

探析中俄地区安全务实合作

○ 欧阳维

[内容提要] 中俄在许多安全领域具有共同利益,两国之间的安全合作也有较为坚实的政治、经济和历史基础。在新的安全环境下,中俄双方需共同努力,在以下方面推进务实安全合作,保证战略稳定和地区稳定:共同推动上合组织有效履行维护地区安全责任;在战略互信的基础上深入开展军事合作;加强维护地区安全方面的合作;深化在非传统安全领域的合作。

[关键词] 中俄关系 地区安全合作

[作者简介] 欧阳维,国防大学教授、和平与发展研究中心特约研究员。

[中图分类号] D815 **[文献标识码]** A **[文章编号]** 1006-6241(2011)05-0006-03

中俄在许多安全领域具有共同利益,两国之间的安全合作也有比较坚实的政治、经济和历史基础。在新的安全环境下,中俄双方都需要共同努力,在一些重要方面推进务实安全合作,保证战略稳定和地区稳定,增进双方的战略利益。

一、推动上合组织有效履行维护地区安全的责任

上合组织成立十余年来,在加强成员国之间关系、打击“三股势力”和维护地区稳定方面发挥了重要作用。近些年来,中亚地区的安全形势出现了动荡:吉尔吉斯斯坦发生了严重骚乱,“三股势力”的活动仍然频繁,阿富汗局势具有很大的不确定性。本·拉登被美国击毙后,南亚与中亚安全也呈现出一些新的不稳定因素。这些不稳定因素也在一定程度上影响着中俄国内的安全环境。未来对上合组织范围内地区安全构成的威胁,主要来自“三股势力”的分裂、颠覆、渗透和暴乱活动。“三股势力”将运用制造恐怖事件、策动暴乱、破坏重要基础设施、劫持人质等方式,以非常规、不对称的手段达到政治目的。同时,区内一些国家内部政治、经济和安全方面的不稳定状态,也可能引发新的动荡,从而对整个地区安全造成影响。

面对这样的安全环境,上合组织有效应对威胁

的能力明显不足。主要表现在多国军事行动的模式、情报侦察手段、武器装备性能和作战理论还不能完全适应要求;多国联合军事行动的领导体制、组织指挥、协同动作和各种保障还不够完善;必要时实施联合军事行动的法律和军事外交问题有待解决;上合组织与独联体集体安全条约组织、阿富汗国际安全援助部队和北约等组织的关系需要调整等。上合组织只有在军事上变得更加成熟和完善,才能真正担负起打击“三股势力”、维护地区和平稳定的重任。这些问题如果得不到逐步解决,上合组织就难以防止和应对中亚地区可能出现的动荡,也将直接影响中俄两国相关地区的稳定。中俄是上海合作组织的核心和骨干,应积极推动成员国认识和逐步解决这些问题,使这个地区组织在不确定的安全威胁和不稳定的局势面前具有更强的应对能力。

二、在战略互信的基础上深入开展军事合作

十多年来,中俄两国逐步建立了战略协作伙伴关系,签署了睦邻友好合作条约,政治互信不断加强。两国经贸关系不断发展,2010年双边经济贸易额的增长超过40%,接近600亿美元;中国成为俄罗斯第一大贸易伙伴,人文合作和民间交流也日益活跃。两国互相参与俄罗斯西伯利亚、远东地区和

中国西部的开发建设带动了地区经济的发展,给人民带来了实惠。实践证明,中俄两国经济社会的长期稳定发展符合双方的共同利益,也是增强两国战略互信和务实军事合作的基础。

中俄军事合作是中俄战略关系的重要组成部分,是中俄两军交往的重要领域,目的在于谋求共同的安全利益。近年来,两国军事合作的形式和内容随着国际安全环境的变化而充实发展,取得了许多实质成果,成为促进地区和平与稳定的积极因素:

一是军事外交领域的合作反映了中俄之间正常的军事关系。中俄国防部长定期会晤机制、双方总参谋部之间每年一次的战略磋商创造了两国军队领导人交往的环境和条件。两国安全磋商、反恐磋商机制和工作组的建立反映了中俄军事合作的性质,增进了双方的军事互信。

二是军事技术方面的合作反映了两国安全合作的深度。随着两国边界历史遗留问题的解决和军事互信的建立,中俄军事技术合作关系逐步形成并得到不断发展。两国在军用飞机、舰船、陆军装备和防空系统等领域的军事贸易与技术合作不断深化,成为新时期军事合作的亮点。

三是连续举行的联合军事演习是双方军事合作进入新阶段、新领域的标志。通过联合军事演习,使双方武装力量在战略、战役和战术不同层次得到不断磨合,提高了联军行动的能力。

四是双方军事教育培训合作日臻成熟。俄军为中国培训了许多军事人才,其中有不少人已经进入中国军队高级指挥岗位。俄军也派出军官到中国军队院校进修学习,使两军相互了解不断加深。同时也应看到,两国在进行务实军事合作方面还有很大潜力和空间。应从国家和地区稳定的全局出发,继续拓宽军事合作的领域,打消疑虑,走出瓶颈。要克服军事技术交流合作中的困难,提高军事贸易合作的质量,加强战略与政策研究交流,推动建立联合指挥控制与情报体系,提高两国军队联合行动的能力。

三、加强维护地区安全方面的合作

一是共同努力巩固推动建立东北亚安全机制,保持朝鲜半岛的和平与稳定。中俄两国应协调一致,一方面反对半岛国家发展核武器,关注半岛潜

在的核扩散和核化安全、粮食安全、生态安全等问题。另一方面反对任何制造紧张状态,或以武力解决朝鲜半岛问题的企图和行为。按照“六方会谈”和“9·19”联合声明的正确方向,坚持以多边安全合作和对话模式解决半岛危机。围绕朝鲜半岛的和平稳定进程,共同处理好与东北亚其他国家的关系,形成新型的东北亚安全机制。

二是在应对阿富汗和南亚安全问题上加强沟通和协调。阿富汗的稳定对中俄两国都十分重要,因此应加强合作,与有关国家一起防止阿富汗安全形势趋向恶化,特别是要防止基地组织、极端势力向中亚及中俄的渗透。中俄两国可在保证上合组织国家与阿富汗的边境安全、对阿安全援助、训练阿富汗军警人员、反恐、反毒品等有组织犯罪方面协调行动。

三是在保持南亚安全稳定方面发挥积极作用。中俄两国应支持巴基斯坦政府保持国内稳定和经济发展。促进印巴之间改善关系,推动南亚安全环境的改善,同时保持对南亚核安全和环境安全的关注。

四是共同加强与东南亚国家的安全合作。两国应从地区稳定和长远利益的高度,发展与东盟相关国家的军事关系和进行军事贸易。

四、深化在非传统安全领域的合作。非传统安全问题是两国面临的常态威胁,合作的潜力很大

一是加强反恐、反分裂方面的合作。中俄两国都面临着民族分裂和恐怖主义的威胁。“东突”和“藏独”分裂势力对中国国家安全构成危害,俄罗斯车臣和高加索等地区也存在着民族分裂势力。恐怖主义势力在中、俄境内发动的恐怖袭击和劫持人质事件,严重威胁着俄罗斯和中国的民族团结、社会稳定和地区发展。因此,两国应加强在反恐情报、训练、研究和行动方面的合作,联合打击恐怖主义活动。

二是开展能源安全合作。两国应将能源合作提升到安全和战略层面,提高能源合作的稳定性和安全性。中国需要能源供应的稳定性,增加能源的战略储备,确保经济发展和社会稳定,因此需要来自俄罗斯石油和天然气方面的长期供应和公平的能源投资环境。俄罗斯也需要中国成为长期稳定的能源市场,需要资金发展能源工业,减少国际市场和

价格波动的影响,提升能源出口的稳定性和国家的经济实力。在相当长的一个时期,能源安全合作将是两国战略关系的重要组成部分,两国都需要以能源为纽带增强双方的战略关系。因此应按照两国关系的性质和国际贸易准则,公平处理两国能源关系中存在的问题,共同维护陆上和海上能源通道,提高应对能源安全问题的能力。

三是在网络安全领域开展合作。随着网络在国家和社会层面的广泛应用,网络安全已经成为影响国家和社会稳定的重要的非传统安全问题。目前世界各主要国家都十分重视网络安全问题,有些国家成立了网络安全部队,制定了网络安全战略。今后网络安全问题将影响国家安全战略和军事战略的制定,对未来战争形态和捍卫国家安全的方式产生深刻影响。中俄两国都不同程度地受到网络安全问题的威胁,应从预防、应对和建立法律法规等方面加强合作。

四是开展环境与水资源安全合作。客观地看,中国的人口数量对生态环境造成了持久的压力,在一些地区面临着水土流失、森林植被破坏,土地荒漠化、空气污染、淡水资源稀缺、生物物种减少等环境安全问题。俄罗斯也存在环境污染较严重、缺乏安全饮用水、土地贫瘠、森林火灾频繁等比较严重

的环境问题。中俄界河黑龙江流域的生态环境治理已成为中俄两国的当务之急。因此,两国应在环境安全上加强合作,充分发挥环境保护合作委员会的作用,加强环境监测,实施联合治理。

五是在人口安全与移民管理方面加强合作。人口安全直接关系到经济的可持续发展和国家的政治稳定。从中国方面看,人口规模给资源和环境带来压力,人口的老齡化给国家财政带来很大负担,人口的跨国流动也带来了一些非法移民问题。从俄罗斯方面看,人口数量不断减少,死亡率大于人口出生率,缺乏用于经济发展的人口与劳动力,如果这种现象存在下去,将会严重影响俄罗斯的经济的发展。从积极意义看,目前中国劳动力的过剩和俄罗斯劳动力的短缺是一种良性互补关系,只要妥善处理好,就能出现双赢局面。因此中俄两国都应客观正确地对待这个问题。中方应加强边境地区的人口管理,俄方也不要视中国的劳动力为“威胁”,而是采取有效政策和措施加强合作,处理好两国的边界事务,共同管理好边境秩序,疏导解决双方的人口安全问题。

[收稿日期:2011-09-05]

学术交流

2011年6月2日至3日,和平与发展研究中心在南京举办“美国亚太战略与对华政策”研讨会,来自江苏省友联会亚太研究中心、上海友联会、南京国际关系学院、南京大学、上海交通大学等单位的30余位专家学者参会,重点就美亚太战略与对华政策走向、我周边涉美热点问题等进行了深入探讨。友联会副会长陈祖明到会致辞并作总结讲话,和平与发展研究中心主任高原主持会议,副主任王霄巍作主题发言。

2011年9月14日,和平与发展研究中心与英国皇家三军防务研究所高级研究员亚历山大·尼尔一行进行小型座谈会,外交部、国际问题研究所、现代国际关系研究院部分学者参加了会议。双方就中东北非局势、南海问题等进行了学术研讨。

2011年10月12日,和平与发展研究中心与到访的欧洲外交关系委员会中国项目研究员潘瑞凡和美国威尔逊国际学者中心中亚俄罗斯问题学者罗宾逊进行座谈。就中亚安全、上合组织以及阿富汗问题进行了坦诚的交流。来自中国国际问题研究所的两位学者参加了会议。

《和平与发展》杂志编辑部

2011年10月

Policy Proposals for Enhancing the Sino–Russian Pragmatic Regional Security Cooperation

Ouyang Wei

China and Russian have common interests in quite a few security areas, with their security cooperation based on their bilateral political, economic and historical ties. Under the new security circumstances, China and Russia should make efforts to enhance pragmatic security cooperation on some important domains, so as to guarantee their strategic and regional stability, as well as to increase their strategic interests.

I. To promote the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)'s role of safeguarding the regional security in an effective way

Since its establishment ten years ago, the SCO has played a very significant role in strengthening relations among its member states, combating the "three forces" and maintaining regional stability. Over the past few years, the Central Asia has witnessed turmoil in its security situation. Kyrgyzstan went through much unrest and instability. The "three forces" are still active. The situation in Afghanistan remains unstable. Some troubling security concerns also emerged in South Asia and Central Asia since the killing of Osama Bin Laden by the United States. Those troubling security concerns also affect, to some extents, the domestic security environments of both China and Russia. The future threats to the region covered by the SCO member states mainly come from the secession, sabotage, infiltration and rebelling activities by the "three forces", which will try to attain its political goals by such unconventional and asymmetrical approaches as conducting terrorist attacks, inciting rebellions, damaging major infrastructures, holding hostages and other violent activities. Meanwhile, the unstable political, economic and security status in some SCO member states can as well lead to new turmoil, posing more security threats to the region as a whole. While confronting these security uncertainties, the SCO obviously lacks the effective responding capacities, which can be seen from the following aspects. First, the conduct of the multinational military operations, the intelligence and surveillance capabilities, the weaponry performance and their operational doctrines cannot match up with the real demands. Second, the decision-making system of the multinational joint military operation, the associated organization, command and control system, coordinating activities and the logistics system are not yet complete. Third, the legislative and military diplomatic problems hindering, in case of emergency, the conduct of any multinational military operations need solving. Fourth, the SCO's relations with the CIS Collective Security Treaty Organization, the International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) in Afghanistan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) need adjusting. Only through evolving to be more mature and complete can the SCO really live up to the responsibility of combating the "three forces" and maintaining the regional peace and stability. If these problems cannot be solved step by step, the SCO will find it very difficult to prevent and respond to the possible turmoil in Central Asia, which could directly put the stability of the relevant regions located in Russia and China at stake. China and Russia, as the core and backbone of the SCO, should actively push other member states to acknowledge and gradually solve those problems aforementioned, so as to further enable this regional organization to effectively respond to the uncertain security threats and the unstable situation.

II. To deepen the military cooperation based on strategic mutual trust

Over the past decade, Russia and China have gradually established the Strategic Partnership of Coordination and signed the Treaty on Good Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation, which have strengthened their political mutual trust. The bilateral economic and trade relations are developing at a steady pace, which registered 40% and reached nearly \$60 billion US dollars in 2010. China has become Russia's largest trade partner, and their cultural cooperation and civil exchanges become more and more active. The regional economy has been promoted by their mutual participation in projects in Russia's Siberia, the Far East Region and China's West Development Program, which has benefited the peoples of the two countries. It has been proven that the lasting and stable development of Russia and China's economy and society is in their common interests and serves as the basis for strengthening their strategic mutual trust as well as pragmatic military cooperation.

The Sino–Russian military cooperation is an important part of the bilateral strategic relationship and a main part within their mutual military exchanges, aiming to pursue their common security interests. In recent years, the form and the content of the

military cooperation have been developed and enriched, attaining quite a few substantive achievements and serve as an active factor of promoting the regional peace and stability. Firstly, the cooperation realized in both countries' military diplomacy reflects the two countries' military relationship is at a normal level. The general environment and the conditions for the exchanges between the two countries' military leaders have been created by the regular meeting mechanism between their defense ministers as well as by their annual strategic consultation by the two countries' General Staff Headquarters. The establishment of a bilateral consultation mechanism and a work-group on security and anti-terrorism reflects the nature of the Sino-Russian military cooperation and has enhanced their mutual military trust. Secondly, the cooperation in the area of military technologies reflects the depth of the two countries' security cooperation. With the settlement of the two countries' inherited boundary disputes and the establishment of military mutual trust, the Sino-Russian cooperation on military technologies has been gradually established and enriched. The trade in military domain and the technological cooperation have been continuously deepened in such areas as military aircraft, vessels, army equipment and anti-air systems, which highlight their military cooperation in the new era. Thirdly, the consecutive joint military exercises mark that the bilateral military cooperation has entered into a new phase and a new domain. The two sides have continuously adapted to each other at strategic, operational and tactical levels, which have enhanced the operating capabilities of the joint forces. Fourthly, the bilateral cooperation in the military education has increasingly matured. Russia's military forces have trained many Chinese military personnel, among which quite a few are holding superior command posts. The Russian military personnel have also been sent to train in Chinese military academies, helping to deepen their mutual understanding. Besides, it should also be noted that the potentiality and room for pragmatic cooperation are still fairly large. The two sides should proceed from the overall interests of maintaining their stability and that of the region, as well as to continue expanding their military cooperation, so as to minimize doubts and suspicion and overcome the bottle-necks blocking their future development. The two sides should overcome the existing difficulties hindering their military technology exchanges and cooperation, in order to enhance the quality of the bilateral trade in military cooperation. They should also increase exchanges on strategic and policy researches, so as to set up a joint command, control and intelligence system, helping enhance their joint operational capabilities.

III. To enhance the cooperation in maintaining regional security

Firstly, to make joint efforts in strengthening and promoting the security mechanism in Northeast Asia, so as to maintain peace and stability on the Korean Peninsular. China and Russia should coordinate with each other on the following two aspects: A. To oppose the development of nuclear weapons on the Peninsular and to pay close attention to the possible nuclear proliferation or nuclear security, the alimentary security, ecological security, and other issues. B. To oppose any attempt or act of provoking tensions or resorting to force on the issue of solving the nuclear problem on the Peninsular. All parties concerned should follow the right path guided by the Six Party Talks and the "9/19 Joint Declaration" and insist in solving the Peninsular Crisis through multilateral cooperation and dialogues. China and Russia should also cope well with their relations with other Northeast Asian countries by focusing on the peace and stability process of the Korean Peninsular, in order to form a new type of security mechanism in Northeast Asia. Secondly, China and Russia should enhance communication and coordination on the Afghan and South Asian issues. Afghanistan's stability is of great importance to both China and Russia, so the later two should strengthen cooperation and work with other relevant countries to prevent the security situation in Afghanistan from deteriorating, of which the main task is to deter the infiltration by the Al-Qaeda and the extremist forces into Central Asia, or even China and Russia. The two countries can coordinate their actions in maintaining boundary security between Afghanistan and the SCO member states, providing security assistance to Afghanistan, training police and military personnel for Afghanistan, combating terrorism and drug trafficking, and other organized crimes. Thirdly, China and Russia should play an active role in preserving security in South Asia. The two countries should support the Pakistani government to maintain domestic stability as well as its economic development. China and Russia should also advocate the improvement of the relations between India and Pakistan, which is conducive to a better security environment in South Asia. Meanwhile, they should keep an eye on the nuclear and ecological security in South Asia. Fourthly, to make joint efforts to strengthen security cooperation with southeastern Asian countries. China and Russia should develop military relations with the ASEAN countries and promote trades with them in the military domain by taking into consideration the regional stability and other long-term interests.

IV. China and Russia should deepen their cooperation in nontraditional security domains.

Since the nontraditional security issues pose a lasting threat to both countries, their cooperation on this matter should be very

promising

Firstly, China and Russia should strengthen the cooperation in anti-terrorist and anti-secessionist areas. Both countries are confronted with the threats of national secessionists and terrorists. The East Turkestan Islamic Organization and the Tibetan Secessionists' organization pose threats to China's national security. Secessionist forces also exist in certain areas in Russia, such as Chechnya and Caucasus. The terrorist attacks and hostage-taking incidents launched by terrorist forces in China and Russia are threatening their national solidarity, social stability and regional development. Therefore, the two countries should strengthen the cooperation in anti-terrorist intelligence, training, research and operation, so as to jointly combat terrorism.

Secondly, China and Russia should develop energy security cooperation. The two countries should raise their energy cooperation up to security and strategic level, so as to assure its stability and safety. China needs steady energy supply to increase its strategic reserves, and guarantee its economic development and social stability. Therefore, China needs a lasting oil-gas supply from Russia and a fair energy investment environment. In turn, Russia needs China to be its long-term and stable energy market, so as to obtain capital for its energy industrial development and to diminish negative effects produced by the fluctuation in the international energy market and the price, as well as to improve the stability of its energy export and national economic strength. Therefore, China and Russia should, in accordance with the nature of their bilateral relations and rule of the international trade, solve the existing energy problems and jointly safeguard the energy channels on the land and under the sea.

Thirdly, China and Russia should develop cooperation in cyberspace security. Along with the wide application of Internet on national and social level, the cyberspace security has become a very important nontraditional security issue which is going to jeopardize the national security and social stability. Nowadays, the security of cyberspace is of a significant concern for all major powers in the world. Some of them have even established cyberspace security troops and formulated cyberspace security strategies. In the future, cyberspace security issues will influence the formulation of national security and military strategies, and also produce profound influence on the future war forms and the way to defending the national security. China and Russia are both threatened by cyberspace security issues at different levels, and should strengthen cooperation in the precaution, responding, law-and-regulation enactment, and other areas.

Fourthly, China and Russia should develop cooperation in the environmental and water resource security area. From an objective point of view, China's huge population poses standing pressures on its ecological environment, causing environment security problems in certain regions, such as the water and soil erosion, the damage of forests and vegetation, the desertification, the air pollution, the shortage of fresh water, and the extinction of some biological species. Likewise, Russia is confronted by serious environmental security problems, such as relatively severe environmental pollution, the lack of drinkable water resource, the expanding of barren lands, the frequent forest fires. It is the top priority for the two sides to improve the biological environment along their boundary river, the Heilongjiang River. Therefore, the two countries should strengthen the cooperation in environmental security area by giving fully play to the role of the Environmental Protection Cooperation Committee, stepping up their environmental supervision and conducting joint environmental pollution prevention and control.

Fifthly, China and Russia should strengthen the cooperation in their population security and immigration control. The population security directly relates to the sustainable development of economy and the political stability of a country. As to China, its huge population places pressures on the resources and environment. The national finance is also burdened by its aging population. Moreover, the trans-national population movement has brought about some illegal immigration problems. As to Russia, the decreasing population, the higher death rate than the birth rate and being short of labor resources necessary to its economic development, if not being solved, will seriously impact its economic development. The China's labor redundancy and Russia's shortage of labor resources are conducive to the establishment of a favorable complementary relationship which, if being handled properly, can produce a win-win outcome. Accordingly, China and Russia should treat this issue from an objective and correct perspective. China should strengthen the population management in the border area. At the same time, Russia, instead of regarding the Chinese labor resources as "a threat", should pursue effective policies and measures to handle the border affairs well with China, so as to jointly ensure their borders in a good order and resolve the bilateral population security problems.

(The author is a Professor from the University of National Defense)