

美国国家

U. S. National

安全政策

Security Policy

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前 言

(一)

首先,笔者想说明的是,作为一本研究美国国家安全政策的专著,本书是在传统的意义上使用国家安全政策这一术语的,它等同于我们通常所说的防务政策。

国家安全政策是服务于国家的最高利益——生存和发展——的政策。它主要涉及的是军事问题以及与军事问题直接相关的政治、经济和社会问题。

如果说,国家安全政策是自世界上出现了国家以后就有的政策,对国家安全政策的研究,尤其是系统研究则主要是本世纪的事情。现代科学技术的发展、各国关系的紧密化,无疑是属于推动了这一研究的最基本因素。50年代以后,在许多国家中,对国家安全政策——本国的和外国的——研究,更是突破了习惯的专业分工,扩展到了大学和民间学术机构。

十年以前,当我作为一个研究国际关系的学者访问美国纽约川工大学奥本尼分校(SUNY at Albany)时,美国大学对国家安全政策的重视给我留下了深刻的印象。坦率地说,在国际关系的研究方面,该校在美国学术界并不具有突出的地位,然而,它仍然开设了“美国防务政策”等专门研究国家安全政策的课程,以及“核时代的和平”等与国家安全政策有着紧密联系的课程。选择这些课程的学生十分踊跃,除了政治学和其他文科专业的学生外,还有许多主修数学、物理、生物等自然科学专业的学生。甚至在暑期班(summer school)中,也有不少成年人饶有兴趣地参加了这些课程的学习。此外,该校还举办了关于里根政府的“战略防御计划”(SDI)的讨论会,校内外的一些学者就此展开了激烈的争论……在奥本尼尚且如

此,其他一些著名大学的情况就可想而知了。

我国地方大学的情况与此形成了明显的反差。长期以来,即使是笔者所在的复旦大学国际政治系,我们也只是在研究或讲授国际关系或其他课题时附带提及与国家安全政策有关的一些问题,而并未将国家安全政策和国际安全作为国际关系学中的一个专门领域加以研究,作为一门独立课程加以讲授。

这种状况显然必须得到克服。和平与发展是我们时代的两大主题,其中的和平问题与各国的国家安全政策紧密相连。无论是要了解威胁和平的各种因素,还是要发现维护和平的各种力量,都必须深入研究各国的国家安全政策,特别是美国的国家安全政策。由于美国在世界上具有的特殊地位,它的国家安全政策对国际社会的稳定、乃至对各国的安全有着至关重要的影响。因此,可以说,准确地认识美国的国家安全政策,不仅为理解美国所需要,更为正确制订我们自身的国家安全政策所需要。

研究美国国家安全政策同样具有重要的学术意义。国家安全政策不仅涉及到一个国家的对外战略,而且涉及到它的政治制度;不仅涉及到军事和政治问题,而且涉及到经济和社会问题;不仅涉及到社会科学学科,而且涉及到自然科学学科。正因为如此,有关国际关系史、政治制度、地区经济与政治等方面的课程,一方面都或多或少地与国家安全政策的某个侧面有关,另一方面又都不能涵盖国家安全政策的全面内容,甚或大部分内容。从这一意义上来说,国家安全政策是一门新兴的“边缘学科”、“交叉学科”,对我们的传统知识结构提出了新的挑战,要求专门的研究和讲授。

正是因为上述的原因,从1987年回国以后,我便将自己的时间和精力集中在美国国家安全政策和军备控制问题的研究与教学,在复旦大学国际政治系为本科生和研究生开设了有关课程,并发表了多篇有关的论文和一本专著。回顾这些年走过的路程,我感到欣慰的是,自己在美国国家安全政策和军备控制方面所做的工作,已经得到了国内外同行的承认,也得到了我的学生的承认。

(二)

就像其他国家的安全政策一样,美国的国家安全政策也是服务于美国的最高利益的政策,是维护美国的生存和促进美国的发展的政策。当然,建国二百多年以来的历史表明,美国国家安全政策乃是一把双刃宝剑,既有自我保护的一面,又有扩张进攻的一面。第二次世界大战结束以来,它的扩张进攻的一面进一步加强了。

从最纯粹的理论角度来说,在应当如何看待和实现国家安全这一问题上,美国有着两种基本看法。

一种是所谓的传统的民族主义看法,建立在现实主义的国际关系理论基础之上。主张这种方法的人强调本国的安全,并且认为它是可以通过单方面的手段加以实现的。其中的极端主义者更是信奉“零和”的规则,相信一个国家在安全事务上的得分就意味着其对手的相应失分;一个国家在安全领域的加强就意味着其对手的相应削弱。为此,他们重视的是实力,包括绝对实力和相对实力,主张通过扩张军备、实行结盟和孤立封锁等手段来增加自身的实力,削弱对手的实力,促进本国的安全。

与此相对的则是一种新的所谓合作主义方法,建立在理想主义的国际关系理论基础之上。主张这一方法的人认为,各个国家的安全是相互联系无法分割的,也不是可以通过单方面手段加以实现的,因为各国安全面临的许多威胁是跨越国界的,而个别国家的反应能力又是十分有限的。他们信奉“正和”规则,相信包括对手在内的各国安全是应当而且可以同时加以实现的。为此,他们主张强化或建立世界或地区集体安全组织,制订和实施国际法,推进军备控制和裁军,以实现所谓的合作安全。

但是,尽管理论上存在着这样的基本分歧,实际上长期以来美国推行的国家安全政策是上述两种方法的结合。它以传统的民族

主义方法作为核心,同时又采用了某些属于合作主义方法的措施。冷战结束以后尤其这样。例如,今天的美国既重视联合国和欧安会等地区集体安全组织的作用,并谋求在亚太地区建立相同性质的机构,又不愿放弃甚至还试图加强冷战时期它与西欧国家、日本等建立的军事同盟;它既努力维持自己在军事力量方面的技术优势,包括着手开发所谓战术导弹防御体系(TMD),又逐步推进与俄罗斯以及其他国家之间的军备控制谈判。可以说,当前整个美国是处在一个转变时期,它的国家安全政策也是处于新的调整时期。

依据上述的种种理解,本书介绍和分析了第二次世界大战结束以来的美国国家安全政策。全书由三编构成,每一编又都分为四节。

第一编阐述了美国国家安全政策的几个基本问题,包括美国国家安全政策制定的环境,美国国家安全政策制定的过程,美国的军事拨款、兵役、武器研制开发和采买制度,以及美国全球军事战略的基本内容。以有关的理论作为基础,本编着重分析了冷战时期美国在这些方面的状况和政策,并探讨了冷战结束以后美国国家安全政策在这些方面经受的冲击和发生的变化。

第二编集中论述了冷战时期美国为对付苏联这一所谓主要威胁而发展起来的有关政策,包括以核竞争和核威慑为中心的核政策,在西欧和东亚地区的结盟、前沿部署和灵活反应政策,军备控制政策。此外,这一编还分析了美国为应付在广大的发展中世界出现的所谓低烈度冲突而发展的力量和措施。应当说明的是,在这么做时,笔者一方面尽力以简略的笔法勾划出一个比较完整的轮廓,另一方面又力图对其中某些方面作出集中的分析。

第三编重点探讨了在冷战后的新的国际安全环境中美国国家安全政策面临的新问题,作出的新调整。随着东欧国家政治和经济制度的巨变,随着苏联的崩溃和华约的解体,美国对它原来的那些针对苏联及华约的政策作了程度不同的调整,一方面进一步推进与俄罗斯的军备控制及裁军谈判,另一方面又维持了必要的能力

和态势。与此同时，它又着重发展了为应付那些所谓新的威胁所需的政策，包括预防和管理危机的政策，介入地区冲突的政策，不扩散和反扩散的政策，以及充满矛盾的军备转让政策。当然，这些政策还在形成过程之中，它们的必要性和效果更有待以后的事实来检验。

(三)

在平时研究和教学的基础上，从1993年秋起，我趁在美国亚特兰大埃默里大学(Emory University)访问之机着手撰写此书。在半年的时间里，完成了初稿的三分之二。以后，由于忙于在该校授课以及其他课题的研究，这一工作陷于停顿。1995下半年，我重新集中力量完成了初稿剩余部分的撰写，并且对已经写成的部分又进行了修改，特别是增加了一些新的材料。

在构思和撰写本书时，笔者尽力将理论分析与政策阐述、以往回溯与现状考察、信息介绍与观点论证结合起来，希望它不仅能为本专业的读者有所帮助，而且能够对广大的非本专业读者有所裨益。但是，尽管这种主观愿望和努力，由于某种意义上该项研究在我们国内仍属开拓性工作，加上本人学力有限，书中可待商榷甚至错误之处肯定不少，衷心欢迎读者们的批评和指正。正如我在拙作《核扩散：危险与防止》(上海科技文献出版社，1995年)中所说“这种相互探讨和交流，将不仅有助于学者们各自学术水平和研究能力的提高，而且有助于我国学术界整体水平和能力的提高。它对国际安全和军备控制这一新兴学科尤其重要。”同时，笔者也经常以这样一句话来勉励自己：先有普通人的荒曲野调，才有音乐大师们的不朽之作。我希望此书能够成为国内同行们攀登新的科学高峰时的一块有用的垫脚石。

回顾近十年来走过的路程，固然觉得不易，更是感到幸运。

首先，我们的国家正是处在一个改革开放的伟大时代。因为如

此，我才能经常获得出国访问和参加国际会议的机会，收集有关专业资料，吸收新的研究成果。也正因为如此，我的两个有关研究课题才能分别被国家教委和上海市列为“八五”期间重点项目。这不仅使我获得了宝贵的资助，而且得到了巨大的精神鼓励。

其次，我在复旦大学遇到了许多具有远见卓识的领导和热心诚恳的同事。1990年，复旦大学前校长、美国研究中心主任谢希德教授将我的这一研究列入了该中心的议程，极大地促进了我以后的工作。1991年回国后，美国研究中心军备控制和地区安全研究室负责人沈丁立博士向我的这一研究提供了不少重要的帮助。该中心的吕慧芳老师为我收集了许多有用的资料。复旦大学出版社的徐士菊老师在百忙之中为这本书的出版作了多方面的努力。

我的工作还得到了校外的许多朋友的帮助。这里特别值得提及的是本书责任编辑、天津人民出版社的赵和平女士和我的老同学余佩英女士。前者的高度专业化的工作，肯定使得本书增色不少。美国McArthur基金会的支持同样是相当可贵的。

我要借此机会向上面提到以及其他所有曾经支持、帮助和关心过这本书的写作与出版的朋友表示感谢。没有他们，就没有这本书与读者的见面。当然，我也要感谢我的妻子和在大洋彼岸的女儿，她们的始终如一的理解对我的事业是不可缺少的。

最后，我要对我的导师、前中国国际关系史研究会理事长、南京大学教授王绳祖先生再说一句：“您虽然已经永远离我们而去，但您的为人风范和治学精神永远留在我的心中。”

朱明权

1996年5月1日于复旦

Forewords

(1)

The term national security, as I want to explain first, is used in its traditional sense by the author. Namely, it is equivalent to what we mean by the term defense policy.

Security policy of a nation is a kind of policy serving its top interests—existence and development. It has to do mainly with military issues and the political, economical and social issues directly related with military issues.

If there has been national security policy since the states emerged in the world, research, especially systematic research on national security policy, has only begun in this century. Development of modern science and technology, and closer relations among states, undoubtedly, can be regarded as the most fundamental driving force in pushing the research forward. Moreover, beginning from the 1950s, research on security policy, either of home countries or of foreign countries, has broken through the limits of traditional professional division and extended to the civil academic institutions.

Ten years ago, when I visited the State University of New York at Albany (SUNY) as a scholar majoring in International Relations, it left me a deep impression for its emphasis on national security policy. Frankly speaking, the SUNY at Albany was not very distinguished in its

international relations studies in U.S. academic community at that time. nevertheless, it still offered such courses as U.S. Defense Policy which covered national security policy specially and Peace in the Nuclear Age which was tightly connected to national security policy. Many students were actively enrolled in these courses. In addition to students in the departments of political science and other social sciences, quite a few of students majoring in math, physics and other sciences did the same. Even many adults attended these courses with great interest as summer-school students. Besides, the university also sponsored seminars on the SDI of the Reagan Administration, with the scholars in and off the campus arguing hotly with each other...If so in the SUNY at Albany, it was not difficult to imagine what the situation was like in other famous universities.

Our local universities were quite different from them in this respect. For a long time, even in the Department of International Politics of Fudan University, national security policy and international security had been treated peripherally in teaching and research on International Relations or other courses/topics. It was not regarded as a special academic field to study and an independent course to teach.

Surely this situation ought to be corrected. Peace and development are the two main themes of today. Among them the issue of peace is intertwined with national security policies of countries around the world. It is essential to the understanding of different elements which threaten peace and the discovering of different forces which

contribute to peace that deep analysis is taken on national security policies of various countries, especially the U.S. national security policy. Because of the special position of the United States in the world, the influence of its national security policy is of utmost importance on the stability of international community, and even on the security of various countries. Therefore, it can be said that precise perception of the U.S. national security policy is not only required by the necessity of precise comprehension of the United States but also the necessity of right decision of our own national security policy.

The study of the U.S. national security policy has profound academic significance as well. National security policy not only involves foreign strategy of a state, but also its political institutional arrangements; not only military and political issues, but also its economic and social issues; not only majors of social sciences, but also majors of natural sciences. Precisely because of this, the courses/topics on the history of international relations, political institutions, regional economy or politics are related to some aspects of national security policy on one hand; but they can not cover its comprehensive contents on the other hand. In this sense, national security policy is a kind of rising "peripheral" subject or "trans-disciplinary" subject, challenging our traditional structure of knowledge and asking for special teaching and research.

Right out of the above reasons, after I came back to China in 1987, my time and energy has been focused on the research and teaching of U.S. national security policy and

international security, initiating relevant courses for undergraduates and graduates in the Department of International Politics, and publishing a series of relevant articles and a book specially on nuclear proliferation. Looking back upon the trails I have walked along during these years, I feel it a big comfort that my research and teaching in the field of U.S. national security policy and international security has gained recognition from my colleagues at home and abroad and my students.

(2)

Just as national policies of other states, U.S. national security policy is also a policy to serve its top interests and a policy to maintain its existence and promote its development. Of course, as showed by American history of more than two hundred years, U.S. national policy is a double-edged sword with one edge of self-protection and the other of expansion and attack. Since the end of World War II, its latter one has been sharper than ever.

In terms of the sheer theoretical analysis, there are two different views on how to treat and achieve national security.

One is so-called traditional nationalist approach based on the realistic theory of international relations. The people who claim the approach put their stress on the security of their own country and believe it can be achieved by its unilateral measures. Some extremists among them even have trust in the "zero-sum game", regarding any

gains by one state on affairs of national security as losses of its opponents, and enhancement of one state's security as weakening of its opponents at the same level. Therefore, they attach much importance to power, both absolute and relative, and advocate such measures as growth of arms, establishment of alliances, isolation and blockade of opponents, so that the power of their own countries can be increased while the power of their opponent states decreased and the security of their countries can be promoted.

Opposite to this is a so-called cooperative approach based on the idealist theory of international relations. In the minds of the people who argue for the approach, security of various states is linked with each other and can not be separated from each other. Also, it can not be achieved by unilateral measures while many threats to security of individual country go beyond its national border and its capability to cope with them is very limited. They have trust in the "positive-sum game", believing that security of diversified states, including the opponents, should be and can be realized at the same time. Therefore, they advocate establishing and strengthening global and regional collective security organizations, making and enforcing international laws, and promoting arms control and disarmament to achieve alleged cooperative security.

Despite this basic theoretical difference, as a matter of fact, the national security policy of the United States has for a long time been a kind of combination of the two approaches mentioned above. The traditional nationalist

approach has been taken as its core and some measures affiliated with the cooperative approach are added to it. It has been like this especially after the end of the Cold War. For example, today's United States gives high value to the UN and the CSCE, and is trying to establish such an institution in the Asia-Pacific Region, while it is not willing to give up and even making its efforts to reinforce its military alliances with Western European countries and Japan initiated in the Cold War. Another example is: the United States exerts itself both to sustain the technical superiority of its military force, including development of alleged tactical missile defense programs, and to pursue arms control talks with Russia at the same time. In a sense, as the whole United States is experiencing a transition period, its national security policy is also in a period of new adjustment.

By the aforesaid understanding, this book explains and analyzes the national security policy of the United States since the end of the Cold War. It consists of three sections each of which is divided into four chapters.

Section I expounds several basic issues of U.S. national security policy, including environment, process of making of its national security policy, its systems on military appropriations, military service, systems on research, development & procurement of weapons, and basic contents of its global military strategy. Based on the theories concerned, this section analyses emphatically the situation and policies of the United States in these aspects during the period of the Cold War, and probes into the new challenges

and new changes U.S. national security policy has underwent since the end of the Cold War.

Section II discusses intensively U.S. national security policy in the Cold War. It was developed to deal with the so-called main threat—the Soviet Union, including the nuclear policy centered on nuclear arms competition and nuclear deterrence, the policy of establishing military alliances, forward deployment, and flexible reaction, and the policy of arms control. Besides, the section also analyzes U.S. capabilities and measures which were developed to deal with "low-intensity conflicts" in the broad developing world. When doing so, on one hand, I try to draw its general outline with simple strokes; on the other hand, I endeavor to make a deep examination of its some aspects.

Section III stresses new issues the United States is facing and new adjustment it is making in the new security environment after the Cold War. With the radical transformation of political and economic institutions of Eastern European countries, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the breakthrough of the Warsaw Pact, the United States is making adjustment of its policies which were mainly shaped against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. It has continued to push ahead negotiations of arms control and disarmament with Russia while retaining the essential capabilities and posture militarily. At the same time, in order to cope with the new threats perceived by it, the United States has developed the policy of prevention and management of international crises, the policy of

involvement in regional conflicts, the policy of nonproliferation and counterproliferation, and the policy of arms transfers full of contradictions, etc.. Undoubtedly, these policies are still in the evolution process, and their necessities and efficacy have to be proved by the future.

(3)

Based on the research and teaching done before, I began to write this book in the fall of 1993 when I was a visiting professor in Emory University of the United States. In nearly six months, I finished its two thirds. Thereafter, since I was busy with teaching in Emory and research on another topic, the writing stopped. In the second half of 1995, I focused my energy again on the completion of the rest chapters of the book and revised the chapters which had been written in the United States, adding new material to them.

In conceiving and writing the book, I tried to integrate the theoretical analysis with policy elaboration, recall of the past with investigation of the current situation, introduction of information with demonstration of views. I hope it will not only be useful to the readers who are working in the same professional field as mine, but also beneficial to the readers who are of different majors from me. In spite of the wish and efforts, however, it is inevitable that there are some things questionable or wrong in the book, partly because it is a kind of pioneer work, and partly because my academic capabilities are limited. Any com-

ments and criticism from the readers of the book are sincerely appreciated. As I said in my book **NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION: DANGER AND PREVENTION** (Shanghai Scientific and Technological Archives Press, 1995), "this kind of mutual discussions and exchanges will be beneficial not only to promotion of the professional achievements and research capabilities of individual scholars, but to promotion of the achievements and capabilities of the whole academic community of our country in this field. It is particularly important to such a newly rising discipline as the arms control and international security studies." At the same time, I often encourage myself by the following words: there are wild songs of commons first and immortal masterpieces of musicians then. It is my wish that this book can be a useful stepping stone for my Chinese colleagues to scale new academic heights.

Looking back upon the road I have walked for nearly ten years, I feel it uneasy to get to the place I am at today; still more, I feel myself to be lucky enough.

First, our country is in a great era of reform and opening. Therefore, I can often get opportunities to go abroad for visits and participate in international conferences, collecting new academic material and absorbing new research achievements. Also, two relevant research projects of mine could be listed among the key projects of the "Eighth Five Years Plan"(1991—1995) respectively by the State Education Commission and Shanghai. To me this not only means valuable financial support, but also tremendous spiritual encouragement.