

后拜登时代的中国-美国-东盟 三角关系

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后冷战的美国全球战略

1991年苏联解体，结束了美国与苏联持续了近半个世纪两大阵营的冷战，美国成为了世界上唯一的超级大国。

保持霸权，维护其世界领导地位成为了美国不变的全球战略。

"Prevent the Reemergence of a New Rival"

The Making of the Cheney Regional Defense Strategy, 1991-1992

Declassified Studies from Cheney Pentagon Show Push for U.S. Military Predominance and a Strategy to "Prevent the Reemergence of a New Rival"

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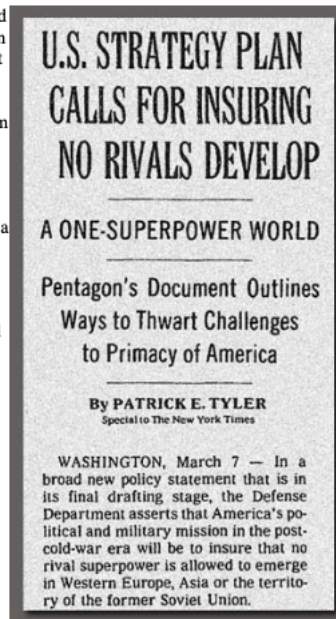
Washington, D.C., February 26, 2008 - The United States should use its power to "prevent the reemergence of a new rival" either on former Soviet territory or elsewhere, declared a controversial draft of the Defense Planning Guidance (DPG) prepared by then Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney's Pentagon and leaked to *The New York Times* in March 1992. Published in declassified form for the first time on the National Security Archive Web site, this draft, along with related working papers, shows how defense officials during the administration of George H. W. Bush, under the direction of Principal Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Strategy and Resources I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby tried to develop a strategy for maintaining U.S. preponderance in the new post-Cold War, post-Soviet era.

Remarkably, these new releases censor a half dozen large sections of text that *The New York Times* printed on March 8, 1992, as well as a number of phrases that were officially published by the Pentagon in January 1993. "On close inspection none of those deleted passages actually meet the standards for classification because embarrassment is not a legal basis for secrecy," remarked Tom Blanton, director of the Archive. "The language that the *Times* publicized can be seen side-by-side with the relevant portions of the February 18, 1992 draft (see document 3 below) that was the subject of the leak.

In its initial response to the Archive's mandatory review request, the Department of Defense exempted from declassification all of the documents in this case on the grounds that they were "pre-decisional" in nature. When the Archive appealed the denials, we sent copies of *The New York Times* coverage of the leaked DPG, including the extensive excerpts from the February 18, 1992 draft.

The appeal was successful because the Defense Department released considerable material on the Defense Planning Guidance; nevertheless Pentagon officials blacked out information that the *Times* had already published. (see sidebar).

The documents recently declassified by the Defense Department in response to the Archive's appeal provide an inside view of the making of the Defense Planning Guidance from September 1991 to May 1992, when Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell and Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz approved it. Writing in the wake of the Soviet Union's collapse, the group of Republican-oriented officials that produced the



New York Times headline, March 8, 1992.

1992年 - 苏联解体的隔年，美国国家安全委员会制定了一份防卫计划指导：(Defense Planning Guidance , For the Year 1994-1999) ， 《1994 -1999年防卫计划指导》

阻止任何敌对势力控制对我们的利益至关重要的地区，从而加强壁垒，防止对美国和我们盟国的利益再次出现全球威胁。这些地区包括欧洲、东亚、中东/波斯湾和拉丁美洲。对这样一个关键地区的资源进行统一的、非民主的控制可能会对我们的安全产生重大威胁。

4/16/92

~~SECRET/NOFORN DRAFT~~

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Defense Planning Guidance, FY 1994-1999 (U)

(U) This Defense Planning Guidance addresses the fundamentally new situation which has been created by the collapse of the Soviet Union -- the disintegration of the internal as well as the external empire, and the discrediting of Communism as an ideology with global pretensions and influence. The new international environment has also been shaped by the victory of the United States and its Coalition allies over Iraqi aggression -- the first post-Cold War conflict and a defining event in U.S. global leadership. In addition to these two great successes, there has been a less visible one, the integration of the leading democracies into a U.S.-led system of collective security and the creation of a democratic "zone of peace."

(U) Our fundamental strategic position and choices are therefore very different from those we have faced in the past. The policies that we adopt in this new situation will set the nation's direction for the next century. Guided by a fundamentally new defense strategy, we have today a compelling opportunity to meet our defense needs at lower cost. As we do so, we must not squander the position of security we achieved at great sacrifice through the Cold War, nor eliminate our ability to shape the future security environment in ways favorable to us and those who share our values.

1994 -1999年防卫计划指导

我们的基本战略立场和选择与我们过去所面对的非常不同，我们在新形势下采取的政策将为下个世纪确定国家的方向

防卫计划指导的核心思想是冷战结束后至今不变的美国全球战略

在美国看来，中国的崛起挑战并威胁到了美国的全球霸主地位

中美的竞争与对抗是历史的必然，不是历史的偶然

谁入主白宫都不会改变中美结构性的竞争与对抗
但手段与策略会有所不同

Donald Trump



Kamala Harris



美国2011年开始从阿富汗和伊拉克两场战争逐步撤军，奥巴马政府“转向亚洲”，把全球战略重心转移到亚太地区，开启了中美两个21世界的大国博弈



在“亚太再平衡”战略下，美国对南海争议从保持中立不持立场，转向以维护亚太地区和平与安全为理由，介入了南海争端，立场开始倾斜对南中国海岛礁声索国的支持



2017年11月初美国总统特朗普的东亚之行，宣示“印太战略”成为美国新政府的亚太战略，取代“亚太再平衡”，印太战略成为了美国围堵中国的重中之重全球战略

印太战略目标

印太战略的目标不是改变中国，而是塑造它所处的战略环境

通过印太战略，主导印太的经济构架、提升威慑力、加强与东盟关系、支持印度的持续崛起与区域领导地位、夯实四方安全对话机制 (Quad)、扩大对日韩合作等手段，根本上改变中国的周边环境，逼迫中国通过应对新的战略环境而发生变化



印太战略强调要 “突出东盟的中心地位，将其作为自由开放印太战略的核心内容”，以“促进和加强东南亚国家和东盟在本地区安全架构中的核心作用”

南中国海成为了中美大国博弈的前沿战场

特朗普



特朗普如果重返白宫，将启动对中国的二次贸易战，打压力度会大大超过第一任期

特朗普对中国科技领域的打压会无所不用其极，东盟国家难免会受到影响

菲律宾在南海对中国的挑衅与对抗会降温

哈里斯 (Kamala Harris)



如果哈里斯当选总统，她将承继拜登的对华政策，在经济与科技领域打压中国外，也将 从地缘政治战略角度围堵中国

美国国务卿布林肯：“不指望北京改弦更张，将塑造北京所处的战略环境。”（在南海制造不利中国的战略环境）

近期一些东盟国家采取了新措施遏止中国低成本商品的进口

应对贸易战冲击 印尼拟对中国商品征最高200%进口税

馬中



印尼当局警告，如果国内市场充斥着进口商品，该国的中小微型企业可能会倒闭。图为印尼最大的纺织品购物中心的情景。（法新社档案照）

Miti to review dumping law as Malaysia fights back against cheap China imports

24, Jul 2024 - 2:48 PM



泰国拟采新措施遏止中国低成本商品涌入

🕒 2024年03月14日



📄 香港贸发局经贸研究

泰国有意采取多项措施，控制中国的廉价商品进口，包括取消增值税及进口关税豁免。该国总理赛塔(Srettha Thavisin)于2024年2月15日下令税务及海关部门制订措施，遏止中国的低成本商品大量涌入当地市场。在泰国，低成本商品是指价值低于1,500泰铢(41.83美元)者。2018年，该国宣布对每件价格、成本、保险和运费合计不超过1,000泰铢的进口包裹提供增值税豁免，早前则把价格上限上调至1,500泰铢。

面对美国的贸易战，中国企业出口更多的低成本商品到东盟国家。

中国拥有完善高效的制造业生态系统，生产成本低，加上超大规模的国内市场，企业以薄利多销作为销售手段，外国企业难以和中国企业价值。

东盟国家为了保护本国的中小型企业采取的措施不是反中，也不是受到美国的地缘政治影响。

中国需小心处理这一课题，不可采取反击措施，以致被美国利用，影响与东盟国家的关系。

解决南海争端就是破解印太战略的“武功”

随着美国全球战略重心转移到亚太地区，南中国海已经成为了中美博弈的关键战场，使南海争端变得更加复杂化。

面对旷日持久的南海争端，中国需要突破传统应对南海争端的思维框框，摆脱民族主义思维的束缚，需要从国家长远战略的高度审视南海争端，做出必要的战略让步，排除南海域外势力，战略实践习近平主席提出的海洋命运共同体理念。

中国提出的“搁置争议，共同开发”化解南海争端不能只是一个理念，应该提出如何让落实的具体方案。



Centre For New Inclusive Asia
新亚洲战略研究中心

谢谢