冷战国际史研究

Cold War International History Studies

华东师范大学周边国家研究院、冷战国际史研究中心

23



安全的革命:中国援越抗美政策的缘起与形成 (1960-1965) 评美国亚太"再平衡"战略中苏分裂与 1960 年代日本的对华政策 印中对抗:新德里的视角 (1960-1970) 法德货币政策分歧与欧洲经济一体化初期尝试 (1969-1970) 布拉格之春及其意义再认识

关于《毛泽东和中苏伙伴关系,1945—1959;一部新历史》的评论以及作者的回应蒙古国的蒙中关系史研究——20世纪60年代以来蒙古国蒙中关系史研究的几个热点问题朝鲜战争中转入朝鲜人民军的中国朝鲜族参战军人采访录非洲丛林中的新使命——马法贤老人访谈录东德国家安全部关于信息员克恩的卷宗

全国中文核心期刊 中文社会科学引文索引(CSSCI)来源集刊

冷战国际史研究 No.23

Cold War International History Studies

华东师范大学周边国家研究院华东师范大学冷战国际史研究中心



图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

冷战国际史研究, 第23辑/李丹慧主编, 一北京, 世界知识出版社, 2017.9

ISBN 978-7-5012-5575-7

Ⅰ. ①冷… Ⅱ. ①李… Ⅲ. ①冷战—国际关系史—研 究 IV. ①D819

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2017) 第 221080 号

名 冷战国际史研究 No. 23 书

Lengzhan Guojishi Yanjiu No. 23

责任编辑

特邀编辑

罗养毅 狄安略

责任出版

赵玥

责任校对

陈可望

出版发行

世界知识出版社

地址邮编

北京市东城区干面胡同 51 号 (100010)

电 话

010-65265923 (发行) 010-85119023 (邮购)

网 址

www. ishizhi, cn

经 销 新华书店

刷

北京艺堂印刷有限公司

开本印张

ED

787×1092 毫米 1/16 20½田张

字数

346 王字

版次印次

2017年10月第一版 2017年10月第一次印刷

标准书号

ISBN 978-7-5012-5575-7

定价

38.00元

版权所有 侵权必究

《冷战国际史研究》编委会

主 编 李丹慧 (Li Danhui)

副 主 编 郭又新 (Guo Youxin)

委 员 (以姓氏拼音为序)

奥斯特曼 (Christian F. Ostermann)

伯 尔 (William Burr)

陈 兼 (Chen Jian)

陈永发 (Chen Yung-fa)

崔 丕 (Cui Pi)

戴超武 (Dai Chaowu)

邓 峰 (Deng Feng)

贡恰罗夫 (Sergey N. Goncharov)

郭又新 (Guo Youxin)

韩 钢 (Han Gang)

赫什伯格 (James Hershberg)

柯伟林 (William C. Kirby)

拉琴科 (Sergey Radchenko)

莱弗勒 (Melvyn P. Leffler)

李丹慧 (Li Danhui)

刘晓原 (Liu Xiaoyuan)

罗伯茨 (Priscilla Roberts)

马斯特尼 (Vojtech Mastny)

毛里和子 (Mori Kazuko)

牛 军 (Niu Jun)

牛大勇 (Niu Dayong)

沈志华 (Shen Zhihua)

王大卫 (David Wolff)

王俊逸 (Péter Vámos)

文安立 (Odd Arne Westad)

夏亚峰 (Xia Yafeng)

徐 蓝 (Xu Lan)

杨奎松 (Yang Kuisong)

姚 昱 (Yao Yu)

于 群 (Yu Qun)

余伟民 (Yu Weimin)

翟 强 (Zhai Qiang)

张曙光 (Zhang Shuguang)

章百家 (Zhang Baijia)

周 万 (Jovan Čavoški)

祖波克 (Vladislav M. Zubok)

出版说明

《冷战国际史研究》No. 23 是由华东师范大学周边国家研究院、冷战国际史研究中心组织编写的。主要内容包括特约专稿、讲稿撷英、青年学者论坛、书评书介、档案研究信息、口述历史及档案文献等。

出版此书的目的在于推动我国冷战史研究的深入,并进一步提高学术研究水平。为保留解密档案的原貌,本书未作任何删改。本书中文章的观点只代表作者本人,仅供读者研究参考。

试读结束: 需要全本请在线购买: www.ertongbook.com

Cold War International History Studies

No. 23 (Summer 2017)

Contents

Introduction

Invited Essay

Security Revolution: Origins and Formation of China's Policy of Assisting Vietnam and Resisting the United States / Niu Jun

Abstract: "Assisting Vietnam and resisting the United States" is a conception summarizing China's policy of massive foreign military aid for more than a decade. The policy went through a process of preparation, formation, and changes. The period of 1960–65 was one of policy formation, which can be subdivided into two phases. The first began in the summer of 1960 and ended with the conclusion of the second Geneva Conference; the second started in the summer of 1962 and ended with China's sending troops to Vietnam. Several important events took place in this period. For instance, as the Vietnamese Labor Party adopted its strategy for unifying the South, the armed struggle in the South became intensified rapidly. Sino–Soviet relations deteriorated till their alliance existed only in name. American military interference escalated gradually, from bombing North Vietnam to landing many troops in the South. By 1965 these developments changed drastically and together constituted a main background of Chinese policy making. This article reveals the interconnections of these developments and their tremendous impact on the formation of China's policy of assisting Vietnam and resisting the United States.

On the Asia-Pacific "Rebalance" Strategy of the United States / Wang Jisi and Zhao Jianwei

Abstract: The Obama Administration launched a strategy for rebalancing Asia-Pacific for two main objectives, namely to get a slice of the pie from the economic dividends in Asia, and to maintain power balance in the Asia-Pacific region so as to preserve America's primacy not only in Asia-Pacific but also globally. After its implementation, the strategy went through some readjustments in four aspects; it shifted from pro-military to pro-economic; changed from acceptance of "a new model of China-US relationship" to negative reactions; expanded its geographic domain from the Asia-Pacific to the Indo-Pacific; looked back to the Middle East once again amidst rebalancing Asia. Measures of the rebalance are as follows: strengthening treaty alliances, deepening partnerships with emerging countries, increasing engagement with multilateral institutions, and playing a key role in the negotiation of TPP. Based on statistical and textual analysis, this paper examines the roles of China and the Asia-Pacific region in terms of the U.S. global strategy under the Obama Administration, contending that the notion of Asia - Pacific rebalance has been exaggerated and its achievements have not lived up to expectation. The primary concern as well as diplomatic focus of Obama's global strategy remained in the Middle East and Europe, with Asia-Pacific standing next in line. The U.S. rebalance strategy put China under certain strategic pressure and effected some negative impact on the Asia-Pacific region. Notwithstanding, the current limitation as well as predicament ahead of the strategy should be recognized while neither its efficacy nor the challenges it posed to China should be overstated. At present, uncertainties have emerged along with the new U.S. president Donald Trump's strategic thinking and his policies both at home and abroad. Meanwhile the Middle East and Europe continue to occupy U. S. 's major attention. However, with the increased importance of the Asia-Pacific region and notably the continuous acceleration of China's national power and influence, it is possible that the Trump Administration will continue its strategic shifting to the Asia-Pacific. The "bumper sticker" and certain elements of the rebalance have been already abandoned, though the strategy might be put into effect in some other forms.

Young Scholars' Forum

Sino – Indian Rivalry from the Sixties to the Seventies: A New Delhi Perspective / Sonia Cordera

Abstract: The leading factor that actually shaped India's foreign policy during the Sixties and Seventies was India's willingness to respond to the perceived Chinese threat to its dominant position in South Asia. After the humiliating defeat India suffered against China in 1962, India felt its hegemonic position in South Asia challenged. Later, India successfully managed in its favor the tragic East Pakistan genocidal crisis by dividing Pakistan; it exploded its first atomic bomb, becoming the sixth state in the world to demonstrate the possession of such technology; and it resolved the question of Sikkim, the Indian protectorate at the border with China, in annexing the state and ending its aspirations of independence. Nevertheless, New Delhi carefully avoided any behavior that could directly jeopardize bilateral relations or a military confrontation with Beijing, since such a scenario was not in its interests. As a result, India reformulated its defense policy, and in the following decade tried, successfully, to show its renewed military and political power, and thus to re-assert itself as the dominant state of the region. By strongly affecting India's foreign policy, Sino-Indian rivalry indirectly also shaped, even if with great differences, the politics of Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sikkim, Nepal, and Bhutan, and their relations with China.

Divergences in French-German monetary policies and the initial attempt of the European community on economic integration (1969–1970) / Wang Wenfei

Abstract: In the 1960s, Western Europe achieved great developments in the social and economic domains. Members of the European Economic Community thus wanted to have an enlarged cooperation in the economic and monetary fields. In December 1969, during The Hague Summit, the six participants made clear their willingness to cooperate with one other under the auspices of the "completion, enlargement, deepening" triptych. After the meeting, the Werner group was founded in order to plan for the establishment of an economic and monetary union (hereinafter EMU). However, it was hard to unify each member's economic and monetary policies. During the process of drafting the Werner Plan, the

"monetarists", led by the French, insisted on the importance of establishing the monetary union first and reducing the exchange rate margins. In contrast, the "economists", pioneered by the Germans, proposed to unify the economic policy, and based on that principal, to built the monetary union. Their differences were engendered from several causes: divergent economic interests; different attitudes towards the floating system; the problem of gold; different responses to U. S. proposition. All of these factors contributed to an unsolvable situation among the Six at the beginning of setting up the EMU. As soon as U. S. New Economic Policy was announced by President Nixon on August 15, 1971, the Werner Plan was influenced and stranded as well.

The Prague Spring Reconsidered / Gao Xiaochuan

Abstract: As an important event in the history of international communist movement, the Prague Spring was the most ambitious reform practice aimed to breaking the Soviet model in eastern Europe during the Cold War. Its goal was to explore the developing path according to one's own conditions. The top-down effort by the CPCz's reformist leadership met the people's aspirations from the bottom up, which indicated an endogenous and autonomous reform. Adhering to the leadership of the ruling party and maintaining the relations with other socialist-bloc countries, the CPCz made a series of efforts to democratize the centralized state structure through separating the functions of party from those of the government, decouple economic enterprises from the administration, establish a federated government, ensure self-governance of social organizations, and relax press censorship, so as to solve problems in domestic economic and social development and ease domestic interethnic tensions. As an innovative and breakthrough attempt, these programs highlighted the importance of constructing socialist democracy. In explaining and exploring the issue of socialist democracy the Prague Spring enriched the theory and practice of the international communist movement, and was therefore of special historical significance in the history of international communist movement.

Book Reviews

H-Diplo Roundtable Review of Zhihua Shen and Yafeng Xia, Mao and the Sino-Soviet Partnership, 1945-1959: A New History

Information about Archival Research

Study of the History of the Chinese – Mongolian Relations in Mongolia— Several Hot Issues in the Study of the History of Chinese – Mongolian Relations Since the 1960s / Jin Quan

Abstract: Since the 1960s, the study of the history of the Chinese-Mongolian relations has made remarkable achievements in Mongolia, and many important research findings have emerged. As the fellow scholars from two countries are furthering academic exchanges and the fields explored expanding, the study of the Chinese-Mongolian relations has entered a new realm. The essay looks at several central issues in this scholarship on the Cold War period, and assesses its academic achievements and trends.

Oral History

Interviews with Ethnic Korean Soldiers of China Who Joined the People's Army of Korea during the Korean War: Interviews with Ethnic Korean Soldiers of the Longjing Municipality of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Who Fought the Korean War (7) / Xu Longnan

A New Mission in the Forests of Sub-Saharan Africa—Interviews with Old Ma Faxian about His Training of Military Personnel in Africa (13) / Li Danhui and Zhou Na

Archives and Documents

Archives of the IM "Kern" —An Unofficial Agent of the Stasi (the Ministry for State Security of the East Germany) / Translated and Compiled by Tong Xin

卷首语

本辑"特邀专论"栏推出北京大学国际关系学院牛军教授的重头文章:《安全的革命:中国援越抗美政策的缘起与形成》。作者以中外档案文献,特别是中国外交解密文件为研究基础,深入考察了1960年至1965年中国援越抗美政策酝酿、形成和演变的过程;提出了新的重要论断:维护国家安全并不是或并不始终是中国援越抗美政策确立及演变的首要动力。地缘安全利益的考虑不只推动中国加强援越,也在深层次上强有力地约束着中国的政策选项和诸多外交行为。中国领导人并不打算因援越而与美国作战或打一次朝鲜战争式的局部战争,更不希望引发想象中的世界大战。他们虽然对世界革命高潮的到来充满憧憬和期待,但并未想过要以中国的安全为代价。换言之就是,中国要的是"安全的革命",这是中国援越抗美政策及围绕其展开的外交行动背后的战略逻辑和根本性的指导原则,也是解读和评价中国领导人在之后各阶段的选择和中国相关对外行为的至关重要的线索。作者的这一结论,对于审视和评估中国 20 世纪 60—70 年代革命外交与务实外交交叉并行的历史,具有重要的指导意义。

2017年1月下旬,特朗普入主白宫后即签署行政命令,正式宣布美国单方面退出《跨太平洋伙伴关系协定》。3月中旬,美国国务院代理亚太事务助理国务卿董云裳(Susan Thornton)谈道,奥巴马政府的亚太"再平衡"战略已经正式终结,新政府对亚太战略有"自己的构想"。无论特朗普政府的亚太战略如何制定,都要面对奥巴马政府在亚太地区所实施的外交、军事行动的遗产。本辑特邀北京大学国际关系学院教授、国际战略研究院院长王缉思和研究助理赵建伟评议奥巴马政府的亚太"再平衡"战略。他们在全面回顾美国亚太"再平衡"战略的提出与调整后,利用日本早稻田大学语言学教

授劳伦斯·安东尼 (Laurence Anthony) 研发的语料库检索软件 ANTCONC, 对涉及美国全球战略的官方文件、美国领导人关于全球战略与全局性外交的公开演讲或在参众议院听证会上的陈述,以及有关美国领导人的重要采访进行词频统计和文本分析,并对美国总统、国务卿出访世界各个地区的次数进行统计,以此解读中国和亚太地区在美国全球战略中的位置和重要性以及亚太"再平衡"战略面临的障碍。文章还进一步探究了亚太地区主要国家对"再平衡"战略的反应、"再平衡"战略对亚太地区力量格局和形势的影响及其未来——"虽然'再平衡'战略的口号及其中的某些内容已被特朗普政府放弃,但可能会以其他形式继续付诸实施"。作者的这种研究和解读事物的方法,以及观察和评析问题的视野,颇富启迪价值。

本辑"青年学者论坛"的内容丰富多彩,分别为神田丰隆:《中苏分裂 与 1960 年代日本的对华政策》;索尼亚·科尔代罗:《印中对抗:新德里的 视角(1960-1970)》;王雯菲:《法德货币政策分歧与欧洲经济一体化初 期尝试(1969—1970)》;高晓川:《"布拉格之春"及其意义再认识》。这 四篇文章在认真梳理、细致分析多国档案文献资料的基础上,或通过考察 20 世纪60年代末70年代初法德在欧洲经济发展与货币联盟建设领域的分歧和 矛盾、展现冷战时期欧共体成员国关系的复杂性和美欧关系的微妙变化;或 对国际共运的传统课题"布拉格之春"进行"再认识"。神田"1960年代日 本对中苏分裂的认识及其对华政策的调整"的文章,则向我们展示了域外 "他者"的视角。这里要特别提出的是、进入7月份以来、中印边境对峙局 势持续紧张,中印边界冲突以及冷战年代中印关系的历史再度成为国际社 会、尤其是中国全社会关注的热点。年轻学者科尔代罗关于"20世纪60—70 年代的印中对抗"一文,以印度国家档案馆收藏的印度外交部解密档案,以及 印度总理尼赫鲁 (P. J. Nehru) 秘书哈卡萨 (P. N. Haksar) 的私人文件为考 察研究的基础、得出了一些结论、诸如印度 20 世纪 60-70 年代的外交政策 主要受印中对抗的影响: 1962 年印中边界战争印度的败北使其感到自己在南 亚的统治地位受到震动, 为此重新调整国防政策以夺回地区霸主地位; 不 过,在此后的十年中,印度一直谨慎地避免发生直接危及印中关系的行为; 1974 年印度核爆成功,加强了与中国对抗的筹码,等等。为我们提供了另一 位域外"他者"解读材料的角度和思路。

"书评·书介"栏目登载了美国人文与社会科学在线网外交及国际史 (H-Diplo) 专栏关于沈志华与夏亚峰合著《毛泽东和中苏伙伴关系, 1945—

1959:一部新历史》①一书的圆桌评论。杰瑞米·弗里德曼(Jeremy Friedman)、奥斯汀·杰西尔德(Austin Jersild)、柯天慧(Deborah Kaple)、梁思文(Steven I. Levine)、牛军、王大卫(David Wolff),多位世界知名的中苏关系史学者对著作做出了积极的评价。弗里德曼称该著作是"必读的著作"。杰西尔德赞赏作者对中国和苏联国内政治的深刻见解。柯天慧根据她自己有关苏联在华专家的研究,强调该著作的一个重大贡献就是描绘了20世纪50年代中苏错综复杂的经济关系。牛军教授强调该书"利用新解密和出版的中国和俄罗斯档案材料(包括最近解密的1949年到1965年的中国外交部档案),以及大量的二手资料、口述史和采访"进行研究,可以说是这十几年来中国学术界研究成果的结晶,基本反映了中国学者近一个时期以来的努力和达到的水平。王大卫因该著作"显著提升了研究水准"而对两位作者提出赞扬。梁思文同样提及该著作给了他很大的启发。沈志华和夏亚峰对各位学者的评论做了回应,对一些有争议的或未说清楚的问题进行了解释。

"档案研究信息"栏中,金泉的《蒙古国的蒙中关系史研究——20世纪60年代以来蒙古国蒙中关系史研究的几个热点问题》梳理、总结了蒙古国学界蒙中关系史研究中的焦点问题、主要学术成果、研究趋势以及存在的不足。"口述历史"栏目继续刊登《朝鲜战争中转入朝鲜人民军的中国朝鲜族参战军人采访录:延边朝鲜族自治州延吉市朝鲜族参战军人采访录》和《非洲丛林中的新使命——马法贤老人访谈录》。

这一辑的"档案文献"栏推出了童欣编译的《东德国家安全部关于信息员克恩的卷宗》。这些解密的档案资料栩栩如生地再现了德意志民主共和国国家安全部的信息员克恩如何伪装成亲华的"进步青年",接近中方使馆人员并收集情报。

① Shen Zhihua and Xia Yafeng, Mao and the Sino-Soviet Partnership, 1945-1959; A New History, New York; Lexington Books, 2015.

全国中文核心期刊 中文社会科学引文索引 (CSSCI) 来源集刊

冷战国际史研究No. 23

Cold War International History Studies

No. 23 (Summer 2017)

录 目

11 卷首语

特邀专论

- 1 安全的革命:中国援越抗美政策的缘起与形成(1960-1965)/牛军
- 55 评美国亚太"再平衡"战略/王缉思、赵建伟

青年学者论坛

- 91 中苏分裂与 1960 年代日本的对华政策 / 神田丰隆
- 109 印中对抗:新德里的视角 (1960-1970) / 索尼亚・科尔代罗
- 127 法德货币政策分歧与欧洲经济一体化初期尝试 (1969—1970) / 王雯菲
- 143 布拉格之春及其意义再认识 / 高晓川

书评・书介

161 关于《毛泽东和中苏伙伴关系,1945—1959:一部新历史》的评论 以及作者的回应

档案研究信息

- 201 蒙古国的蒙中关系史研究
 - ---20世纪60年代以来蒙古国蒙中关系史研究的几个热点问题/金泉

口述历史

- 215 朝鲜战争中转入朝鲜人民军的中国朝鲜族参战军人采访录: 延边朝鲜族自治州延吉市朝鲜族参战军人采访录(七)/徐龙男
- 241 非洲丛林中的新使命
 - ——马法贤老人访谈录 (十三) / 李丹慧、周娜访谈并整理

档案文献

271 东德国家安全部关于信息员克恩的卷宗(一)/童欣编译

安全的革命: 中国援越抗美政策的缘起与形成 (1960—1965)

牛 军*



1965年5月,越南民主共和国主席胡志明访问中国,在机场与董必武、邓小平等中国领导人合影。

^{*} 牛军, 北京大学国际关系学院教授。

提要:

"援越抗美"是对一项持续了十余年之久的大规模对外军事援助政策的概括,这项政策有一个酝酿、形成和演变的过程,1960年至1965年夏是形成时期,包括1960夏季到第二次日内瓦会议结束和1962年夏到1965年夏中国派出支援部队等两个阶段。期间同时出现了几个重大事件,如越南劳动党中央的南方统一战略形成与南方武装斗争迅速升级、1962年秋季中国对外政策转向激进化、中苏关系急剧恶化直至同盟"名存实亡"、美国军事干涉逐步升级直到轰炸北越和大规模投入地面部队。这几个事态都在1965年达到各自演变的高潮,它们共同构成了中国政策形成的主要背景。本文将揭示它们之间的关联及其对援越抗美政策形成的根本性影响。

关键词: 援越抗美 中国战略 外援 安全

"援越抗美"对于研究当代外交史、中国对外政策、中美关系等领域的学者和学生,几乎是耳熟能详的。但是,迄今为止的诸多研究成果中,并没有对这个概念的确切含义做出清晰的定义,它在有关论述中大致可以被理解为是对一项政策或一类长期行为的简约和形象的概括。为了研究和讨论的基本需要,这里首先说明,本文论述的"援越抗美"是指中国针对 20 世纪 60 年代发生的越南战争的一项长期政策,它有酝酿、形成和演变的过程,支配着从 1962 年到 1975 年中国在印度支那地区的许多重要决策和行动。从某种意义上说,将"援越抗美"作为一项战略进行研究也是合理的,因为它指导着迄今为止的中华人民共和国历史上规模最大和持续时间最长的对外军事援助行动,而且严重影响了这期间的中国安全战略和对外政策等的许多方面。进一步说,中国领导人的一系列有关选择本身还包含着大大超出越南乃至印支地区的复杂考虑,他们从一开始就没有将"援越抗美"仅仅(在冷战背景下实际上也难以)视为一项解决地区问题的政策。所以,重新解读"援越抗美"政策,包括揭示其主要特点、形成过程及影响等,对系统分析和理解这个阶段中国对外政策的特征和战略性转变等,有着无可替代的价值。

本文只涵盖援越抗美政策的缘起和形成阶段(1960年秋至1965年夏), 目的是通过分析中国有关决策过程,揭示这项政策形成的主要内容、特点和 复杂的动力等等,从而回答几个最基本的问题:中国领导人如何以及为什么