



Strategy Studies

战略与探索 3

国家安全环境与大国兴衰

National Security Environment and The Rise and Fall of Great Powers

郭树勇 © 主编

时事出版社



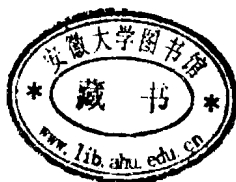
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郭树勇 徐存陈

万事开头难，续拓者不易，再而三者为关键。《战略与探索》作为推进战略讨论与思想启蒙的战略丛书，在第一期的激情与第二期的理性之后，一度围绕第三期主题颇费心思。一个重要的考虑是，对于有志于民族伟大复兴的中国来讲，在和平发展、科学发展的条件下，在当下到底需要关注哪些大问题？

我们正在进入 21 世纪的 20 年代，这是一个大国战略反思与战略调整的重要时期。对于西方世界而言，从经济上看，它们通过寻找金融联合、介入地区内战等新旧形式来克服持久不断的经济危机；从政治上看，它们在经历了伦敦骚乱和“占领华尔街”等社会运动以及债务危机条件下的民主危机之后，正重新考虑调整其政治体制；从军事上看，欧洲仍然在军事一体化、防务协调、防范俄罗斯军力等方面不断加力，日本仍在我们不知不觉中提高军事现代化水平，而美国将更多的注意力从欧洲转向亚太地区，把确保亚太和平与发展置于其全球战略中更加重要的地位，并以亚太认同来削弱东亚认同或者新兴国家认同的国际影响力。

面对西方的变化，中国也在抓住战略机遇，以变应变。从政治方面讲，中国适时提出坚持和完善中国特色社会主义制度体系，继续推进政治体制改革，以更好地适应全球经济和国际社会

的变化，以及与全球经济和国际社会密切联系着的国内社会主义市场经济的要求。从经济方面讲，中国把转变经济发展方式和创新驱动、转型发展作为一项长期持之以恒的战略行动，正在突破体制瓶颈、发展民营资本、调整经济结构、推进金融改革、营造信用体系等方面推陈出新。从战略方面讲，要把应对美国“重返亚太”作为近期战略调整的重中之重，研究美国重返行动的象征性、操作性和阶段性，避免世界上经济总量最大的两个经济体、意识形态上最对立的两个政治体、最大的发达国家与最大的发展中国家形成任何形式的冷战，这不仅是两国关系的主要议题，而且也是国际政治的重要议题。这种战略应对不仅是军事应对，也是政治与经济的联合应对，简言之需要内外联动的战略观。

关于这种战略应对，中央高度重视，党的十七大明确提出要注重国内与国际两个大局的统筹，并且在近年取得了重要的成果。正式形成中国特色社会主义法律体系与在国际社会努力展示中国软实力，着力转变经济发展方式与积极参加哥本哈根气候大会，成功筹备与举办了上海世博会与“世博外交”的胜利开展等，都是开放时代大国的内政外交日益成熟的标志性战略行动。这种内外统筹的执政观、治理观和国际观有更多实质的成果，应该继续发扬，继续深入，这是因为中国的前途，更加与世界的命运联系在一起，中国国际战略的前途，更加与政治改革、经济发展的命运联系在一起。

本期的内容，围绕上述的问题、形势与理念，组织有关知名专家进行了讨论。“卷首语”栏目，仍然请德高望重的于光远先生谈思想解放的问题，以统领全书。“特稿”栏目推荐的是上海学者周罗庚关于腐败的政论文章。我党在革命时期就反腐败积累了一系列有效的经验，但在执政和社会主义建设的开放时代条件下如何寻找到遏制以至根治腐败的方法，却成了一项艰难的任

务。作者提出的根治腐败必须依靠民主法制的思路值得深思，公权力依法制约显然成了反腐败的必由之路。

“国际战略”栏目，主要围绕美国“重返亚太”这个黑云压顶、不可不察的话题，发表了中国国际问题研究基金会的研究成果。我们认为，研究基金会关于美国“重返亚太”的基本判断是正确和适当的，值得读者关注。同时也请乔良将军、沈丁立教授、宋德星上校、程亚文研究员、王东研究员等作相关讨论，大家就战略调整的意义与困难，如何建构有利的国际安全环境等问题各抒己见，或乐观或忧患，或硬或软，展一家之言。

本期的一个特色是在“软实力战略”栏目开设了“苏联解体20周年”专题，邀请北京与上海的苏联问题研究专家徐葵、陆南泉、周尚文、金雁、叶书宗、倪稼民、郝玉青等就苏联解体的背景、原因、条件及后果进行了深入的历史研究，对苏联的党的建设、文化建设、集权体制、改革兴废等问题进行了剖析，从侧面总结了超级大国如何从国际软实力较量、内政外交统筹中败下阵来的前车之鉴。

本期的“学术争鸣”栏目，推出了几篇带有文化反思与理论讨论的文章。一篇是刘亚洲将军反思国民性的文章，他从明史研究中提出的“文化是一种能力”的结论，给人以太多的感慨，可见，国家文化体制改革号召下的文化复兴和文化重构，无论对于战略家、政治家，还是思想家、教育家，都是一种无限的责任和不懈的使命。陈启懋先生、何方先生和李志伟先生关于马克思主义的社会科学研究，是对小平同志所讲的“什么是社会主义，如何建设社会主义”命题的进一步讨论，基本点在于从实践唯物主义出发正本清源，反对理论界的“左倾”思想，为社会主义在中国的科学发 展提供历史的和理论的参考。杨庆春大校的文章从中国历史、国际军事、战略转型、政治改革等角度再论思想解放的

重要性，为这个栏目画上了一个句号。

对于《战略与探索》而言，2012年似乎是世界各国内政外交的调整年，是中美两国又一战略磨合年，金融危机、能源问题、民主化、气候政治、东北亚稳定、中东局势、南海关注以及政府换届，等等，构成了中国和平发展的新的战略挑战与新的战略机遇。同时，内政外交的机遇与挑战呈现出集中化、交叉化、叠加化的趋势，应对挑战成为一个整体性的战略问题。我们坚信，在新的战略形势下，中央将更加有力地统筹内政外交两个大局，统筹政治建设、经济建设、社会建设、文化建设、生态文明建设和党的建设，统筹软实力战略、外交战略和国防战略，在各方的共同努力下，一定会取得破解多重战略难题、推进和平发展的大胜利！

Editor's Note

By Guo Shuyong Xu Cunchen

For many things, it is hard in the beginning, harder in the extension, and hardest in the persistence. As a book series committed to promote strategic debates and enlightenment, *Strategy Studies* spends a lot of thoughts on the theme of its third issue, after the passion with its first issue and the reason with its second issue. For a dream that aspires to the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, China has to figure out what kind of contemporary grand issues on earth deserves its attention in the context of peaceful and scientific development.

Now we are entering the second decade of the twenty-first century, which is an important era for the major powers to engage in strategic reflection and adjustment. Economically, the Western world is trying to overcome its continuous economic crisis through both old and fresh means, such as financial integration and intervention in the civil wars of different regions. Politically, the Western countries are reconsidering to modulate their political systems after experiencing such social movements as the London Riots and Occupation of Wall Street and undergoing a

democratic crisis in the context of the debt crisis. Militarily, Europe is still making great efforts on its military integration and defense coordination, as well as on guarding against Russia's military power; Japan continues to improve the level of its military modernization beyond our awareness; while the United States is shifting more of its attention away from Europe to the Asia-Pacific region, whose peace and development will assume a more prominent place in American global strategy, and tries to weaken the international influence of the East Asia identity or emerging power identity with a Asia-Pacific one.

Facing the changes in the West, China is also trying to seize the strategic opportunities with a view to meeting changes by adapting to changes. On the political front, China has proposed in a timely manner to maintain and improve the Socialist System with Chinese Characteristics and continue to promote reform of its political systems in order to better adapt to the changes in the global economy and the international community, as well as the demands of its domestic socialist market economy that is closely linked to the global economy and the international community. On the economic front, China takes transforming its model of economic development as a long-term strategic task and is bringing forth the new through the old in such areas as overcoming institutional bottlenecks, developing private capital, readjusting economic structure, promoting financial reform, and creating a credit system. On the strategic front, China should take dealing with the US' "return to the Asia-Pacific region" as a top priority for its short-term strategic adjustment and investigate into the

symbolism, operability and periodicity of the US' return, so as to avoid any form of a Cold War that involves the world's two largest economies, two political entities with the most confrontational ideologies, and the world's largest developed and developing countries. This is not only a major issue in their bilateral relations, but also an important one of contemporary international politics; and, this kind of strategic response is not only a military one, but also a comprehensive one combining political and economic means. In short, China needs a strategic outlook with internal and external linkage.

The Chinese government attaches great importance to this kind of strategic response. The 17th National Congress of the CPC states clearly that China should pay attention to coordinate the domestic and international situations, which has yielded significant results in recent years. For instance, China has officially formed a Socialist Legal System with Chinese Characteristics and has successfully demonstrated its soft power in the international community; it has focused on transforming its model of economic development and has actively participated in the Copenhagen Climate Conference; it has successfully prepared and hosted the Shanghai World Expo, with the "Expo diplomacy" achieving a big success. All these are landmark strategic actions of an increasingly sophisticated big power in its internal and external affairs at the open times. This kind of administration outlook, governance outlook and international outlook of coordinating internal and external situations should develop further and deeper so as to produce more substantial results, because the future of China is be-

coming more closely linked with the fate of the world, while the future of China's international strategy is becoming more closely linked with the prospect of its political reform and economic development.

In the columns of this Issue, we invite renowned experts to discuss and debate the above-mentioned issues, situations and ideas. In the *Foreword*, we continue to invite venerable Yu Guanyuan to discuss the issue of emancipating the mind, with a view to offering a macro-context for all articles in this Issue. The *Specials* is a piece of political essay on corruption by Zhou Luogeng, a scholar from Shanghai. The CPC accumulated a series of effective practices on anti-corruption during the Revolution Period, but it has become a thorny task to curb and find a cure to corruption in the open times with the CPC's being in power and engaging in socialist construction. The author proposes that China has to eradicate corruption in line with the ideas of democracy and the rule of law, which is not only a political common sense but an urgent practical requirement, and that constraining the public power in accordance with the law is inevitably a fundamental way to fight against corruption.

The *International Strategies* section focuses on the US' return to the Asia-Pacific region, now a pressing and non-negligible issue and publishes the research findings of China Foundation for International Studies (CFIS), whose initial conclusions on the US' return are right and appropriate and deserve readers' attention. In the meanwhile, we also invite Major General Qiao Liang, professor Shen Dingli, Colonel Song Dexing, senior re-

search fellow Cheng Yawen and Wang Dong to join the debate. They express their original views, whether optimistic or hardship, tough or mild, on issues like the significance and difficulties of the strategic adjustment, and the way on how to construct a favorable international security environment, and so on.

A distinctive feature of this Issue is that under the *Soft Power Strategy* column, we invite on the occasion of the “twentieth anniversary of the collapse of the Soviet Union” a group of experts on Soviet Studies from Beijing and Shanghai, including Xu Kui, Lu Nanquan, Zhou Shangwen, Jin Yan, Ye Shuzong, Ni Jiamin, and Hao Yuqing, to have a historical investigation into the background, reasons, conditions, and consequences of the collapse of the USSR and analyze the Communist Party building, cultural construction, totalitarian regime, reform, and rise and fall of the Soviet Union, thus providing a summary of the lessons on how a superpower was defeated in the international soft power contest and in the plight of domestic and foreign affairs.

The *Condensing Ideas* in this Issue introduces several essays with a characteristic of cultural reflection and theoretical exploration. One is a reflection on the national character of the Chinese people, in which Air Marshal Liu Yazhou concludes from his study of the history of the Ming dynasty that “culture is a kind of capability” . It will make the readers sigh with much emotion, demonstrating that cultural renewal and reconstruction poses a never-ending obligation and unremitting mission for strategists, politicians, thinkers, and educators, in the context of the Chi-

nese government's call for carrying out reforms of its cultural systems. The research on Marxism from the perspective of social sciences by Mr. Chen Qimao, Mr. He Fang and Mr. Li Zhiwei is a further discussion on the theme of "what is socialism and how to build socialism" first expounded by Deng Xiaoping. Their fundamental proposition is to clarify matters and get to the bottom of things from a viewpoint of practical materialism, and to oppose the "leftist" ideology within the theoretical circle, so as to provide historical and theoretical references for the scientific development of socialism in China. Senior Colonel Yang Qingchun re-elaborates in his paper on the significance of emancipating the mind from the perspectives of the Chinese history, international military power, strategic transformation, and political reform, thus concluding the column.

For *Strategy Studies*, the year of 2012 seems to be one of readjustment in the domestic and foreign affairs of various countries in the world and to be another strategic running-in period between China and the United States, while the financial crisis, energy issue, democratization, climate politics, Northeast Asian stability, the Middle East situation, concerns over the South China Sea, and governmental change of the term of office constitute new strategic challenges and opportunities for China's peaceful development. In the meanwhile, the challenges and opportunities in the domestic and foreign affairs take on a trend of centralization, cross-orientation and superimposition. Therefore, it would become an overall strategic issue for China to respond to the challenges. We firmly believe that in the new strategic situa-

tion, the Chinese government will be able to coordinate more effectively the overall situation in its domestic and foreign affairs, harmonize the political, economic, social, cultural, ecological civilization construction and party building, and bring into line its strategies on soft power, diplomacy, and national defense. With the joint efforts of all parties, China will achieve a big success in resolving multiple strategic conundrums and promoting peaceful development.

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