

吴心伯◎著

世事如棋局新

——二十世纪初中美关系的新格局

CENTURY

教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地重大项目成果

復旦大學出版社

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前言

写一本关于后冷战时期中美关系专著的愿望早已有之。笔者在博士生阶段,有幸师从著名的中美关系史专家汪熙教授,得以领略中美关系史的复杂性和特殊性,而探赜索隐、钩深致远的历史研究方法也令笔者受益匪浅。走上工作岗位以后,关注的主要是当下的中美关系,一方面对其生动的现实性和动态性兴趣盎然,另一方面又常常对其变动不居感到难以把握。1994年,笔者赴美从事访问研究,师从美国知名的中国问题专家哈里·哈丁(Harry Harding)教授,这段经历为笔者从事当下中美关系的研究打下了良好的基础。此后又渐次结交兰普顿(David Lampton)教授、奥克森伯格(Michael Oksenberg)教授等美国研究中美关系的大家,往还切磋之中,治学套路逐渐拓展,研究工作也渐有心得。随着自己有关中美关系的论文不断面世,心中开始萌生撰写一部关于当前中美关系的专著的愿望。2005年,笔者在申报教育部人文社会科学重点研究基地重大项目时,就以“冷战后中美关系新态势与新格局研究”为题,试图对整个后冷战时期中美关系的发展变化进行梳理和研究。在课题立项后,笔者经过认真考虑,决定将研究聚焦于21世纪第一个十年的中美关系,以揭示中美关系的最新发展。

人们常说,中美关系十年一变。变化的不仅是双边互动形式与内涵,还有国际形势和两国各自的发展态势。21世纪第一个十年的中美关系“变点”很多,那么,该如何选择最有代表性的“变点”加以研究,以尽可能全面和准确地反映这十年中美关系的变化呢?从中美关系的结构看,国际环境是塑造两国关系的最重要的外部因素,经贸关系、安全关系、台湾问题则是这对关系的核心内容,而交往方式和冲突形式则是中美关系发展变化的外在体现。有鉴于此,笔者选取中美在国际层面的互动、经贸关系、安全关系、台湾问题、交往方式和危机管

理等为研究对象,六个不同的侧面构成一个有机的整体,多角度地展示中美关系的新格局。

对当下中美关系的研究,一方面固然要注重文献和书本知识,另一方面也应充分利用各种交流平台,从实践中汲取学术营养,在某种意义上,后者令笔者受惠更多。在过去10年中,笔者主持了复旦大学美国研究中心与美国战略与国际问题研究中心太平洋论坛关于“中美关系与地区安全”的对话项目,该对话每年一次,轮流在上海和夏威夷举行。参加对话的大多是中美两国研究双边关系和地区安全问题的知名专家学者,每次坦诚的交流都拓宽了笔者的视野,丰富了笔者对相关问题的认识。自2003年以来,笔者还参加了每年一次,轮流在北京、东京和华盛顿召开的“中美日三边对话”,参加这一三边对话的有三国的知名学者,也有外交部门的人士,每次对话结束,主办方还安排与会者与主办国负责外交和安全事务的官员交流,这个对话不仅学术含金量甚高,也给笔者提供了从三边关系的角度认识中美关系的视角。此外,在2002—2008年间,笔者还参加了美国葛小伟(Peter Gries)博士发起的7轮由中美两国青年学者参加的“中美安全对话”,从群山逶迤的科罗拉多到海岛风情的夏威夷,从雄奇险秀的黄山到江南水乡周庄,两国青年学者聚聚一堂,畅所欲言,切磋了学问,加深了相互了解,也培养了个人友谊。这些经历对一个研究中美关系的学者来说无疑是弥足珍贵的。

在本书的写作过程中,笔者访谈了中美两国政府现任和前任官员以及有关专家学者,他们提供的资料和观点对笔者的研究具有重要的参考价值,在此向他们表示诚挚的谢意。第二章和第五章的相关表格由我的几位弟子——宋国友博士、陈宗权博士、焦世新博士——协助制作,第六章的初稿是笔者于2006—2007年在美国和平研究所担任杰宁斯·兰多夫高级研究员(Jennings Randolph Senior Fellow)期间撰写的英文研究报告,2008年由该所出版(*Managing Crisis and Sustaining Peace between China and the United States*, United States Institute of Peace, Peaceworks No. 61, 2008),余建军博士提供了该报告中译本的初稿。这里一并向他们致谢。我更要感谢的是我的爱妻计庆超和爱子吴限,他们带给我的家庭生活的快乐是我在学术征途上跋涉前行的强大的

精神动力。

一项研究任务的完成意味着新的研究工作的开始。2009年1月,本书即将完稿之际,笔者应邀赴京参加中国人民外交学会举办的“纪念中美建交30周年研讨会”,会上,许多为中美关系的发展作出重要贡献的中美人士——钱其琛、唐家璇、李道豫、李肇星、戴秉国、基辛格、卡特、布热津斯基、洛德、芮效俭、尚慕杰、普理赫等——抚今追昔,无不中美关系30年来所走过的不平凡的道路感慨万千,为中美关系在步入30年之际所呈现的良好发展态势而感到欣慰。睿智的基辛格博士在发言中指出,过去30年,中美关系是世界局势的重要的稳定力量,未来30年,它将成为一种创造性的力量,重塑世界格局。耳闻此言,笔者倍感振奋:新的形势下,中美关系正在翻开新的一页,将要谱写新的历史篇章。那么,中美两国将如何重塑世界格局,这不正是一个中美关系研究者应该敏锐地抓住的重大课题吗!

吴心伯

2010年12月1日于复旦园

Summary

The early 21st century witnessed great changes in China, the United States and the overall international situation. Such developments gave rise to new landscape in Sino — U. S. relations. This book aims to provide a comprehensive study of the new face of bilateral relationship and explore deeply its structure, dynamics and trends.

Chapter One, A New Perspective for Sino — American Relations. After the Cold War, China's rise, the development of globalization, the increase in China's foreign interests, and its increase in international influence have created a completely new international environment for Sino — American relations. It is precisely under these circumstances that Sino — American relations have again gone through a process of internationalization. The internationalization at the structural level of relations between the two countries has worsened structural contradictions, yet internationalization on the functional dimension has brought momentum for cooperation and opened new space for development in Sino — American relations. Faced with the expansion of Chinese influence in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, America's response is complicated. Sino — American interactions in these areas have both positive and negative sides. The first section of this chapter examines the new process of re — internationalization of Sino — American relations from structural and functional perspectives and their influence on the bilateral relationship and looks forward to the developing trend in the internationalization of Sino — American relations. The second section explores America's complicated reactions to China's increasing influence in Asia, Africa and Latin America and

analyzes their influence on Sino—American relations.

Chapter Two, The New Structure of Sino—American Economic and Trade Relations. At the beginning of the 21st century, Sino—American economic and trade relations have three main characteristics. First, economic and trade frictions between China and America have assumed a trend of moving up in a straight line and became an important source of dispute for the two countries. Second, with stable growth in China's gross national power and with major differences in security and strategic interests between China and America as the background, there is a trend of 'securitization' in America's economic and trade policy towards China. Consideration of security factors increasingly influences America's trade and economic policy towards China. Third, economic interdependence is not only deepening, but also becoming increasingly symmetric. These new characteristics of Sino—American economic and trade relations have already and will continue to have a complicated effect on the entire bilateral relationship. The first section of this chapter analyzes the regularization of the economic and trade dispute and its reason for appearing, the second section investigates the development and trend of the securitization of America's economic and trade policy towards China, the third section analyzes the changing relationship of interdependence, and the fourth section discusses the influence of the new situation in economic and trade ties on the entire bilateral relationship.

Chapter Three, New Trends in Sino—American Security Relations. At the beginning of the 21st century, Sino—American security relations had a new trend in development. The modernization of China's national defense and increase in its military strength have given rise to America's strategic concerns. America worries about China's growing military strength, especially its strategic capability that may weaken America's military superiority, worries about a challenge to its ability to dominate security affairs in East Asia and the Western Pacific, and also worries that mainland China's advantage in

the military power balance across the Taiwan Strait may cause Chinese leaders to tend towards a violent solution to the Taiwan issue. Therefore, how to deal with a China whose military strength is increasing has become a new important topic for America's security and military strategies at the beginning of the 21st century. America's way of coping with China's development in military strength has caused new trends in the Sino—American security relationship and has produced, and will continue to produce, important impact on Sino—American relations. The first section of this chapter analyzes America's focus, understanding, and judgment on China's increasing military strength, the second section makes a detailed investigation into the reaction of the Bush administration to the modernization of the Chinese military, including preventing China from acquiring advanced weapons and technology from overseas and the use of dissuasion, deterrence and hedging strategies, and the third section analyzes the negative influence and problems that the Bush administration's security policy towards China caused.

Chapter Four, The New Situation on the Taiwan Issue. At the beginning of the 21st century, there were new developments on the Taiwan issue. First was the ascension to power on the island by the Democratic and Progressive Party (DPP). After acquiring executive resources, Taiwanese separatist forces actively engaged in Taiwan independence activities, and the cross—strait relationship was tense. Second was America's increasing involvement in Taiwan affairs, and the American factor exercised increasingly powerful influence on the trend of cross—strait policy of the Taiwan authorities and the evolution of the island's political situation. Third was a new situation of interaction between China and America on the Taiwan issue, and both sides worked to restrict Taiwanese independence and maintained stability in the strait. The first section of this chapter explores the basic form of America's influence on the cross—strait policy of the Taiwan authorities, analyzes the most important cases of America influencing the political evolution of the

island, and looks towards developing trends of America's involvement in Taiwan affairs. The second section analyzes the process of adjustments in the respective Taiwan policies of mainland China and America and investigates the new situation of interaction that has emerged between China and America on the Taiwan issue. The third section discusses the direction of America's Taiwan policy.

Chapter Five, New Trends in Sino — American Interactions. Since entering the 21st century, interactions between China and America have seen new trends. On the objective side, the growing connections between Chinese and American interests and the increase in problems in the bilateral relationship necessitate the two countries from the summit level to the strategic and work level to intensify interactions and institutionalize each channel of interaction. On the subjective side, in order to promote cooperation between the two countries and the healthy development of the bilateral relationship, China and America are both trying to find a better means for managing the bilateral relationship. Interactions between China and America now have the special characteristics of multiplication of methods and institutionalization. New trends in Sino — American interactions help increase mutual understanding and trust between the two countries, encourage their cooperation on important issues, and push forward the use of constructive methods to deal with problems in the bilateral relationship. Conditions of rapidly growing economic and trade bonds between China and America created the Sino — American Strategic Economic Dialogue, which guarantees the development of bilateral economic and trade relations, and provides a new framework for coordination of the international economy. The first section of this chapter explores the unfolding of summit diplomacy between China and America and its influence on bilateral relations, and the second section investigates the development of dialogue mechanisms between China and America and undertakes a case study of the Sino — American Strategic Dialogue

and Sino—American Strategic Economic Dialogue.

Chapter Six, The New Form of Sino—American Conflict. In the post Cold War era, security and diplomatic crises between China and America often occurred. Since the middle of the 1990s, Sino—American relations have experienced in less than ten years three serious crises, which were the March 1996 Taiwan Straits crisis, the 1999 bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, and collision of an American spy plane and Chinese fighter in the South China Sea. These crises not only in a short period of time seriously damaged bilateral relationship, they also had negative influence on the long term development of relations between the two countries. Crises have already become a new form of conflict between China and America in the post Cold War era. The first section of this chapter investigates the experiences and lessons in the management of these three crises, the second section analyzes special characteristics in crisis management in China and America, and the third section envisions possible types and forms of crises that may appear in the future between China and America, and provides suggestions on how to avoid and manage them.

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导 论

自 1979 年中美两国正式建立外交关系以来,中美关系几乎每隔 10 年就要发生一次格局性的变化。从 1979 年到 1989 年,冷战背景下的中美战略合作和中国的改革开放构成了这一时期中美关系发展的主轴,双边关系的基本面是积极的和合作取向的。从 1990 年到 2000 年,世界进入后冷战时代,美国享受冷战终结的红利并谋求建立单极世界,中国积极发展自身的综合国力并推动形成多极世界,中美价值观和意识形态的冲突,全球化背景下中美经济联系的加深等,是塑造中美关系“后冷战格局”的主要因素。到了 21 世纪初,形势又为之一变,美国应对“9·11”事件后新的安全挑战,中国经济的迅猛发展,中美两国在全球治理上的合作,国际格局的显著变化等等,催生了中美关系的新格局。如果说 20 世纪 90 年代中美关系的“后冷战格局”带有过渡性质的话,那么 21 世纪初中美关系的新格局则体现了双边关系重要的结构性变化,昭示着两国关系新的发展趋势,这些趋势会在相当长的时期内影响中美关系的发展。

本书聚焦 21 世纪初中美关系的新格局,正是基于中美关系在 21 世纪初的发展和变化所蕴含的独特的研究价值。21 世纪初见证了中国的快速发展,中国崛起的态势更加明显。从中美关系的角度看,中国的崛起影响着双方的力量对比,也加深了两国间的相互依存,这给中美互动注入了前所未有的新元素。随着中国加入世界贸易组织,中国融入世界的步伐大大加快,中国在全球的经济活动迅猛增加,与一些国家和地区的政治和外交联系也节节攀升,如何应对这一局面,成为美国外交的新课题。21 世纪初,在全球化加速发展的背景下,全球问题更加突出,各国面临的共同挑战增加,全球治理成为国际政治的首要议程,这给中美互动带来了新的内涵和形式。21 世纪初也是美国经历重大变化与挑战的时期。在充分享受了冷战终结和全球化发展所带来的红利后,美国在 21 世纪的第一个十年里遭遇了前所未有的挑战。“9·11”事件改变了美国的安全环境,重塑了美国的安全观,反恐、阿富汗战争、伊拉克战争主导着美国国家安

全议程。全球化如同一把双刃剑,在给美国创造巨大商机的同时,也带来了挑战,对美国经济增长和就业的负面效应开始显现。不期而至的金融危机更使美国的经济和国际形象遭到重创。美国对这些挑战的应对不可避免会影响到其对中美关系的认识与处理。21 世纪初国际形势和中美两国发展轨迹的巨大变化,使得中美关系的发展呈现出波澜壮阔、跌宕起伏的态势,它不仅塑造了中美关系的新格局,也构成了当今国际政治一道独特的风景线。对中美关系新格局的研究无疑将大大丰富我们对这一或许是世界上最重要的双边关系的结构、动力和发展趋势的认知,并增进我们对 21 世纪国际政治之新气象的领悟。

国内外学术界密切跟踪和研究 21 世纪初的中美关系,迄今发表的学术论文数以百计。学者们在研究中试图运用多种研究方法,采取多种分析角度。在研究方法上,既有对中美关系发展轨迹的经验性研究,或分析,或总结,或归纳,或预测,又有多元理论的探讨,现实主义、自由主义、建构主义、权力转移理论、博弈论等各显身手。研究视角更是精彩纷呈,既有国内政治视角(党派政治、利益集团、选举政治),又有国际政治视角(全球化、国际体系转型、大国关系);既关注双边,又联系多边(亚太、东亚、中美俄、中美日、中美印、中美欧);既有分门别类的问题研究(反恐问题、朝鲜核问题、台湾问题、地区安全问题)和领域研究(政治、经济、安全、文化),又有总体分析和宏观把握(结构性矛盾、新特点)。这些研究成果无疑大大拓展和深化了对新时期中美关系的认识。但是另一方面,国内学术界迄今还没有出版一部对 21 世纪初中美关系的新格局进行较为系统和全面研究的专著,国外学者的相关著述也寥寥无几。^①新时期中美关系意义非凡的发展要求我们在系统和深入研究的基础上,比较全面地揭示其新态势和新格局,发掘其丰富的内涵,提供有新意的学理阐释。这正是本书的主旨所在。

那么,该如何揭示 21 世纪初中美关系的新格局呢?显而易见的是,中美关

^① 就笔者所见,近年来国内出版的关于或部分涉及 21 世纪中美关系的著作(不包括论文集)有:王勇:《中美经贸关系》,中国市场出版社 2007 年版;李铁城、钱文荣主编:《联合国框架下的中美关系》,人民出版社 2006 年版;张沅生、〔美〕史文主编:《对抗·博弈·合作——中美安全危机管理案例分析》,世界知识出版社 2007 年版;陶文钊主编:《冷战后的美国对华政策》,重庆出版社 2006 年版。美国学者的相关著作(含编著)有:Zhao Suisheng ed., *China-U. S. Relations Transformed: Perspectives and Strategic Interactions*, New York: Routledge, 2008; Christopher Marsh and June Teufel Dreyer eds., *U. S. -China Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Policies, Prospects and Possibilities*, Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books 2003; Johnathan Pollack, ed., *Strategic Surprise? U. S. -China Relations in the Early Twenty-first Century*, Newport, Rhode Island: Naval War College Press, 2003。