双重规制

王传剑 著

双重规制

冷战后美国的

朝鲜半岛政策



王传剑 著



おから減出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

双重规制——冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策/王传剑著.

北京: 世界知识出版社, 2003.10

ISBN 7 - 5012 - 2132 - 4

Ⅰ.双… Ⅱ. 圭… Ⅲ. 美国对外政策 – 朝鲜半岛

IV. D871.20

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2003) 第 086402 号

责任编辑 封面设计 责任出版 责任校对 曾伏华 晓 斌

达 逊

王勇刚

书名

双重规制——冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策

世界知识出版社

北京东城区干面胡同 51 号 100010

北京力托科技有限公司排版 河北大厂县彩虹印刷厂印刷

新华书店

880×1230 1/32 11 田张

296000

2003年10月第一版 2003年10月第一次印刷

28.00 元

版权所有 翻印必究



道以 此书 就给

我的妻子冬梅和女儿泰之

Leng Than Hou Meiguo Thene Ce

代 序

人上/ 随冷战后国际格局的演变,被称为"冷战活化石"的朝鲜半岛日益成为世人关 注的焦点。与此相适应, 半岛问题开始成为名 副其实的学界研究热点,而作为该问题关键环 节的美国对朝鲜半岛政策则尤其引起了广泛关 注。需要指出的是, 虽然近年来国内外有关半 岛问题的书籍与报刊文章大量涌现、人们对该 问题的研究视野也空前开阔, 但这些研究本身 毫无疑问还处于一种"初级阶段",学术界对 于朝鲜半岛问题的认知和把握还远没有达到真 正完善的程度。实际上, 如何在总体上对东北 亚地区的战略格局特别是美国的朝鲜半岛政策 作出更为系统的论证仍然是摆在研究者面前的 一个值得进一步思考的问题。在这一方面,本 书的问世可以说是一个重大突破、它使我在兴 奋之余备感欣慰,因为在我国的学术界,毕竟 还有那么一批年轻的有志者在踏踏实实地做着 一些真正有益的工作。

作为一名青年学者,王传剑同志了克服了来自工作和生活方面的诸多困难,通过自己的刻苦钻研和不懈努力,在有关朝鲜半岛问题的研究方面取得了巨大的成功。在北京大学攻读博士学位的短短三年期间,王传剑同志先后发表了十余篇学术论文,并主笔完成了《亚太大国与朝鲜半岛》一书。他的著述受到了国内外学术界甚至政界的高度重视,他也因此被破格聘请为中国社会科学院亚太研究所的特约研究员。

现在,摆在读者面前的这部著作是王传剑同志在其博士学位 论文基础上稍作修改而成的,是他在朝鲜半岛问题明朝鲜半岛一新的重大成果。在这部著作中,作者抓住了影响朝鲜半岛 政来进行了影响,对冷战结束以来美国的朝鲜半岛政策统的分析和研究。应当说,不管是在理论体系的构建方为表现,不管是在理论体系的构建方为表现,不管是在理论体系的大声音的表现,不可能够拿来做博士论文,那么也是特要求或者说最大的特色应该说在于创新。在这里,作者回来被告诉死工作恰恰体现出了这一点,并至少在以下几个方面实现了较大突破与创新。

一是论证思路上的创新。本书突破了传统理论研究中的陈规陋条,抛弃了以往国际问题研究中的"单向度"分析模式,大胆采用新型、实用的"多向度"交叉论证思路,注重从历史中启示现实、从宏观中把握微观、在对美国半岛政策不同层面的分析中揭示其总体政策实质,并在此基础上构建起了一种新的更为有效的分析模型,这就使理论本身更具系统性,在分析实际问题时更具指导性,从而真正确保了整个研究工作的科学性与规范性。

二是研究方法上的创新。本书坚持以马克思主义辩证唯物论为理论指导,并严格遵循了逻辑与历史相统一的原则,通过对美国朝鲜半岛政策各个不同发展阶段的客观分析,逻辑地再现了美国与半岛国家之间的互动关系及其历史发展脉络,使逻辑过程与历史过程达到了高度的一致。与此同时,本书试图超越传统的从

现象到本质或从本质到现象的单一研究方法,通过归纳与演绎相联系、历史分析与现实分析相结合以及个案研究与总括性研究相交叉等方法的综合运用,从而使研究工作更具客观性与可操作性。

三是资料选择上的创新。本书调研广泛,尽可能地利用了与研究主题密切相关的第一手材料,系统研读了包括中文、英文、韩文在内的各种文献资料,大量参考国内外专家、学者的最新研究成果,既充分尊重原始材料与历史案例,又合理采用若干新兴的资料搜集手段以去粗取精、去伪存真,并在此基础上梳理出了较为明晰的分析框架,从而在根本上确保了课题研究的全面性与准确性,为冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策勾画出了一个较为系统、更为真实的总体面貌。

当然,由于朝鲜半岛问题的研究存在许多现实困难,工作量极大,因此作者在本书中所得出的结论尚属一家之言,而它是否正确还有待于包括理论和实践在内的多重检验。另外,作为一位年轻学者的一种初步的尝试性研究,本书中肯定会有许多偏颇之论与不妥之语,因此还需要各位同行多多批评、多多指正。这不

仅是作为学者的学术责任使然,而且对于后进者的学术发展来讲 也无疑是一种强有力的激励和推动。

2003年5月17日 于北京大学蓝旗营小区

前言

战后的一个突出现实,是美国成了世界上惟一的超级大国。为了最大限度地谋 求其霸权利益, 美国的全球战略开始真正在 "全球"范围内展开。它一方面将政策重点置 于朝鲜、伊朗、伊拉克等所谓"无赖国家"、 另一方面则将战略矛头对准了中国、俄罗斯等 所谓"不负责任的大国"。从其全球利益出发, 美国既不允许世界上再出现任何一个能向其霸 主地位提出挑战的国家或国家集团, 也不允许 世界上任何地方出现地区霸权。与此相适应, 基于特殊的战略地位和复杂的地缘政治环境, 朝鲜半岛成为冷战后美国全球战略实施中一个 必不可少而且至关重要的组成部分。实际上, 冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策已经形成为一个体 系. 而这一体系则在形式上表现为既彼此联系 又相互作用的两个基本层面: 其一是针对朝鲜 的层面,目的是"规制"朝鲜、消除"朝鲜威 胁";其二则是针对半岛周边大国的层面、目

的是"规制"相关大国,消除任何一个国家谋求地区主导地位的 企图。也正是从这个意义上,笔者将冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策 界定为"双重规制"。

一方面,在冷战后美国针对朝鲜半岛的政策思维当中,"规 制朝鲜"是其最直接的政策目标。也是其整个政策体系最外在的 表现形式。基于对所谓"朝鲜威胁"的强烈关注,美国在现实的 对朝政策中所采取的是一种被称为"遏制"与"接触"相结合的 两手策略。虽然这一政策选择在实际上表现为一个逐步调整、逐 步演化的过程,但就整体而言,"遏制中的接触"与"接触中的 遏制"事实上构成了冷战后美国对朝鲜政策的最基本脉络。总的 来看、冷战后的美朝关系是围绕着朝鲜半岛出现的几次危机而展 开的, 而所谓"核问题"和"导弹问题"的存在与延续, 则构成 了双方关系发展中的一条主线。可以说,正是在这两大问题的逐 步发展和演化过程中,美国式的"遏制"与"接触"相结合的两 手策略发挥得淋漓尽致,而其所谓"软着陆"的内在本质也得到 了最为真实的体现。不难看出,在"遏制"与"接触"两手策略 的"彼此交叉"与"相互交替"中,美国试图以自己的意志规 范、制约朝鲜的行动,显然是要达到"一箭双雕"的目的: 既消 除对自己安全利益的一个"威胁"。又加强对半岛事务的干预能 力。从这个意义上讲,不论是遏制的加剧,还是接触的加强,美 国的真正意图都是为了使未来的朝鲜半岛具有美国式的民主和自 由的政治制度、建立以"自由经济"为基础的市场经济体制、并 最终把统一的朝鲜半岛纳入自己的全球战略轨道。

另一方面,在冷战后美国的全球战略中,针对大国的层面仍然是其核心和基础。因为在它看来,大国关系的状况如何,是决定其"世界秩序"能否顺利构建的关键之所在。与此相适应,在冷战后美国的朝鲜半岛政策中,作为对半岛地缘政治现实的一种必然反应,应对来自中国、日本和俄罗斯等"大国的挑战"已经被视为消除"朝鲜威胁"之外的另一核心目标,而其基本策略则同样是所谓"霸权规制"与"多极制衡"的结合。大致说来,冷

战后美国以朝鲜半岛为中心的大国政策基本上沿着两条主线展 开,其中既有"利用"的一手,又有"限制"的一手。它一方面 尽量谋求各大国对其朝鲜半岛政策的支持与合作,以便按照它的 意志推动朝鲜半岛的和平与统一进程,另一方面则凭借其超强实 力对各大国进行遏制、并借助海外平衡和多极均势限制各大国在 朝鲜半岛问题上作用的发挥。对中国,美国的政策是一方面利用 中国对朝鲜半岛特别是对朝鲜的影响力、鼓励其发挥符合美国战 略利益的"正面"作用,另一方面则设法限制中国在朝鲜半岛问 题上的发言权,最大限度地抵消其有背于美国战略利益的"负 面"影响,尽可能以朝鲜半岛作为战略前沿牵制与遏制中国。对 日本、美国的政策是充分利用美日同盟对日本来说既是"保护 伞"又是"枷锁"的双重性质。通过联盟自身功能的发挥对日本 的作用进行有效的限制和尽可能的利用。从自身的战略利益出 发,美国的目标是长期控制和利用日本,而绝不容许日本挑战或 分享其在亚太地区的安全主导权。与此同时,在朝鲜半岛问题 上,美国已经不再把俄罗斯仅仅看作是一个"配角"。对它来说. 继续"重视"俄罗斯这一政策取向包含着两个基本层面:其一是 抑制俄罗斯势力的进一步增长,防止俄罗斯谋求主导朝鲜半岛事 务的企图:其二则是尽可能利用俄罗斯在朝鲜半岛的现有影响。 使俄罗斯力量的发挥最大限度地服务于美国的东北亚地区战略。 不难看出, 伴随"利用"与"限制"(策略性两手)的交替运用, 美国的真正意图是,确保在朝鲜半岛事务上的"美国主导",进 而建立能够最大限度地体现其霸权利益的东北亚秩序。

必须看到,在冷战后美国对朝鲜半岛的政策规划中,美韩同盟的维持与发展是其政策目标赖以实现的根本保证。伴随国形势的变化,美韩同盟虽然经历了角色不断调整和功能不断转化的过程,但它在美国亚太安全战略中依然占有突出的地位。冷战后,遏制朝鲜"威胁"与维持地区"稳定"可以说是美韩同盟得以继续存在和发展的两个最主要依据,也是极力谋求发挥的两个最主要功能。与此相适应,针对"大国挑战"的层面与针对"朝

鲜威胁"的层面一起构成冷战后美韩同盟的两个主要政策指向。 从这个意义上讲,美韩同盟事实上构成了冷战后美国对朝鲜半岛 政策的基本组成部分,并因此成为美国追求其半岛政策目标、进 而实现其亚太安全战略的主要工具。

需要指出的是,冷战后美国在朝鲜半岛所推行的这种"双重 规制"政策虽然获得了相当大的"收益",但由于这一政策在本 质上仍属于"冷战思维"的范畴,在实践中并不适应以朝鲜半岛 为中心的东北亚国际战略环境和地缘政治现实。因此必然会对朝 鲜半岛的和平与统一进程产生消极影响。对中国来说。由于其对 外战略的立论基础在本质上是属于防御性的而非进攻性的、因 此、它对朝鲜半岛的政策选择必须以对于东北亚地区形势、特别 是对于美国朝鲜半岛政策的充分认知和准确把握为前提。面对冷 战后美国借"规制朝鲜"之机急欲主导朝鲜半岛和东北亚地区事 务的企图,中国必须坚持在巩固与增进中朝传统友谊的同时继续 发展中韩友好关系, 积极推动南北方自主解决半岛自身问题, 以 便确保自己在半岛问题上的发言权和影响力。与此同时、针对冷 战后美国以所谓"大国挑战"为由采取利用与限制相结合的手段 力求实现"地区规制"的政策、中国应该采取有针对性的"反利 用"与"反限制"的两手策略。抵制美国在东北亚的霸权图谋。 以保证朝鲜半岛局势不朝着有损自己利益的方向发展。也只有这 样、才能切实维护朝鲜半岛的和平与稳定、真正促进东北亚地区 的繁荣与发展。

PREFACE

prominent fact after the cold war is that the United States becomes the only superpower in the world. To pursue its hegemonic interests to the largest extent, the worldwide strategy of the US began truly to spread in the "whole world". On one hand, it placed its policy emphatically on the so - called "rogue states" such as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Iran and Irag. On the other hand, it turned the spearhead of its strategy to "irresponsible big countries" such as China and Russia. Considering its global interests, the US does not allow the appearance of another country or a group of countries that can challenge its ruling status, nor will it allow the turning - up of regional hegemony at any place in the world. To be adjusted to the situation, the Korean peninsula, with its special strategic importance and sophisticated geopolitical environment, has become an essential and crucial part

in the actualization of the US global strategy after the cold war. In fact, the US policy concerning the Korean peninsula has become a system, which in form appears two connected and interacting layers; one is pointed to the DPRK with the purpose of "regulating" it and eliminating "the North Korean menace": the second is for the surrounding big countries and the purpose is to "regulate" the relevant countries and to dispel their attempt to gain regional dominance. Just in this sense, we define the US policy toward the Korean peninsula after the cold war as "double regulation". On the one hand, in the US policy planning about the Korean peninsula, "regulating North Korea" is the most direct goal and the explicit manifestation of the whole policy system. As having a strong concern for the "North Korean menace", the US adopts a double tactic combining "containment" and "engagement" in its actual policy. Although this tactic shows up in reality as a gradually adjusting and gradually evolving process, "engage in containing" and "contain in engaging" on the whole. compose the basic line of the US policy toward North Korea after the cold war. In general, the US - North Korea relation after the cold war develops during the several crises in reference to the Korean peninsula. And the existence and continuation of "nuclear issue" and "missile issue" is the masterstroke in the development of their relation. We can say that, it is in the developing and evolving process of these two problems that the American double tactic of combining "containment" and "engagement" gets its full play and its essence of "soft land" has the most real exhibition. It is easy to see that with the "intersection" and "alternation" of the "contain ment - engagement" double tactic, the US attempts to standardize and regulate North Korea to its own purpose and to "kill two birds with one stone": to eliminate a threat to its own safety and also to strengthen its interference in the peninsula affairs. In this sense, no matter it is the

tightening of containment or increase of engagement, the real intention of the US is to establish American political system of democracy and freedom in the future peninsula, to set up market economic system based on free economy, and therefore, to enroll eventually the united peninsula into its global strategy.

The other side of the question is that the layer concerning big countries is still the core and basis of the US global strategy after the cold war because it believes whether or not the "world order" will be smoothly constructed depends largely on relations between big countries. Therefore, in the US post - cold war Korean peninsula policy, to deal with the "big country challenge" from China, Japan and Russia, as the necessary reaction to the peninsula geopolitical reality, is regarded as another key objective besides eliminating "North Korean threat". Generally, after the cold war the US big country policy centered upon the Korean peninsula follows the two lines of "use" and "restriction". It seeks big countries "support to and cooperation with its Korean peninsula policy in order to promote the peace and unification process of the peninsula in accordance with its own will. At the same time, relying on its supreme power, it contains these countries and limits their influence on the issue by oversea power balance and multi - polar equilibrium. To China, the US policy is to encourage it to utilize its influence on the peninsula, and especially on North Korea, to act "positively" in accordance with American strategic interests. Meanwhile the US manages to tether China's voice on the issue so as to diminish as much as possible the "negative" effects upon the US strategic interests. And it uses the Korean peninsula as its strategic frontier to contain and restrain China. To Japan, the US policy is to make the most benefit from their alliance, which is both a "shelter" and "fetters", to effectively curb and use the Japanese influence by letting the alliance fulfill its own function. Considering its strategic interests, the cause of US is to control and use Japan in long terms and never allow Japan to challenge or share its lead in the Asian - Pacific region. Meanwhile, In the Korean peninsula issue, the US no longer treats Russia as a "supporting role". Its

policy of continuous "regard" of Russia has two meanings; one is to prevent the further growth of Russia's power and its any design to dominate the peninsula affairs; the second is to use to the utmost the present weight of Russia on the peninsula to make it serve to the greatest extent for the US Northeastern Asian strategy. It is not difficult to see that the real American intention, with its shift of the two tactics between "use" and "restriction", is to ensure the "American dominance" in the peninsula affair so as to establish a Northeastern Asian order which can materialize as much as possible its hegemonic interests.

Moreover, we should notice that in the US policy planning of Korean peninsula the maintenance and development of US – ROK alliance is the basic guarantee of the realization of its goal. With the change in inter – national situation, the alliance has experienced a process of continuous modulating and transforming of its functions. Nevertheless, its key importance in the US Asia – Pacific safety strategy has not changed. After the cold war, the two major factors which keeps the US – ROK alliance and its development are to confine the North Korean "threat" and to maintain regional "stability". To adapt to this, the two layers of opposing "big country challenge" and "North Korean menace" become the two policy orientation of post cold war US – ROK alliance. In this sense, the US – ROK alliance has in fact constituted a basic part in the post cold war US policy concerning the Korean peninsula, and thus become an instrument of US in pursuing its peninsula objective and then implementing its Asia – Pacific safety strategy.

What needs to be pointed out is that, although after the cold war the United States has achieved considerable "advantage" in adopting this "double regulation", the policy in nature belongs to the "cold war mentality" and in practice is not fit for the reality of the Asia – Pacific international strategic situation and geopolitics. And naturally it will negatively affect the peace and unification process of the Korean peninsula.

As to China, as its theoretic basis of foreign strategy is defensive instead of offensive, its Korean peninsula policy must have as precondition the full knowledge and accurate understanding of the Northeastern Asian situation, especially the American Korean peninsula policy. Therefore, facing the American attempt to take the advantage of "regulating North Korea" to dominate the peninsula and Northeastern Asian region, China must continue to consolidate and improve Sino - DPRK relation and at the same time to develop Sino - ROK friendship, to actively push the North and the South to solve the peninsula issue independently, and in this way to ensure its floor and influence on the peninsula issue. Meanwhile, counteracting that the US tries to realize "regional regulation" by integrating the two tactics of "use" and "restriction", China should adopt a pertinent double maneuver of "anti - use" and "anti - restrict" to frustrate the US hegemonic attempt in Northeastern Asia and to ensure that the Korean peninsula situation will not develop towards an unfavorable direction. Only in this way, we could really maintain peace and stability in the Korean peninsula and truly promote the prosperity and development of the Northeastern Asian region.