

郭树勇·主编

# 战略与探索

## Strategy Studies

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- ◆战略思维十论 / 李际均
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## 《战略与探索》第一期

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## 编者的话

郭树勇

近半个世纪前，西方有位政治家说了一句令战略家们颇有些失落的话：战略的时代可能正在成为过去。

半个世纪过去了，那句话的国际政治前提已经不复存在。在世界的东方，战略性的变化正成为推动国际体系转型的基本力量：能源争夺、石油危机和海洋争夺的焦点在波斯湾和太平洋地区，反对恐怖主义和遏制核不扩散的关注点在“文明断裂线”，金砖四国的大部分区域在南亚和东亚，超级大国的强大软实力在伊拉克战争中大为削弱……，东方曾经是上一个世纪打破两极体系的重要力量，东方正在成为影响国际战略转型的主导因素。尤其令人目眩的是，中国崛起的速度似乎超出了所有人的预料。西方的战略家们，无论是自由派还是保守派，无不在患得患失中搜寻着描述和控制这种巨变的词汇和战略。

然而，世界对中国的强烈反应是一回事，中国对于自身变化的战略思考又是一回事。我们已经认识到，内政与外交已经难以厘清边界，国内与国际两个大局必然要统筹起来；对世界的反应和批评加以理性对待和虚心接受，是一个民族战略上成熟的表现。同时，我们也不能不承认，我们还不能完全地做到战略自觉和战略反思。随着中华政治共同体以一个大国的姿态步入21世纪，中国的民族复兴、社会进步和政治发展迎来了千年难逢之大变局的历史机遇。

中国每迈进一小步，都具有国际战略性；中国每跨跃一大步，都具有世界历史性；然而，支撑这种迈进和跨跃的力量来源，不仅仅是政府质量的向度，而且是整个中华民族素质的向度。战略，实在是太重要了，不能把它仅仅交给领袖、大使、将军和他们的智囊。全体国民都是战略实践的主体。对于中国而言，这是一个大国成长的时代，也是一个战略启蒙与战略反思的时代。

实质上的战略启蒙与战略反思，需要思想解放为之开道。党的十七大高举思想解放的旗帜，明确了和平发展、和谐世界和软实力诸种战略，客观上为探索国际战略，并反思包括国内政治文明建设在内的中国

大战略，提供了较好的舆论空间。一方面，30年的改革开放伟业已雄辩地表明，和平发展时代保卫民族利益的最好办法，是理性地承认和交换其他民族的利益，从而在全球化与相互依赖体系中达到战略克制和战略共赢。另一方面，战争与危机的风云从来没有消顿，战略竞争与战略冲突似乎是长久的话题。面对消极的和平主义和强大的技术理性，战略忧患与战略理性的恢复尤为必要。

总之，中国的大国成长，宛如古代黑夜中的大海航行，自信而艰苦地驶向世界大国的彼岸；前方是充满了无限不确定性的海域，国际风雨和国内暗礁不计其数，险象环生。正确的导引，多半要依靠天空的星光和舵手的判断力。《战略与探索》丛刊的任务，就是试图探究战略星空的若干奥妙。

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### Editor's Note

Half a century ago, in the early aftermath of the Cuban Crisis, strategists were rather chilled when a Western politician said, "The age of strategies may be coming to an end." Today, the political premises on which the bold statement was made have long evaporated.

The strategic changes taking place in the Orient-the Persian Gulf and the Pacific Ocean being the major arena where the scrambling for oil and sea is taking place, the "faults lines of civilizations" being the locus of anti-terrorism and anti-proliferation efforts, the South Asia and Southeast Asia constituting the biggest part of the BRICs, and Iraq War undermining the soft power of the sole super-power-have propelled Eastern countries into the major forces in engendering the transformation of international system. Once an important lever in shaping and breaking the bipolar system in the 20th century, the East in the 21st century is becoming the most important force in defining the strategic transformation of the international relations. What is most dazzling is the peaceful rise of China, which is so rapid and so robust that the Western strategists-both liberals and conservatives-are in a frenzy of search for accurate terms and appropriate strategies for defining and confining the dramatic change.

However, China's own introspective reflection upon its developmental strategies must remain independent from how the West responds. We are well aware that the boundary between internal politics and external affairs is increasingly blurring while the coordination of the domestic and international scenarios is growing more and more urgent. We also know that a mature nation is able to show modesty and rationality when it meets with criticisms from abroad. We should also admit to our inadequacy in fostering and developing strategic consciousness and introspection. The further admission of the Chinese political community as a confident major power into the international system in the new millennium holds out great historical promise for the exploitations of its social and political potentialities.

A small step forward China takes has an international significance. A strategic leap forward China makes has historical implications in the world. Yet, we

must be wise and sensible enough to understand that the steps we take and the leaps we make are not only indicators of the administrative quality of the government but also of comprehensive quality of the whole nation. Strategy, is too important an matter to be left alone to strategists, leaders, and generals. Instead, they are to be understood and practiced by the whole population. For China, an age seems to be coming for strategic enlightenment and introspections.

However, it is the mind emancipation that paves the way for the making of breakthroughs in international strategies. The great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics of the Seventeenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, clarifying such strategic concepts as peaceful development, harmonious world and soft power, carries the spirit of mind emancipation and thus frames a cozy space of public opinion where the studies of international strategies and the reflections upon the grand strategies for China's development, including the domestic construction of political civilization, can be carried out. On the one hand, the notable achievements of the last 30 years' Opening and Reform of China are eloquent proof that the best way for countries to defend their national interests in a peaceful age lies in a rational recognition and exchange of one another's interests, thus accomplishing strategic restraints and mutual benefits in an international system of globalization and interdependency. On the other hand, the ominous sky of international relations has never been short of winds and clouds of wars and crises, which makes strategic competitions and confrontations an ever-lasting topic. Against all the odds of passive pacifism and overwhelming technological rationalism, the restoration of strategic consciousness and rationality has never been more urgent.

All in all, the rise of China, like a voyage on the ancient waters of a dark night, is leading the country, with great efforts and daring confidence, on a sea of infinite uncertainties, against ghostly gales of international realms and perilous reefs of domestic sectors, to the golden shore of major powers. The navigation cannot be successful without sound steering of the sailors and wise judgment of the captain, with the aid of beaconing from stars in the sky. Thus, the mission of Strategy Survey is to unravel the mysteries of stars hidden in the deep sky of international strategy.

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## 推动社会前进的 神圣责任<sup>①</sup>

于光远

“我的劳动是自由生命的体现，因此是生活的乐趣。”马克思这句话表明他追求的是自由的创造的生活。罗曼·罗兰说，“唯有创造才是快乐，但是没有自由又怎能创造呢？”我说一个人的内心生活本质上本来是他人无法干预的完全自由的领域，但也有人不敢享用这种自由。要首先克服这个领域的自我禁锢，这是可以和容易做到的，难的是言论自由，是要争取才能获得。

1982年十二大即将举行前，我以给一位老朋友的信的形式发了一个“宣言”。在这封信里，我讲了这样意思的一大篇话。我说，列宁讲过，我们共产党在取得政权以前，除了组织以外，没有其他武器。他所说的组织一个是党，还有一个就是群众团体。在我们夺得了政权之后情况怎样？有了两部机器，一部是国家机器，另一部是经济机器。有了机器，就要有开机器的人。开机器的人，就是“官”。我们需要不少的人去当官，但是共产党一定还要有不开机器的，即不是当官的人。这种人不是“官”。1982年，我从“官”的位子上退下来了，我不再做开机器的人了，但我还是共产党人，我有推动社会前进的神圣责任。我要在群众当中，站在群众前面，和群众一起争取民主，争取群众自身的权利。我和那些“官”，那些开国家机器、开经济机器的人分工，我们各做各

<sup>①</sup> 这篇文章是取自于光远先生的新著《靠理性的智慧》（海天出版社，2007），经征求作者同意得以重发。原题目是《乐在创造中，乐在自由中》，后四段删节。

的事，互相呼应，互相配合，共同为我们党的事业奋斗。

我这么说了，也就这么做了。时间过得真快。从1982年我退下来，二十多年的时间过去了。这二十多年中，我做的工作，在工作中收到的成效，比以前我担任“官职”时多得多。我非常满意。为什么能够做到这一点呢？那是因为我得到了更多的自由，工作不受或少受原先官职的限制。而且我处在这样的地位还有个好处，我自己没有官了，我讲话就自由了。如果我讲的话，你认为不对，不愿意听，你可以完全不听，你是完全自由的。因为我没有任何官职，你就可以完全不怕得罪某个当官的。你不必顾虑什么。如果你愿意听我的意见，那是因为你认为我的看法正确；你同意我的看法，这样对我和对你都很好。比起我在官位上，我讲了，我的下级不高兴，当面奉承几句，背后尽说坏话。回顾这二十多年，我认为我的工作成效相当于过去的四十年。我认为这二十年，自己“退”下来之后，实际上并没有后“退”，反而前“进”了许多。其实我是“以退为进”。

自由度大，从事创造的空间也就大，在创造性的劳动中获得的乐趣就多。当然我对现状并不完全满意，甚至很不满意。这个说来话长了。



## 战略思维十论<sup>①</sup>

李际均

19 世纪著名哲学家康德的墓志铭上写道：“重要的不是给予思想，而是给予思维。”战略思维是总揽全局的带有认识论方法论的思考。我们总结历史上的重大成败得失的经验教训，最终都归结到战略思维的正确与否上。在自然科学中，重复试验可以辨别理论的真伪，而在战争问题上是不能事先试验一遍的。战争计划的实施是历史的一次性闪光灯，使用一次就展现一场战争的结局，留给历史的或是辉煌或是灾难。也正因为除了实战之外无法验证，因而在长久的和平时期，容易产生华而不实甚至伪科学的东西。只有掌握科学的战略思维才能做到在复杂多变的世界局势中找到准确的战略定位，在重大问题上，明确联合谁、中立谁和对付谁的问题，才能把握原则的坚定性和策略的灵活性，避免把现象看做本质，把策略当成政策，把战略手段当成战略目的，也避免在进行逻辑推导时忽略国家利益，或只讲推理过程和逻辑的自我满足，而不讲大前提的是与非，或为主观愿望所左右而偏离客观现实。科学的战略思维是科学发展观的重要内容。

军事战略思维与科学决策的主要特点和要求是：

<sup>①</sup> 此文曾在 2007 年《国防报》上发表。