项目的美中双方的论文作者。他们撰写的论文是本项目成功的关键,也表明中美双方的专家进行这类联合研究是有益的。战略与国际研究所太平洋论坛的戴维·桑托罗先生还在协助组织论文作者出席 2012 年 7 月的北京研讨会的工作中起了重要作用。

科学应用国际公司和战略与国际研究所太平洋论坛感谢美国能源部国家 核安全局为本项目提供的资助。中国军控与裁军协会感谢福特基金会对其的 资助。本报告的内容完全由各位作者负责。

Acknowledgements

The organizers would like to thank all of the American and Chinese paper writers for their participation in this project. Their contributions were the key to the project's success and also demonstrated the benefits of this type of joint undertaking on the part of Chinese and American experts. Mr. David Santoro of Pacific Forum CSIS also played a key role in helping organize the July, 2012 Beijing workshop of the paper-writers.

Science Applications International Corporation and the Pacific Forum CSIS also would like to thank the National Nuclear Security Administration of the U.S. Department of Energy for its support of this project. The China Arms Control and Disarmament Association would like to thank the Ford Foundation for its support. The authors alone are responsible for the contents of the report.

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序 言 刘易斯・邓恩 (科学应用国际公司) 拉尔夫・科萨和布拉德・格罗斯曼 (战略与国际问题研究所太平洋论坛) 黎弘 (中国军控与裁军协会)

美国是一个老牌大国,中国则是一个正在崛起的大国。美中关系将对21 世纪产生决定性影响。两国之间如能建立更加合作和稳定的战略关系,将更 便于应对当今各种全球性的经济、政治、安全、社会和环境挑战。建立这样 一种关系反过来也能使两国领导人有限的精力、两国有限的政治、经济资源 集中到各自国内的工作重点。反之,如果两国战略关系更加对立、纠结,就 会损害两国的安全和福祉。有鉴于此, 当前在中美两国国内, 人们普遍意识 到,使两国关系朝着更加稳定、合作方向发展,既十分重要又具有挑战性。

联合研究项目

当今的美中关系包含方方面面,从经贸关系到政治和社会问题。本报告 侧重于两国的战略关系,其战略范围涵盖了在进攻性和防御性核力量、外层 空间、网络等广泛领域两国的计划、理论、能力、态势及行动如何以多种方 式相互作用。本报告及其源于的总体研究项目探讨了中美建立战略合作中面 临的种种挑战,尤其是各种机遇,两国即便不能减少也要处理好分歧或 竞争。

为此目标,本项目由美中两国专家组成一个小型联合研究组,其宗旨是"建立长期稳定、合作的美中战略关系"。双方举行了所谓"2轨"讨论,两国专家(包括前高级官员)均以个人身份与会。该联合研究小组由刘易斯·邓恩牵头,成员除了科学应用国际公司(SAIC)的邓恩博士,还有战略与国际问题研究所太平洋论坛的拉尔夫·科萨先生、布拉德·科罗斯曼先生和戴维·桑托罗博士以及中国军控与裁军协会的黎弘先生。该项目由他们组织、合作实施。

本联合研究项目的全部经费由美国国家核安全局提供。中国军控与裁军协会得到福特基金会的资助。本报告中收入的文稿由各位作者本人负责,并不一定代表上述三个机构或其他赞助单位的观点。

具体说来,正如下列各篇文稿表明,联合研究项目分为以下六个步骤:

第一步, 先确定论文的各项议题, 广泛涉及美中全面战略关系的各个方面;

第二步,每一个议题都由美中双方各一位专家就某个问题准备一篇论 文,阐述稳定、合作战略关系的愿景,以及抓住双方科技合作的机遇逐步建 立起这种关系;

第三步,每个议题的两位作者交换阅读论文,项目负责人鼓励论文作者 对对方提出的一些具体论点做出回应:

第四步,双方于2012年7月25—26日在北京举行了两天讨论,以鼓励 在论文作者和更多专家之间展开交流讨论;

第五步,每一位论文作者根据研讨会上的发言、评论和项目负责人的意 见修改自己的论文;

最后,根据联合研究总体情况,写出关于"下一步怎么做"的几点结论 性思考,作为本报告的最后部分。

构建双方的合作模式

总体来看,为联合研究项目撰写并在下面本报告中列入的各篇论文,对 建立中美长期稳定合作战略关系做出了严肃、认真的前瞻性分析。在这些论 文中和研讨会上进行了坦率的讨论,联合研究项目的参加者对一些重要问题 上有共识,而在另外一些重要问题上仍然有分歧。本项目虽然有一定的局限性,但还是表明两国专家联合或并行不悖地分析问题是有意义的,并为今后在适当时候对这些问题进行官方层面联合研究提供了一种可行的模式。

具体来说,论文作者和项目的其他参与者一致认为,两国建立稳定合作战略关系符合双方近期和长远的政治、安全、经济利益,也有助于双方共同应对 21 世纪的全球性挑战。与此同时,论文作者和研讨会上的发言直言不讳地提出了两国领导人为此目标必然面临的种种挑战和棘手问题。即便这样做了,联合研究项目参与者强调双方应采取"共赢"的态度。因此,各篇论文以及研讨会上的发言就两国建立稳定合作战略关系问题提出了许多很好的新思想和可行的举措。

关于联合研究项目今后要采取什么具体措施,在此只需强调三个方面的对话和行动。中美全面对话进程中的重中之重,应放在两国军方和防务部门之间开展积极持久的交流及其他形式的官方互动。在两国之间启动多样战略互信的进程也很必要。为此,先在"1.5 轨"层面然后在官方层面进行探讨的时机业已成熟。双方拟探讨有助于双方为建立合作模式、减少双方互不放心和猜疑并以双方都满意的方式处理两国面临的重要战略挑战所需的各项原则、对话和增信行动。最后,尽管两国在一些重要问题上可以合作,但是双方对防扩散挑战的评估和各自应对这些挑战的基本态度往往是不一致的。双方如能增进对这些分歧的相互理解,并能找到互补的地方,那将符合美中两国的利益,也有助于全球和平与稳定。

Foreword

Dr. Lewis A. Dunn (SAIC)
Mr. Ralph Cossa and Mr. Brad Glosserman
(The Pacific Forum CSIS)
Mr. Li Hong (CACDA)

The relationship between the United States and China, one country an established power, the other country a rising power, will decisively shape the 21st century. A more cooperative and stable strategic relationship between the two countries will make it easier to meet today's global economic, political, security, social, and environmental challenges. Such a relationship will in turn allow both countries to focus scarce leadership attention, political capital, and economic resources on achieving their domestic priorities. By contrast, a more confrontational and troubled strategic relationship would undermine the security and well-being of both China and the United States. For these reasons, the importance but also the challenges of building toward a more stable and cooperative U.S.—China relationship are widely recognized in both countries today.

The Joint Study Project

There are many aspects of today's U.S.—China relationship, from economic and trade interaction to political and social issues. This report focuses on one dimension—the strategic relationship between the two countries, with strategic