

复旦大学国际问题研究丛书

冷战后美国的 拉丁美洲政策

The U.S. Policy

Towards Latin America After Post - Cold War

朱鸿博著

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序

□早在1979年,邓小平同志就指出:“政治学、法学、社会学,以及世界政治的研究,我们过去多年忽视了,现在也需要赶快补课。”他还特别指出,要加强“世界政治研究”。

□自改革开放以来,我国对世界政治、国际问题的研究有了很大的进展,在政府部门以及各大院校先后增设了一批研究机构,增加了一批新专业,开设了一批新课程,研究项目也有了较大的成就,我国的国际问题研究学者们勤奋耕耘,取得了丰硕的成果,基本上完成了邓小平同志提出的“补课”的任务。

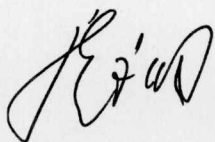
□但是,与国际同行中的先进水平相比,我国的国际问题研究仍有很多不足。特别是自上世纪末以来,国际形势和世界格局继续发生着深刻的变化,世界多极化和经济全球化在曲折中发展,世界格局和秩序的大转折、大变动的时期正在到来,国际关系正在动荡中进行深度调整。与此同时,我国经济和社会的快速发展,已使中国与世界的关系,成为当代国际问题研究的一个十分重要的内容。我们必须抓住机遇,研究中国和平发展进程中所面临的各种国际问题。

□在这种形势下,国内各大高等院校和科研机构对国际问题研究的重要性和迫切性都有比较深刻的认识,并正在采取各种行动,以进一步增强对国际问题的研究和探讨。复旦大学国际问题研究院编辑出版的《国际问题研究丛书》,就是这种努力的一个组成部分。

□复旦大学国际问题研究院由美国研究中心、日本研究中心、俄罗斯中亚研究中心、欧洲问题研究中心、朝鲜韩国研究中心、北欧研究中心和拉丁美洲研究室等组成。研究院成立的时间虽

然不长,但它集中了复旦大学对于国际问题研究的重要力量,拥有一定的科研能力。特别是美国研究中心作为国家人文社会科学创新基地,在围绕美国和中美关系的问题上,常年进行着重要的研究工作。

□参加这套丛书撰写工作的,既有德高望重、学养深厚的老教授,也有朝气蓬勃、思想活跃的青年学者。我们计划这套丛书每年出版几部研究著述,内容主要侧重大国关系、中国外交、周边问题以及世界政治与经济等方面。我们希望,这套丛书的出版将会进一步推动我国的国际问题研究。



Preface

By Long Yonglu

□Deng Xiaoping pointed out, as early as in 1979, that “[w]e neglected over years the studies on political science, law, sociology, and world politics. Now we need to make up lessons and catch up.” He especially noted that more work should be carried out on the “study of international politics”.

□Since adopting the Reform and Open Door policy, China has made significant progress in research on world politics and international issues. Many new research institutes have been launched in governmental sectors and universities as well as colleges, many new disciplines

are added and curriculums developed, and sizable headway has been made in researches. Due to the dedicated work by our scholars of international relations, great achievement has been accomplished, nearly attaining the objective of catching-up with the world assigned by Deng Xiaoping.

☐ However, there still exist many deficiencies in our research on international issues, compared with our international counterparts. Particularly, since the end of the 20th century, the world has undergone significant changes. Through the turns and twists, the multi-polarization of the world and globalization of economy are in formation. The time has come that the world structure and order are going through great shifting and change, and subsequently, the international relations are being adjusted fundamentally given the turbulence. At the same time, China is rapidly developing its economy and society. Therefore, China's relation with the world has become a rather important issue of contemporary international study. At this time of transition, we shall seize the opportunities and concentrate on various issues that China might encounter in the process of its peaceful development.

☐ Fully aware of its importance and urgency, China's institutions of higher education and research organizations have been exploring various means to deepen the discussion and research on international issues. Part of such efforts is the Series of International Studies published by the Institute of International Studies of Fudan University.

☐ The Institute of International Studies at Fudan University consists of Center for American Studies, Center for Japanese Studies, Center for Russian and Central Asian Studies, Center of European Studies, Center

for Korean Studies, Nordic Center, and Department of Latin American Studies. Young as it is, the Institute has centralized the essence of intellectual expertise of international studies at Fudan, maintaining certain cutting-edge research capabilities. Above all, the Center for American Studies, as the leading state-level Base for Humanities and Social Sciences Innovation, has been undertaking the perennial important research on America and Sino-U.S. relations.

☐ The authors of this series of books include both well-established and respectable senior scholars and emerging young researchers. It is expected that several books will be published each year, mainly focusing on studies of major powers, China's foreign policy, China's peripheral environment, and world political and economical issues etc. It is our hope that this series will help advance international study in this country.



朱鸿博

□ 朱鸿博,1971年4月出生,山东省临沂市人。1994年陕西师范大学英语系本科毕业后,在武汉工程大学英语系任英语教师。2002年复旦大学历史系拉丁美洲史专业研究生毕业后,留校任教。2003—2006年,在复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院在职攻读国际政治学博士学位。现为复旦大学国际问题研究院拉丁美洲研究室主任,中国拉丁美洲学会和拉丁美洲史学会常务理事、副秘书长。主要研究方向:中国与拉丁美洲关系、美国的拉丁美洲外交政策、拉丁美洲近现代史、拉丁美洲国际关系等。

□ 主要著作有:合著《西半球的裂变——近代拉美与美国发展模式比较研究》,主编《国际新格局下的拉美研究》;论文有:《近期中拉关系的发展与美国的拉美外交政策》、《征服后的遗存:现代拉美社会结构再思考》等10余篇。

中文摘要

冷战结束后,美国在拉丁美洲的优势地位进一步得到巩固,其拉美政策也发生了很大改变。本文力图对冷战后美国的拉丁美洲政策的演变进行较为深入的梳理和研究,并尝试以理想主义和现实主义的理论框架来对此进行政策分析。

全文共分五章,加上导论和结语,共有七个部分。在导论中,主要介绍本文选题的由来和思路,以及主要内容和研究观点,并就国内外与此相关问题的研究现状进行了评述。

第一章对冷战前的美国拉美政策进行了简单的回顾。文章认为门罗主义奠定了美国拉美政策的基础,它既有地缘政治意义上不允许欧洲列强干涉的一面,也有意识形态上保护美洲新生共和国的积极意义。“天定命运”是门罗主义的发展,也是一种扩张主义政策。冷战时期以支持亲美的拉美独裁军人政权来对抗苏联的影响,是一种现实主义色彩浓厚的政策。而威尔逊主义、卡特的“人权外交”等,则是一种理想主义色彩浓厚的政策。

第二章论述了老布什政府的拉美外交政策与后冷战政策的形成。老布什政府前期的拉美政策,主要是继承里根的政策,在中美洲等地区对抗苏联的影响,促使热点地区问题的降温及和平解决。这一政策中,理想主义与现实主义色彩都较为浓厚,两种主义较好地进行了融合,也取得了较好的效果。老布什政府的“美洲倡议”以及之后建立美洲自由贸易区的政策,成为冷战后美国拉美政策的中

心内容。

第三章探讨了克林顿政府时期的美国拉美政策。克林顿政府的拉美政策继承了老布什“美洲倡议”的理想,将建设美洲自由贸易区和扩展“民主”作为目标,但是对拉美事务不太重视,采取了一种实用主义的政策,这也导致了其拉美政策不甚成功,错过了冷战后的有利时机。文章主要论述了克林顿政府建立“美洲自由贸易区”所遇到的挫折、在海地和古巴等地区扩展“自由民主”的政策,以及在禁毒和拉美社会问题上所遇到的挑战。

第四章讨论了布什政府第一任期内的美国拉美政策。文章认为“9·11”事件之后,美国“新保守主义”的特点在于将扩展“民主的理想”置于国家利益与安全之上,其拉美政策的特点是在“民主”问题上更加强硬,把推动美洲自由贸易区作为政策的中心和解决问题的关键。新自由主义的拉美政策同时面临拉美左翼运动兴起的挑战以及中国在拉美影响力日渐增加的问题。美国认为中拉经济关系的发展会带来政治上的影响,但它暂时还不会对拉美政策作出大的调整。

第五章论述了布什政府第二任期内的美国拉美政策。文章认为布什政府的拉美政策特点是趋于务实,其对外战略已经将推广“民主理想”和对国家利益的考量放在一起。政策变化还体现在:从强调“民主选举”改为重视“民主治理”;推进美洲自由贸易区的步伐放慢;政策重点转到中美洲和加勒比地区等。同时文章还指出,拉美在布什政府新国家安全战略中的地位开始趋于上升。在第四届美洲国家首脑会议中,布什总统力求推进美洲自由贸易区谈判的努力收效不大,但是也取得了一些成果。

结语部分对全文主要内容和观点进行了总结。冷战后美国拉美政策的演变,说明了政策本身一直在理想主义和现实主义之间转换和摇摆的特点。随着国内外形势的变化,美国的拉美政策有时理

想主义色彩浓厚一些,有时现实主义又占上风。

【关键词】 冷战后 美国 拉丁美洲 政策

【分类号】 D0;D80;D870

Abstract

After the Cold War, U. S. hegemony in Latin America was more solid than ever and its foreign policy towards Latin America has undergone great change ever since. This thesis tries to give an intensive description and a deep research about the evolution of U. S. foreign policy towards Latin America. At the same time, the paper intends to analyze this policy in a theoretical paradigm of idealism and realism in order to deepen the research in the future.

The paper is divided into seven parts, including introduction, conclusion and five chapters. In introduction, it is told how and why this topic is chosen, what the main contents are, which new arguments the author will give. The research context and academic background would be given and analyzed in this part as well.

The first chapter looks back to the history of U. S. policy towards Latin America before the Cold War, which is built on the foundation of Monroe Doctrine. In the author's view, Monroe Doctrine was against the interference of European powers in terms of geopolitics on the one hand, and it defended the newly-born republican democracy of Latin America in terms of ideology on the other hand. The Manifest Destiny, which was the development of the Monroe Doctrine, was a kind of expansionist policy. In the

period of Cold War, U. S. policy was centered mainly on defying former Soviet Union in Latin America with a realistic foreign policy of supporting Pro-America right-wing military dictatorship in Latin America. President Wilson's policy and President Carter's "Human Rights" policy were considered as more idealistic than realistic.

The second chapter deals with the policy of Old Bush Administration and Post-Cold War policy towards Latin America. Like President Reagan, President Old Bush tried his best to solve the war and conflict peacefully in the hot spot of Central Latin America in order to combat former Soviet Union. His policy was successful with the combination of idealism and realism. President Old Bush launched the "American Initiatives" and started the process of FTAA, which was the main and central topics of Post-Cold War policy towards Latin America.

The third chapter deals with Clinton Administration's foreign policy towards Latin America, which like his predecessor's policy, was focused on Building FTAA and expanding freedom and democracy. President Clinton's policy is considered as losing many opportunities and as being not so successful with his opportunism policy and neglecting Latin American issues. President Clinton's expanding free trade policy in Latin America, with FTAA as the center failed. This chapter also deals with President Clinton's Policy of promoting freedom and democracy in Latin America, with the case study of Haiti and Cuba, and the challenges from drug-trafficking and other social problems in Latin America.

The Fourth chapter discusses the Bush Administration's first term foreign policy towards Latin America, which has changed

greatly after “9. 11” incident. With the development of the new conservatism, which was characteristic of considering democratic ideals to be more important than national interests and security, President Bush was harder than his predecessor in the democratic issues and his policy was still focused on promoting FTAA. Bush Administration's policy was facing more and more new challenges from emerging Latin American leftist movements and China's increasing presence in Latin America. The United States is afraid that China's growing economic influence and ties with Latin America will result in negative political influence against U. S. national security in Latin America. Meanwhile, the United States will not make big policy adjustments for the time being.

The fifth chapter deals with the trend of policy toward Latin America in Bush Administration's second term, which became more pragmatic and began to combine the ideals of promoting democracy with national interests. This chapter summarizes several changes of the policy towards Latin America in Bush Administration's second term, stressing that democratic governance is more important than democratic elections, slowing the pace of promoting FTAA, paying more attention to the Central American and Caribbean region. Latin America's position has begun to rise in the new national security strategy of Bush Administration's second term. In the fourth Summit of the Americas, President Bush's efforts to promote the FTAA negotiations were unsuccessful.

Last, the conclusion part gives the contents and basic views of the paper. The evolution of the Post-Cold War U. S. policy

towards Latin America is characteristic of a swing between idealism and realism. Along with the changes in the domestic and international situation, its policies sometimes are more idealistic, and sometimes are more realistic.

【Key Words】 Post-Cold War U.S. Latin America Policy

【Class Number】 D0;D80;D870

导 论

一、本文选题的由来和思路， 以及主要内容和创新之处

美国的拉美政策研究，是美拉关系研究的重点，同时也是拉美国际关系研究的重点。原因就在于美国和拉丁美洲地缘相近、文化和人员交流频繁，更重要的是美国对拉丁美洲的影响力一直很大，对拉丁美洲的历史发展进程起着主导性的作用。

冷战后的世界形势发生了很大变化，美、苏两极的世界格局被打破，美国成为惟一的世界超级大国，而世界多极化格局还远未形成。美国的对外政策在冷战后发生了很大改变，特别是“9·11”事件爆发以后，美国的单边主义、先发制人的政策日益明显，这一切都对美国的拉美政策和拉丁美洲本身的发展带来了许多新的变化。

近年来中拉关系发展很快，特别是经贸关系的发展。中拉双边贸易额在2004年达到了约400亿美元，这和2000年的约100亿美元相比，在不到五年的时间里翻了两番。同时，双方高层往来不断，2004年中国国家主席胡锦涛访问了拉美四国，巴西和阿根廷总统也相继在这一年访问了中国。也就是在2004年，拉美国家，特别是南美洲国家走出了20世纪90年代末金融危机以来的阴影和经济增长率徘徊不前甚至为负的局面，经济增长率达到了4%左右，2005年也基本上实现了继续增长。外电评论说，拉美经济的复苏，很大