俄乌冲突对中美关系的影响论析 [1]

赵明昊

【内容提要】俄乌冲突是冷战后欧亚大陆地缘政治矛盾的剧烈爆发,对国际秩序构成重大冲击。这场冲突体现了美俄战略博弈的新态势,也将对中美关系带来深刻、复杂的影响。美国借助俄乌冲突,以"捆绑中俄"策略推升所谓"中国威胁",操弄全球经济的价值观壁垒,打造以制裁为核心的经济战体系,美国在全球治理领域的对华施压也将趋于强化。俄乌冲突不会改变美国推行"印太战略"的决心,美国将利用这一冲突加快构建盟伴体系,尤其是增强日本、澳大利亚等国在军事上的进攻性能力。在俄乌冲突的背景下,美国进一步增强与台湾当局的军事、经贸、科技等联系,力图通过美日同盟、四边机制、美欧联动等为台湾地区构筑"国际屏障",其在对台政策上的所谓"战略清晰"动向更趋显著。

【 关 键 词 】俄乌冲突 中美关系 "印太战略" 台湾问题

【作者简介】赵明昊,复旦大学美国研究中心研究员,北京大学战略研究院特约研究员。

【中图分类号】 D815

【文献标识码】 A

【文章编号】1006-6241(2022)03-0001-22

^[1] 本文是国家社科基金重大类项目(21VMG002)的阶段性成果。

2022年2月底,俄罗斯在乌克兰展开特别军事行动,俄乌冲突震动全球。这场冲突的爆发,有其深刻的历史、地缘政治和大国战略博弈的动因,对欧亚大陆以及国际秩序带来重大的冲击。[1] 迄今,俄乌冲突尚未出现缓和态势。美国国务卿布林肯(Antony Blinken)、美国国防部长奥斯汀(Lloyd Austin)、北约秘书长斯托尔滕贝格(Jens Stoltenberg)等人称,俄乌冲突可能会演变成为一场旷日持久的战争。[2] 俄乌冲突存在长期化的前景,它将对中美关系造成深刻、复杂的影响。美国将借俄乌冲突进一步推进对华战略竞争,以"捆绑中俄"的策略大肆渲染所谓"中国威胁",积极构建压制中国的国际阵营,继续强化"制裁"等对华政策工具。美国还将利用俄乌冲突,加快推动落实其"印太战略",中美围绕台湾问题的博弈也将更趋激烈。

一、俄乌冲突对中美关系的总体性影响

这场俄乌冲突实质上是俄美在北约东扩问题上数十年积怨的爆发。20世纪90年代冷战结束后,美国进入"单边时刻",不断推动北约东扩,对俄罗斯进行战略挤压,使俄的不安全感持续上升。俄罗斯外长拉夫罗夫明确表示,俄在乌克兰的特别军事行动,一定程度上是为了结束美国在世界舞台上的"完全主导"和"不计后果的扩张"。^[3]与此同时,这场俄乌冲突也发生在美国全面推进对华战略竞争的背景之下。美国通过炒作中俄在2022年2月发表的联合声明、散布中国对俄行动事前知情等谣言,试图将国际压力引向中国。^[4]

^{[1] &}quot;The Ukraine War: A Global Crisis?" International Crisis Group, March 2, 2022, https://www.crisisgroup.org/europe-central-asia/eastern-europe/ukraine/ukraine-war-global-crisis.

^[2] Gideon Rachman, "Do not Expect the War in Ukraine to End Quickly," *Financial Times*, March 21, 2022.

^{[3] &}quot;Ukraine Invasion Meant to End U.S. 'Dominance,' Russia's Lavrov Says," *Moscow Times*, April 11, 2022.

^[4] Qin Gang, "Chinese Ambassador: Where We Stand on Ukraine," *The Washington Post*, March 15, 2022.

虽然中国并非俄乌冲突的当事方,但这场冲突给全球政治、经济和安全格局带来的深层次影响,逐步向中美关系传导,而中美俄、中美欧等几组涉及中国的"大三角"关系亦面临深刻调整。全球化因地缘冲突进一步受挫、大国"经济战"不断深化、联合国地位日渐式微、全球军备竞赛骤然加剧,上述诸多因素将对中美关系发展的总体环境造成一系列重要影响。[1]

第一,俄罗斯实力因这场冲突更趋弱化,中俄共同应对美国压力的战略性安排或受到不利影响。俄乌冲突发生后,美国等西方国家为乌克兰提供数百亿美元的援助。拜登政府已决心对普京政权痛下狠手,美国防长奥斯汀公然表示,希望看到俄罗斯被削弱。^[2] 当前和未来一个时期,美国对俄制裁料将更趋强化,拜登政府力图借此对俄罗斯进行长期性、根本性的实力毁伤。负责对俄制裁事务的美国财政部副部长阿德耶莫(Wally Adeyemo)称,参与对俄罗斯制裁的 30 多个国家,它们的经济体量占到全球总量 50% 以上,俄罗斯今年经济预计将萎缩至少 10%;制裁已经使俄罗斯耗损了过去 15 年的经济发展成果,并将破坏俄军事工业复合体及其供应链,拆解其战争机器。^[3] 据美国耶鲁大学管理学院学者的统计,截至 2022 年 5 月初,已经有超过 1000 家西方跨国企业退出或削减在俄业务。^[4]同时,美欧还在联手实质性削弱俄罗斯在全球能源格局中的地位:欧盟提出在 2027 年前摆脱对俄罗斯化石燃料的依赖;美国支持欧洲扩大同海湾

^[1] Ali Wyne, "The War in Ukraine Will Complicate U.S.-China Relations Even More," *World Politics Review*, May 3, 2022, https://www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/30507/the-us-china-relationship-and-pivot-to-asia-after-the-ukraine-war.

^[2] Emma Ashford and Matthew Kroenig, "Is Weakening Russia a Bad Idea?" Foreign Policy, April 29, 2022.

^{[3] &}quot;Deputy Treasury Secretary Wally Adeyemo on the Global Economy," C-SPAN, April 18, 2022, https://www.c-span.org/video/?519524-1/deputy-treasury-secretary-wally-adeyemo-global-economy.

^{[4] &}quot;Almost 1,000 Companies Have Curtailed Operations in Russia—But Some Remain," School of Management at Yale University, May 8, 2022, https://som.yale.edu/story/2022/almost-1000-companies-have-curtailed-operations-russia-some-remain.

地区国家之间的能源合作,以减少对俄能源产品的进口。[1] 西方反俄联盟的形成将使俄罗斯遭受持久的战略孤立。此外,俄乌冲突或会在中亚、高加索、中东地区带来连锁反应,俄罗斯的对外军事干预能力可能将显著弱化。

应看到,美国对俄罗斯进行"极限削弱"的深层目标是打击中俄战略伙伴关系,美国将更加聚焦于打压中国这一头号对手。此外,美国还力图使饱受西方制裁的俄罗斯成为中国的"战略包袱",借此拖累中国自身的发展。值得注意的是,俄乌冲突发生后,美国战略界人士热议针对中俄的"两线作战"问题。大西洋理事会斯考克罗夫特战略与安全中心副主任马修•克罗尼格(Matthew Kroenig)称,从长期来看,中俄两国的经济前景将走弱,美国在军费支出方面的优势将更为凸显,美国应通过采取部署核武器等方式进一步加大对中俄的威慑,要准备好同时应对与中俄之间的战争。[2]

第二,美国借俄乌冲突进一步拉紧欧洲,美欧联手施压中国的态势恐将更加突出。俄乌冲突使很多欧洲国家在军事安全政策上进行重大调整,美欧或会形成一种战略分工,即欧洲国家在应对俄罗斯方面担负起更大责任,美国则聚焦抗衡中国。德国等北约欧洲成员国纷纷提出要增加军费开支。实际上,北约欧洲成员国的年度军费开支总额在俄乌冲突之前就已是俄罗斯的3一4倍。^[3] 虽然法国等欧洲国家仍有"战略自主"意愿,但在未来数年欧洲将不得不更加依赖美国所提供的安全保护,加之瑞典、芬兰等国有意加入北约,美国对于欧洲安全的整体掌控力将会增强。美欧将加强北约东翼的军事态势,

^[1] Mark Thompson, "Europe Sets 2027 Deadline to End Reliance on Russian Oil and Gas," CNN, March 11, 2022, https://edition.cnn.com/2022/03/11/energy/europe-russia-energy-end-date/index.html.

^[2] Matthew Kroenig, "Washington Must Prepare for War with Both Russia and China," *Foreign Policy*, February 18, 2022.

^{[3] &}quot;Defence Expenditure of NATO Countries (2014-2021)," NATO, March 31, 2022, https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_193983.htm; Christina Mackenzie, "Seven European Nations Have Increased Defense Budgets in One Month. Who will be Next?" Breaking Defense, March 22, 2022, https://breakingdefense.com/2022/03/seven-european-nations-have-increased-defense-budgets-in-one-month-who-will-be-next/.

制定长期性威慑和防御计划,波罗的海国家以及波兰等中东欧国家对美国的服从、配合程度也将进一步加大。美国将利用欧方在俄乌冲突问题上对中国和中俄关系的不满,持续巩固和扩展美欧对华统一阵线[1],以对欧提供安全保护为筹码,施压欧洲国家在"反华"政策上更紧密地追随美国。比如,俄乌冲突后美国国会议员代表团"窜访"台湾之际,瑞典议员代表团也在台湾地区活动,其提出希望与台美"打造具有韧性的民主同盟阵线"。在经贸和技术政策协调方面,以打压中国为重要目标的美欧贸易和技术理事会(TTC)等机制将得以强化。美国大西洋理事会高级研究员弗朗西斯•布维尔(Frances G. Burwell)提出,需在美欧贸易和技术理事会框架下围绕制裁问题创建工作组,并将更多"志同道合"的国家纳入逐步扩大的框架中。[2]此外,美欧还将围绕各自的"印太战略"深化协作,欧方将其在印太地区的活动视为对华施压的一种杠杆。

第三,美国利用俄乌冲突推动"俱乐部式的全球化",加快构建针对美国战略对手的"经济战"体系。拜登政府上台后以更大力度推动供应链重塑战略,企图与盟友、伙伴等对华展开"协同脱钩",构建一种以所谓民主国家为主体的经济体系。俄乌冲突将会进一步加剧这一态势。^[3] 美国和欧洲国家对俄罗斯实施了前所未有的经济和金融制裁,对俄开打全面的"经济战",意图将俄驱赶出世界经济体系。经济和金融制裁已经成为俄乌冲突至关重要的"虚拟战线",全球供应链遭到人为割裂,经济全球化和跨国公司在这一过程中被"武器化"。在俄乌冲突和疫情延续的叠加影响之下,供应链安全问题受

^[1] Alan Crawford, Colum Murphy and Alberto Nardelli, "Alarmed by Russia's Invasion, Europe Rethinks Its China Ties," Bloomberg, April 29, 2022, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-28/alarmed-by-russia-s-aggression-europe-rethinks-its-china-ties.

^[2] Frances Burwell, "Rethinking the U.S.-EU Trade and Technology Council After Ukraine," *The National Interest*, March 13, 2022.

^[3] Theo Beal, "Economic Security: A Need for a Renewed Global Effort," March 21, 2022, Chatham House, https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/03/economic-security-need-renewed-global-effort.

到各国更大程度的重视,价值观壁垒在全球经济关系中的作用更加凸显。^[1] 美国试图加快推动一种"俱乐部式的全球化",即在美西方及其伙伴国内部深化经济合作,将俄罗斯、中国等战略对手排斥在外。彼得森国际经济研究所所长亚当·波森(Adam Posen)提出,俄罗斯入侵乌克兰和随之而来的制裁将使全球化面临的侵蚀变得更加严重,而中国在俄乌冲突上的立场将使西方倾向于减少对华经济合作。^[2] 美国财长耶伦(Janet Yellen)称,俄乌战争改变了世界经济前景,不仅全球经济增长预期发生变化,国际合作的理念也将有所调整;未来,经济问题将越来越难以独立于国家安全等更广泛的国家利益考量,中国在俄乌问题上的立场将影响世界对中国的态度。耶伦强调贸易与价值观之间的联系,呼吁建立一个"新型布雷顿森林体系"。^[3]

"经济战"在俄乌冲突中的作用极为突出,美国及其盟友不断强化对俄制裁多边体系,大幅削弱俄战争能力。在美国主导下,七国集团成员国等联合开发新的资产监控和制裁技术能力,成立"制裁俄精英、代理人和寡头"(REPO)特别工作组等机制,旨在扩大联合制裁范围、确保联合制裁行动的效力、共享规避制裁的信息等。^[4] 美国对外关系委员会副主席香农•奥尼尔(Shannon O'Neil)认为,如果此次美国成功用"经济战"方式迫使俄罗斯撤军甚至使普京下台,那么它将对21世纪的美国大战略产生深远影响,美国将推动一场围绕经济制裁的"军备竞赛"。^[5] 应看到,俄乌冲突后美国所构建的这种新型多边制裁体系,未来也可能将其矛头对准中国。此外,美国还在通

^[1] Shiro Armstrong and Tom Westland, "The Lessons of the Economic War on Russia," *East Asia Forum*, March 20, 2022.

^[2] Adam Posen, "The End of Globalization?" *Foreign Affairs*, March 17, 2022, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/world/2022-03-17/end-globalization.

^[3] RanaForoohar, "It's Time for a New Bretton Woods," Financial Times, April 18, 2022.

^{[4] &}quot;U.S. Departments of Treasury and Justice Launch Multilateral Russian Oligarch Task Force," U.S. Departments of Treasury, March 16, 2022, https://home.treasury.gov/news/pressreleases/jy0659.

^[5] Anne-Marie Slaughter, Kishore Mahbubani, Stephen M. Walt, Toshihiro Nakayama, Shannon K. O'Neil, C. Raja Mohan, and Robin Niblett, "U.S. Grand Strategy After Ukraine," *Foreign Policy*, March 21, 2022.

过加强对全球数字资产监管、推进美联储数字货币等方式,应对所谓中国削弱美元的努力,确保美国未来对中国实施金融制裁的效力。

第四,美国在联合国、二十国集团等全球治理机制方面的对华博弈进入 新阶段,全球军备竞赛更趋升温。联合国未能制止俄乌冲突的爆发,安理会 成为美俄欧各方竞争的场域,联合国权威受到严重损害;冲突各方围绕《联 合国宪章》、人道主义干预规则等问题的严重分歧进一步削弱联合国体系的 政治基础。俄乌冲突发生后,美国在联合国平台展开频密的外交活动,140 多个国家赞成对俄进行谴责和要求俄撤军的联合国相关决议。^[1] 美西方推动 剥夺俄罗斯在联合国人权理事会的成员资格,还试图限制俄罗斯在联合国 安理会的否决权。美国常驻联合国代表琳达·托马斯-格林菲尔德(Linda Thomas-Greenfield) 称:"我们对俄罗斯过去 20 年来滥用否决权的可耻模式 感到担忧。"[2] 美国国会一些议员呼吁联合国"立即采取程序行动",修改《联 合国宪章》第23条,移除俄罗斯安理会常任理事国的席位。布鲁金斯学会 高级研究员卡马尔•德维斯(Kemal Dervis)和联合国发展政策委员会主席何 塞·欧堪波(José Ocampo)提出,"俄罗斯对乌克兰的野蛮闪电战清楚地提 醒我们,当安理会常任理事国的利益与其他成员的利益发生冲突时,安理会 是无能的"。他们建议在《联合国宪章》第27条新增相关条款,允许通过双 重多数 (三分之二成员国和世界三分之二人口) 推翻安理会常任理事国的否 决权。[3] 此外,拜登政府还明确要求二十国集团取消俄罗斯的成员资格。上

^[1] William Taylor and James Rupert, "The Ukraine War Escalates Demands to Reform the United Nations," United States Institute of Peace, April 29, 2022, https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/04/ukraine-war-escalates-demands-reform-united-nations.

^{[2] &}quot;Statement by Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield on the UN General Assembly Resolution on the UN Security Council Veto," United States Mission to the United Nations, April 12, 2022, https://usun.usmission.gov/statement-by-ambassador-linda-thomas-greenfield-on-the-un-general-assembly-resolution-on-the-un-security-council-veto/.

^[3] Kemal Dervis and José Antonio Ocampo, "Will Ukraine's tragedy spur UN Security Council reform?" *Project Syndicate*, March 3, 2022, https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/ukraine-war-proposal-for-un-security-council-reform-by-kemal-dervis-and-jose-antonio-ocampo-2022-03.

述情况对中国的战略选择带来新的考验,未来一个时期中美在全球治理方面的较量将会更加复杂激烈。此外,俄乌冲突推动全球新一轮军备竞赛,管控核冲突风险的难度也在上升,各方围绕人工智能武器化、太空安全等问题构建全球治理规则的努力将陷入困境。英国《经济学人》杂志刊文称,如北约成员国(美国除外)军费占本国 GDP 比例达到 2%,它们的国防预算总额将增加 25%,每年约 4000 亿美元。[1] 同时,日本、澳大利亚等亚太地区国家也欲大幅增加军事支出。美国及其盟友整体军事资源和实力的上升,将对中国的外部安全环境带来不利影响。

二、俄乌冲突对美国"印太战略"的联动性影响

实施"印太战略",是近年来美国对华施压的重要抓手。^[2] 现任白宫国家安全委员会印太事务协调员的坎贝尔(Kurt Campbell)与现任总统国家安全事务助理杰克•沙利文(Jake Sullivan)曾在合著的文章中称,"冷战时期的军事竞争是真正的全球性争斗,与此相较,华盛顿和北京面临的危险可能将会集中在印太地区"。^[3] 拜登政府在 2022 年 2 月以白宫名义发布《美国印太战略》报告,诬称中国综合使用经济、外交、军事和技术力量,寻求在印太地区建立"势力范围"。^[4] 俄乌冲突虽然对拜登政府落实"印太战略"的节奏有所影响,但不会改变美国聚焦印太、压制中国的决心。新美国安全中心主席理查德•方丹(Richard Fontaine)认为,俄乌冲突对于美国转向(pivot)

^{[1] &}quot;Russia's Attack on Ukraine Means More Military Spending," $\it The\ Economist$, March 5, 2022.

^{[2] &}quot;U.S. Strategic Framework for the Indo-Pacific," The Trump White House, January 5, 2021, p. 2, https://trumpwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/IPS-Final-Declass.pdf.

^[3] Kurt M. Campbell and Jake Sullivan, "Competition Without Catastrophe: How America Can Both Challenge and Coexist with China," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 5, 2019, p. 101.

^[4] The White House, *Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States*, February 2022.

-8-

印太短期不利,但长期看是有益的。^[1] 美国将利用俄乌冲突,进一步炒作中俄"准联盟"构成的威胁,促动其印太盟友和伙伴加大军力建设,对华实施更大力度的阵营遏压,固化亚太地区的冲突性格局,在中国周边打造"动荡弧""封控带"。

第一,美国展现出俄乌冲突下仍将锚定印太地区的战略决心,以"捆绑中俄"策略推升亚太地区国家对"中国威胁"的认知。俄乌冲突发生后不久,拜登即在3月3日与澳大利亚、印度和日本领导人举行四边机制(Quad)线上峰会,专门讨论俄乌冲突局势及其对印太地区的影响。四国领导人发表的联合声明称,绝不能让乌克兰事件在印太地区重演。[2] 白宫国家安全委员会印太事务协调员坎贝尔称,美国以往曾同时深入参与两个"战区"(theaters),包括在第二次世界大战和冷战期间;俄乌冲突之下,美国将展现继续聚焦印太地区的"决心"。[3] 拜登政府针对印太方向展开一系列外交活动,在5月12—13日于华盛顿举办美国-东盟特别峰会,力图热炒南海争端以及中国对他国"胁迫"等问题,寻求加强美日印澳"四边机制"与东盟之间的协调;5月下旬,拜登将出访日本、韩国等印太地区国家,这是拜登执政后首访该地区。美国将在拜登出访期间正式公布"印太经济框架"的详细方案,以体现美国落实"印太战略"的实际进展。[4] 值得注意的是,白宫国安会前官员、布鲁

^[1] Peter Martin, "Biden Team Sees Tilt to China Buoyed as Putin Falters in Ukraine," Bloomberg, May 10, 2022, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-05-09/bidenteam-sees-its-bid-to-curb-china-gaining-from-ukraine-stand.

^[2] The White House, "Joint Readout of Quad Leaders Call," March 3, 2022, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2022/03/03/joint-readout-of-quad-leaders-call/.

^[3] David Brunnstrom and Michael Martina, "U.S. can Focus on Two Theaters - Indo-Pacific and War in Europe, Official says," Reuters, March 1, 2022, https://www.reuters.com/world/china/us-can-focus-two-theaters-indo-pacific-war-europe-official-says-2022-02-28/.

^[4] Antony Blinken, "A Free and Open Indo-Pacific," U.S. Department of State, December 14, 2021, https://www.state.gov/a-free-and-open-indo-pacific/.

金斯学会高级研究员何瑞恩(Ryan Hass)称,华盛顿政策圈当前讨论的热点问题是如何认识 2022 年 2 月中俄联合声明的影响,以及如何让中国为俄罗斯"侵略"乌克兰付出代价。^[1] 未来一个时期,拜登政府或将加大炒作"中国为俄侵乌提供支持"等论调,将中俄构成的"威胁"进行深度捆绑。拜登政府将结合俄乌冲突形势,在美国将要发布的《国家安全战略报告》《国防战略报告》《中国战略报告》等文件中,进一步渲染所谓中俄"准结盟"、中国采取"灰色地带战术"等话题,塑造相关国家有关"中国威胁"的认知。

第二,美国将显著增强美日同盟的"进攻性",以韩国政局更替为契机促韩"疏华倚美"。俄乌冲突发生后,日本政府紧随美国步调,对俄罗斯实施多轮制裁,表示要减少对俄能源依赖。日本首相岸田文雄称俄犯下"战争罪行",并在国际上宣扬"乌克兰的今日就是东亚的明日"论调。^[2] 日本不再寄望于有关北方四岛(俄称南千岛群岛)的谈判,更为担心俄乌冲突对台海形势的影响。岸田政府希借俄乌冲突巩固其在国内的执政地位,并推进其强化日本"进攻性军事能力"等目标。传统基金会高级研究员布鲁斯·克林格纳(Bruce Klingner)认为,美国应促动日本将军费开支占 GDP 比例提升至 2%,消除日本国内对强化美日同盟的政治和法律障碍。^[3] 拜登政府将推动日本加强西南诸岛防卫,寻求在日部署陆基短程和中程导弹,支持日本通过在潜艇加装远程巡航导弹等方式增强对敌基地的攻击能力,研发能够击落高超声速导弹的电磁炮等先进武器。美日军队还围绕"远征前沿基地作战"(EABO)等新作战概念增强演习力度。2022 年 3 月,美日两军首次举行联合空降登陆

^[1] Ryan Hass, "Ukraine Presents Opportunity to Test China's Strategic Outlook," The Brookings Institution, March 1, 2022, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/03/01/ukraine-presents-opportunity-to-test-chinas-strategic-outlook/.

^[2] Patrick Wintour, "Japanese Premier Warns of Ukraine-style Invasion by 'Autocratic Powers'," *The Guardian*, May 5, 2022.

^[3] Bruce Klingner, *The U.S. - Japan Security Alliance Must Act Now to Deter China from Attacking Taiwan*, The Heritage Foundation, April 2022.

突击演习。^[1] 美国将与日本就其参与"美英澳三边安全伙伴关系"(AUKUS)展开沟通,推动日澳落实《互惠准入协定》等以深化美日澳三边军事关系,乐见日本与英国、法国商签《互惠准入协定》等带有军事同盟性质的条约,支持日本与英国联合研发比 F-35 更先进的第六代战机,配合美军推进"下一代空中优势"(NGAD)项目。^[2] 此外,美国和日本在核武器部署方面进行合作的议题在俄乌冲突后有所升温。日本前首相安倍晋三提出,北约的"核共享"(nuclear sharing)政策可运用于美日同盟。^[3]

在美韩同盟方面,拜登政府将韩国新总统尹锡悦的上台视为进一步拉紧韩国的重要契机。尹锡悦在对华政策上持强硬立场,明确提出购置部署萨德系统、扩大核威慑、加强美日韩三边关系、加入美日印澳"四边机制"等主张。^[4] 应看到,在文在寅执政后期,美日韩三方的战略磋商已然升温。^[5] 朝鲜在俄乌冲突后试射导弹等举措将为拜登政府深化美日韩三边联动提供借口。值得注意的是,韩国国内出现调整核政策以及支持美国在韩部署核武器的呼声,美国将针对韩国提出的核动力潜艇采购要求予以积极考虑。^[6]

第三,美国将加快构建印太"盟伴体系",引入欧洲和北约力量对中国 进行战略牵制。拜登政府力图在印太地区构建"有力的且相互强化的联盟

^[1] Reito Kaneko, "Japan's GSDF, U.S. Marines Hold Amphibious Drill as China Power Grows," Kyodo News, March 13, 2022, https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2022/03/a3e2d02bc75b-japans-gsdf-us-marines-hold-amphibious-drill-as-china-power-grows.html.

^[2] Gabriel Honrada, "Japan, UK Join Forces in Sixth-generation Fighter Race," Asia Times, January 17, 2022.

^{[3] &}quot;A Debate About Nuclear Weapons Resurfaces in East Asia," The Economist, March 19, 2022.

^[4] NiklasSwanström, "South Korea's Relations With China and the US Under President-elect Yoon," *The Diplomat*, March 22, 2022.

^{[5] &}quot;Joint Statement on the U.S.-Japan-Republic of Korea Trilateral Ministerial Meeting," U.S. Department of State, February 12, 2022, https://www.state.gov/joint-statement-on-the-u-s-japan-republic-of-korea-trilateral-ministerial-meeting/.

^[6] Tom O'Connor, "Could the World's Next Nuclear Power Be U.S. Ally South Korea?" *Newsweek*, April 7, 2022, https://www.newsweek.com/could-worlds-next-nuclear-power-us-ally-south-korea-1695761.

网络",将美国的条约盟友和印度等安全伙伴的力量进行深度融合,打造针对中国的"盟伴体系",以所谓"集体实力"(collective strength)构建对华战略优势。[1] 美国希望借助俄乌冲突,促动更多亚太地区国家重新审视自身安全环境、增加军费投入,强化各方在军事上的互操作性。美国将进一步扩展多边性军事演习、推动印太地区国家的"海域感知系统"建设,强化美国海警力量在印太地区的存在,加大涉华安全情报的共享等。[2] 在双边层面,除巩固与日韩澳同盟关系,拜登政府将利用菲律宾总统杜特尔特下台之机促菲调整对华政策,巩固美菲同盟。[3] 经两国防长多次磋商,2022年3月底美菲举行史上最大规模的"肩并肩"联合演习,双方共派出9000多名军人,演习区域从吕宋岛北部延伸到巴拉望岛海域。菲律宾政府高官公开支持"美英澳三边安全伙伴关系",乞美在菲及其周边海域加大军事部署。美国正大力强化菲律宾军事基地,欲使美菲同盟的优先事项能够"更加有效的操作化",未来不排除美菲在南海地区策动新的挑衅行动。[4]

在盟国之外,印度尼西亚、马来西亚、蒙古、新西兰、新加坡、越南和太平洋岛国将是拜登政府下阶段构建"盟伴体系"的重点拉拢对象。2022年4月,拜登政府针对中国与所罗门群岛签署安全合作协议采取激烈反制,体现了美国高度重视围绕第二岛链的战略博弈。[5] 未来一个时期,美军将与印太盟友和伙伴加强多域作战和应对"全频谱冲突"的能力,推进落实新的作

^{[1] &}quot;Renewing America's Advantages: Interim National Security Strategic Guidance," The White House, March 3, 2021, p.6.

^[2] The White House, Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States, February 2022.

^[3] Gregory Poling, Simon Hudes, and AndreykaNatalegawa, *Alliances in Need of Upkeep: Strengthening the U.S.-Philippines and U.S.-Thailand Partnerships*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, August 2021, pp. 16-18.

^{[4] &}quot;Joint Vision for a 21st Century United States—Philippines Partnership," U.S. Department of State, November 16, 2021, https://www.state.gov/joint-vision-for-a-21st-century-united-states-philippines-partnership/.

^[5] PhelimKine, "U.S. Turns the Screws on Solomon Islands to Counter China," *Politico*, April 28, 2022.

战概念,增加美军基地,建立更具韧性的指控和控制系统,为美国在印太地区展开分布式作战提供基础支撑。美国还将推动日、澳、印等相关国家"防务工业基础"的相互联结,整合各方的防务供应链。[1]

此外,拜登政府有意利用欧洲国家对中俄"准结盟"的不满,推动欧盟和北约进一步参与印太地区事务从而增加对华施压的筹码。俄乌冲突后,美国与欧盟、英国等围绕"印太战略"展开高级别磋商。^[2] 欧盟、北约将与印太地区国家深化海上安全、网络安全等领域的合作,例如展开联合海上演习、增加舰机在亚太地区的活动、邀请亚太国家加入北约网络防御中心(CCDCOE)等。^[3] 美国前助理国务卿韦斯·米切尔(Wess Mitchell)与德国前防长托马斯·德迈齐埃(Thomas de Maizière)联合撰文称,北约需要与中国进行正面交锋,可通过充实"北约+4"("4"指日本、韩国、澳大利亚、新西兰)模式、加大北约与美日印澳"四边机制"协作等方式强化北约在印太地区的伙伴关系。^[4]

第四,美国在印太地区围绕对俄制裁展开多边协调,加快推动供应链重塑。俄乌冲突发生后,在拜登政府促动之下,澳大利亚、新加坡、日本、和台湾地区宣布对俄罗斯采取经济、技术和金融制裁举措,美国与这些国家和地区围绕制裁展开持续的协调。应该说,美国的亚太盟友对俄进行制裁,既是一次压力测试,也是未来对其他国家采取制裁行动的一种预先演练。在东南亚地区,印度尼西亚、菲律宾等国公开对俄"入侵"乌克兰进行"谴责";

^[1] The White House, Indo-Pacific Strategy of the United States, February 2022, p. 13.

^[2] U.S. Department of State, "U.S.-EU: Consultations Between EEAS Secretary General Stefano Sannino and United States Deputy Secretary Wendy Sherman," April 22, 2022, https://www.state.gov/u-s-eu-consultations-between-eeas-secretary-general-stefano-sannino-and-united-states-deputy-secretary-wendy-sherman/.

^[3] Jo He-rim, "South Korea's Intelligence Agency Joins NATO's Cyber Defense Center as First in Asia," *The Korea Herald*, May 5, 2022, http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20220505000162; Luke Hunt, "Global NATO Takes Shape Ahead of US-ASEAN Meet," *The Diplomat*, May 5, 2022.

^[4] Thomas de Maizière and Wess Mitchell, "NATO Needs to Deal With China Head-On," *Foreign Policy*, February 23, 2021.

马来西亚、泰国等国出现针对俄罗斯的示威活动;柬埔寨、马来西亚和泰国在联合国有关要求俄罗斯撤军的决议中投下赞成票。^[1] 韩国也对俄罗斯实施更加严格的出口管制措施,并加入了有关切断俄罗斯与 SWIFT 联系的行动。下阶段,拜登政府或加大对印太地区国家尤其是东南亚国家的游说,要求其加入对俄制裁或施压的行动。2022 年,泰国将主办 APEC 领导人非正式会议、印度尼西亚将主办二十国集团峰会,拜登政府料将利用这些多边场合加大对俄罗斯、中国的施压。此外,拜登政府将利用俄乌冲突,推动印太地区国家进一步重视"供应链韧性"问题,减少对中国的经济依赖。美国将通过"印太经济框架"推动芯片等关键产品供应链的集体监测和信息共享,设立供应链预警机制,评估和完善相关物资的战略储备,实施供应链压力测试,改善与供应链韧性相关的基础设施。^[2] 应看到,以信息通信(ICT)技术为支撑的网络战、信息战和认知战是俄乌冲突的重要战线之一,美国将借助"印太经济框架"加大对中国等对手国家的"数字遏制",主导制定印太数字贸易协议,围绕先进技术和产品构建多边出口管制体系。^[3]

三、俄乌冲突对中美围绕台湾问题博弈的影响

^[1] Ian Storey and William Choong, "Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: Southeast Asian Responses and Why the Conflict Matters to the Region," *Fulcrum*, ISEAS - YusofIshak Institute, March 15, 2022, https://fulcrum.sg/russias-invasion-of-ukraine-southeast-asian-responses-and-why-the-conflict-matters-to-the-region/.

^[2] Sarah Kreps, Richard Clark, and Adi Rao, "A Holistic Approach to Strengthening the Semiconductor Supply Chain," The Brookings Institution, April 7, 2022, https://www.brookings.edu/techstream/a-holistic-approach-to-strengthening-the-semiconductor-supply-chain/.

^[3] AndreykaNatalegawa and Gregory B. Poling, *The Indo-Pacific Economic Framework & Digital Trade in Southeast Asia*, Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 2022; David Feith, Testimony before the Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific, Central Asia, and Nonproliferation, U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, Hearing on "The Strategic Importance of a U.S. Digital Trade Agreement in the Indo-Pacific", January 19, 2022, https://s3.us-east-l.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/HFAC-David-Feith.pdf?mtime=20220119150405&focal=none.

近年来,在美国不断加大对华战略竞争力度的背景下,台湾问题成为中美博弈焦点。美国肆意操弄"以台制华"策略,无端渲染"大陆 2027 年前攻台"等论调,在台海地区增加军事行动,使中美关系面临重大风险。俄乌冲突给美国对台湾政策带来重要影响,拜登政府高官频频拿俄乌冲突说事,"警告"中国大陆不要对台动武。总统国家安全事务助理沙利文称,中国大陆将从俄罗斯在乌克兰的战事中汲取经验,为未来"入侵"台湾做准备,他重申了美国对台湾的安全承诺。[1] 美国财政部长耶伦则称,如果中国大陆对台湾动武,美国将对北京施加类似对俄罗斯的制裁。[2] 拜登政府力图增强对台湾当局政治支持,巩固美台军事战略框架,提升台湾在美印太布局中地位,拉紧欧日澳等为台打造更多"国际屏障"。[3] 美国国会出现新一轮"挺台"潮,一些政客将俄乌冲突与台湾问题刻意混淆,在所谓"武力护台"等问题上大造声势。此外,拜登政府与日本、澳大利亚等加大勾连,共同在台湾问题上对大陆施压的态势也值得高度警惕。

第一,美国在政治上为台湾当局撑腰打气,美国国会出现新一轮"挺台"潮。台湾地区民众对拜登政府拒绝出兵乌克兰感到不满,台湾民意基金会在俄乌冲突后所做民调显示,如果大陆"武统"台湾时,55.9%的岛内民众不相信美军会参战协防台湾,这一比例较去年大幅增长。^[4] 为安抚台湾方面,拜登派出美军参谋长联席会议前主席穆伦(Michael Mullen)牵头的"五

^[1] KeoniEverington, "Taiwan and Ukraine not Same, US to Ensure Chinese Invasion' Never Happens'," Taiwan News, April 15, 2022, https://www.taiwannews.com.tw/en/news/4508152.

^[2] Christopher Condon, "Yellen Says U.S. Would Use Sanctions If China Invaded Taiwan," Bloomberg, April 6, 2022, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2022-04-06/yellensays-u-s-would-use-sanctions-if-china-invaded-taiwan.

^[3] David Gitter, "Can the US Deter a Taiwan Invasion?" The Diplomat, Issue 90, May 2022.

^{[4] 《}俄乌战争、两岸危机与台湾民主(2022年3月22日)》,台湾民意基金会网站,https://www.tpof.org/%e5%9c%96%e8%a1%a8%e5%88%86%e6%9e%90/%e4%bf%84%e7%83%8f%e8%a1%9d%e7%aa%81%e3%80%81%e5%85%a9%e5%b2%b8%e5%8d%b1%e6%a9%9f%e8%88%87%e5%8f%b0%e7%81%a3%e6%b0%91%e4%b8%bb%ef%bc%882022%e5%b9%b43%e6%9c%8822%e6%97%a5%ef%bc%89/。

人小组"代表团访台,成员包括美国国防部前副部长弗洛诺伊(Michele Flournov)、白宫国家安全委员会前高级主任麦艾文(Evan Medeiros)等人, 代表团成员的军事和国家安全背景引发关注。[1] 该代表团访台后又赴日本访 问,协调美日台防务合作等事宜。4月,由共和党籍参议员格雷厄姆(Lindsey Graham)和民主党籍参议员梅嫩德兹(Bob Menendez)共同率领的美国国 会代表团访台。格雷厄姆是参议院预算委员会共和党首席议员,梅嫩德兹 则是参议院对外关系委员会主席,他们连同其他四位代表团成员都在美国 国会中扮演重要角色。[2] 梅嫩德兹在与蔡英文会面时妄称,台湾是"拥有全 球重要性的国家"。他此前还提出一项法案,要求将台湾当局驻美办事机构 更名为"台湾代表处"。[3] 此外,美国众议长佩洛西也在此时点提出要"窜 访"台湾。多位美国国会议员抛出"挺台法案"。共和党籍众议员加拉格尔 (Mike Gallagher)等人诬称,俄乌冲突将对中国产生"模仿效应"(copycat effect),加剧"武统"台湾的可能性,美"一体化威慑"战略恐难有效遏止 中国。[4] 共和党籍参议员里克·斯科特(Rick Scott)等人推动《以金融制 裁威慑共产中国入侵台湾法案》,欲将对俄惩罚举措施加于中国。[5] 在 2022 年美国国会中期选举背景下, 共和党指责拜登政府对俄罗斯、中国软弱, 两党政客将把台湾问题作为政治争斗的工具, 竞相对华示强, 企图通过立

^[1] Erin Hale, "Former US Defense Officials in Taiwan to Signal Washington's Support," VOA, March 1, 2022, https://www.voanews.com/a/former-us-defense-officials-in-taiwan-to-signal-washington-s-support-/6464596.html.

^[2] SarakshiRai, "Graham Leads US Delegation to Taiwan," The Hill, April 15, 2022.

^[3] Ben Blanchard and Yew LunTian, "China Holds Drills around Taiwan as U.S. Lawmakers Visit," Reuters, April 15, 2022, https://www.reuters.com/article/taiwan-usa-int-idAFKCN2M706H.

^[4] 李逸华:《美情报界领袖:中国对俄罗斯因入侵乌克兰遭到的反制"感到不安"》,美国之音,2022年3月9日,https://www.voachinese.com/a/us-cia-burns-says-china-unsettled-by-what-they-see-in-ukraine-20220308/6476464.html。

^{[5] &}quot;US Senators Propose Bill to Sanction Beijing in Event of Taiwan Invasion," Business Standard, March 4, 2022, https://www.business-standard.com/article/international/us-senators-propose-bill-to-sanction-beijing-in-event-of-taiwan-invasion-122030400111_1.html.

法活动将美台勾连合法化、常态化。

第二,美国对台政策步向"战略清晰"的动力趋强,美国国内和盟国 政客的"武力护台"论调升温。拜登政府上台后多次强调美国与台湾的关系 "坚如磐石"(rock solid),2021年10月拜登在接受媒体访问时称美国将会"保 护"台湾,如果台湾遭到中国大陆的进攻。[1] 美国国防部前副部长埃里克•埃 德尔曼(Eric Edelman)等一些战略界人士认为,俄乌冲突的教训即是"战略 模糊行不通",美国此前过于聚焦应对"灰色地带"挑战,没有做好应对大陆 在台海地区发动常规战争的准备。[2] 俄乌冲突后,美国内要求拜登政府在台 湾问题上采取"战略清晰"的呼声有所增大,并试图重新对《与台湾关系法》 等进行阐释,要求美国政府进一步明确采取武力干预的条件。美国国防部前 资深官员约瑟夫·博斯科(Joseph Bosco)妄称,《与台湾关系法》已经规定 了中美建交的前提是和平解决台湾问题;美国在乌克兰问题上的"战略模糊" 已经"灾难性地失败",拜登政府必须尽快在台湾问题上采取"战略清晰"。[3] 前总统国家安全事务助理博尔顿 (John Bolton) 妄称,美国应重新在台湾地区 驻军,并与亚太地区的盟友共同阻止大陆"武统"。此外,一些美国盟国的 政客也围绕所谓"战略清晰"鼓噪助阵,摇旗呐喊。澳大利亚国防部长达顿 (Peter Dutton)等人称,俄乌冲突使美国聚焦欧洲,难以兼顾印太地区,进而 增大中国大陆在台海采取强硬行动的可能性。[4] 日本前首相安倍晋三撰文称, 乌克兰的悲剧是一个痛苦的教训,美国在台湾问题上的"战略模糊"政策已

^[1] Myah Ward, "Biden Says U.S. Has 'Commitment' to Defend Taiwan from Chinese Attack," *Politico*, October 21, 2021.

^[2] Eric Edelman and Franklin Miller, "The Lessons of Ukraine for Taiwan—and the U.S.," The Bulwark, April 15, 2022, https://www.thebulwark.com/the-lessons-of-ukraine-for-taiwan-and-the-u-s/?amp.

^[3] Joseph Bosco, "Russia's War on Ukraine Makes China's Attack on Taiwan More Likely," *The Hill*, April 26, 2022.

^[4] Angus Thompson, "'Reality of Our Time': Dutton Warns Australians to Prepare for War," *Sydney Morning Herald*, April 25, 2022.

经难以威慑大陆,美日必须清楚表明协防台湾的决心。^[1] 虽然安倍晋三的谬论并不能等同于日本岸田政府的政策,但"台湾有事就是日本有事"这种看法在日本政界越发普遍,日本方面在台湾问题上的躁动日益增强。应当看到,拜登政府恐不会甘冒中美"摊牌"风险而做出武力协防台湾的官方表态,但可能会在行动上展现越来越强的"战略清晰"色彩。^[2]

第三,美国以"战情"促动"战备",加紧打造美台军事安全关系的新战略框架。一是加强美国内部在对台政策上的跨部门协调,整合美台沟通机制。拜登政府专门成立名为"老虎队"(Tiger Team)的跨部门机制研究如何强化美台军事关系,该机制由美国国防部牵头。穆伦率领的"五人小组"代表团包括多位白宫国家安全委员会前高官,体现出美方欲将台湾问题进一步纳入白宫层面的战略管理范围。拜登政府还有意将"美台国防政策审议会议"等不同渠道的美台沟通机制进行整合,以提升美台政军交往效能。二是更加重视强化台湾当局的"非对称"战力。拜登政府将加强美国和台湾在指挥、控制、通信、情报、监控和侦察系统(C4ISR)的互操作性,为台提供"野战资讯通信系统"(FICS)等装备,或会允许台湾加入美国的数据链,参与印太"海域感知系统",共享战场情报。4月初,拜登政府批准了对台湾当局的新一轮军售,涉及金额9500万美元,主要是推进有关"爱国者"防空系统的部署和技术协助。这是拜登政府上台后的第三轮对台军售。美国国务院常务副国务卿舍曼(Wendy Sherman)称,自2009年起美国已经向台湾提供总价值超过300亿美元的军售,美国国务院、国防部等机构将持续简化相关军售

^[1] Shinzo Abe, "The U.S. Must Make Clear to the World It Will Defend Taiwan against Chinese Invasion," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2022.

^[2] Ivan Kanapathy, "Taiwan Doesn't Need a Formal U.S. Security Guarantee," Foreign Policy, April 26, 2022; Richard Haass and David Sacks, "The Growing Danger of U.S. Ambiguity on Taiwan," Foreign Affairs, December 13, 2021, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/china/2021-12-13/growing-danger-us-ambiguity-taiwan; Richard Haass and David Sacks, "American Support for Taiwan Must Be Unambiguous," Foreign Affairs, September 2, 2020, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/american-support-taiwan-must-be-unambiguous.

程序,推动军火企业加快交付时间。^[1] 美国方面将为台增加提供反潜直升机、"鱼叉"岸基反舰导弹、高机动多管火箭系统、攻击性无人机等先进武器,助台部署"短中程空防系统""防御性鱼雷"等,支持台湾当局加快研发和制造导弹、潜艇和隐身军舰。^[2] 三是进一步将台军纳入美国主导的双边和多边军事演训安排。拜登政府将加大对台军特种作战如城市战的训练力度,增加轮驻台湾地区的美军教官人数,增派更多台海军陆战队队员赴美军关岛基地训练。^[3] 美国多位国会议员已在施压拜登政府,要求其邀请台湾参加 2022 年"环太平洋"军演(RIMPAC)。美国海军陆战队情报官员杰克•耶格尔(Jake Yeager)等人公开撰文称,需要恢复在台湾设置"美国军事援助顾问团"的做法,以更好地利用不断流入台湾的美国军事资源,针对中国大陆建立"可信的威慑"。^[4]

第四,美国希望推动台湾地区与美亚太和欧洲盟友的交往,寻求为台湾当局打造更强有力的"国际屏障"。拜登政府将大力推动台湾当局深入参与其印太盟伴体系。斯坦福大学胡佛研究所高级研究员拉里•戴蒙德(Larry Diamond)等美国战略界人士提出,可推动台湾当局以低调方式参与美日印澳"四边机制"以及"美英澳三边安全伙伴关系"的相关活动,在芯片产业

^[1] Hearing on "Restoring American Leadership in the Indo-Pacific," U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee, April 6, 2022, https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearings?ID=931C6B7D-23FB-4CF6-87EE-9FF85B401623.

^{[2] &}quot;Chapter 4: A Dangerous Period for Cross-Strait Deterrence: Chinese Military Capabilities and Decision-making for a War over Taiwan," USCC Annual Report to Congress 2021, U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2021-11/Chapter_4-Dangerous_Period_for_Cross-Strait_Deterrence.pdf.

^[3] Will Ripley, Eric Cheung and Ben Westcott, "Taiwan's President says the threat from China is increasing'every day' and confirms presence of US military trainers on the island," CNN, October 28, 2021, https://edition.cnn.com/2021/10/27/asia/tsai-ingwen-taiwan-china-interview-intl-hnk/index.html.

^[4] Jake Yeager and William Gerichten, "Reestablish the U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group-Taiwan," War on the Rocks, January 7, 2022, https://warontherocks.com/2022/01/reestablish-the-u-s-military-assistance-advisory-group-taiwan/.

等数字经济和高科技领域彰显台湾的特殊价值,增强台湾的韧性和"国际影响力"。^[1] 拜登政府虽尚未就是否同意台湾加入"印太经济框架"做出最后决定,但已有 200 多名国会两党议员要求拜登政府将台湾纳入该经济框架。由于"印太经济框架"具有很大的灵活性,美国或会准许台湾当局参与部分的多边合作,如数字经济。^[2] 美国或利用俄乌冲突,推动研拟美国盟友在战时对台展开军事和经济援助的计划。此外,在俄乌冲突中,美西方高度重视推进"认知域作战",升级心理战、信息战和网络战手段,利用联合国等多边平台对俄进行国际孤立。这种策略对美国在台湾问题上的"打法"也有深刻影响。美台双方或进一步加强"合作与训练架构""美台反虚假信息和宣传的技术挑战倡议""美台印太地区民主治理磋商"等相关机制,增加印太地区其他国家政治人物、智库专家、媒体人士等对中国大陆"侵略"台湾问题的关注,塑造各方对意识形态领域的"中国威胁"的忧惧感,围绕未来对华进行认知作战加快机制、平台和人力资源建设。^[3] 为提升台湾在国际组织中的参与程度,美国或与"民主国家"建立非正式的联络小组,负责监控中国大陆压制台湾当局"国际空间"的动向,并制定联合应对的举措。

结 语

俄乌冲突仍在延续,并且存在转化为俄罗斯与美国、北约直接冲突的风

^[1] Bethany Allen-Ebrahimian, "Taiwan Sees Lessons in Ukraine," Axios, March 29, 2022, https://www.axios.com/2022/03/29/taiwan-ukraine-china-russia-lessons; Michael Mazza, "The AUKUS agreement and its significance for the defense of Taiwan," American Enterprise Institute, October 6, 2021, https://www.aei.org/articles/the-aukus-agreement-and-its-significance-for-the-defense-of-taiwan/.

^[2] Simon Lester, "Congressional Taiwan Caucus Pushes to Include Taiwan in Indo-Pacific Economic Framework," China Trade Monitor, March 31, 2022, https://www.chinatrademonitor.com/taiwan-caucus-pushes-to-include-taiwan-in-indo-pacific-economic-framework/.

^[3] Michael Green, Nicholas Szechenyi, and Hannah Fodale, *Enhancing Democratic Partnership in the Indo-Pacific Region*, Rowman& Littlefield, 2021.

险,美国等西方国家对俄制裁将继续加码,不排除战火延烧至部分北约成员国的可能,相关方出现核冲突的风险也需重视。有鉴于此,需要坚持底线思维、全力做好防范,为美国下阶段借俄乌冲突加大对中国的施压完善各方面准备,尤其是要重视建立中国企业和相关机构应对美西方制裁的"屏障",确保中国海外资产的安全。需高度警惕俄乌冲突给全球经济、粮食供给、能源安全带来的严重冲击,确保中国经济发展和社会稳定。应看到,美国在此次应对俄乌冲突方面有很多新打法、新策略,是21世纪的代理人战争以及"从背后作战"的重要演练,值得深入研究。比如,美国如何利用情报、电子战等方面的优势,实施精准的军事干预;如何利用"认知战"手段对俄罗斯进行孤立;如何围绕对俄经济、金融、技术制裁编织多边网络。

此外,需要多措并举、稳欧固亚,确保中国周边地区的总体稳定。随着俄乌冲突的长期化,欧洲面临的各种困境将进一步深化,如能源价格的上涨、军费负担的加剧等。中国应与法德国、波兰等深化战略沟通,巩固中欧关系的"稳定锚",支持欧洲探索"战略自主"道路,逐步构建均衡、有效、可持续的欧洲安全架构。在欧洲面临经济困难的情况下,中欧合作的重要性更趋凸显,双方应设法在《中欧全面投资协定》等问题上推动关系转圜。在欧亚大陆陷入激烈冲突的背景下,维护亚太地区的和平稳定显得更为迫切。从东盟推迟美国-东盟特别峰会、印度不参与对俄制裁等因素看,亚太地区国家对拜登政府不会亦步亦趋。我国需以"和平稳定"这个最大公约数凝聚亚太国家的共识,用全球经济多重困局下的"合作发展"争取亚太国家的支持。可与日本、印度、澳大利亚等国增进战略对话,及时做韩国、菲律宾等国相关政治势力工作,尽可能减少政府更替给对华关系带来的冲击。要更加坚定地支持东盟在亚太地区事务中的"中心性",结合我国提出的"全球安全倡议"推动有关亚太安全架构的建设性讨论,有力抑制亚太地区军备竞赛的加剧。[1]

最后,需强化对台海局势的把控,完善中美危机预防和管理机制。针对

^[1] 王毅:《落实全球安全倡议,守护世界和平安宁》,载《人民日报》2022年4月24日。

"新时代党解决台湾问题的总体方略"^[1],美国战略界人士高度关注,也出现一些恶意曲解的论调,诬称"解决"意味着"武统","新时代"限定了时间范围。^[2]需牢牢把握我方在台湾问题上的政策阐释权,批驳恶意混淆乌克兰问题和台湾问题的错误论调。要做好面向国际社会的说明工作,防范美西方借题发挥,进一步通过操弄所谓台海危局给我国制造"战争陷阱"、推动构建遏华国际阵营。需对拜登政府在台湾问题上的挑衅动向进行及时敲打,高度重视美国国会在涉台政策上抢夺"方向盘"的态势。需加大揭批美台军事勾连、美国支持"台独"等制造局势紧张的行动,在国际舆论中以正视听。与此同时,要按照中美领导人此前达成的共识,确保中美两军保持交流渠道畅通,推进危机沟通机制建设。^[3]

【收稿日期:2022-05-11】

【修回日期:2022-05-17】

(责任编辑:邢嫣)

^[1] 刘欢:《权威专家谈新时代党解决台湾问题的总体方略》,载《新华每日电讯》,2021年12月23日。

^[2] Eva Dou and Pei Lin Wu, "China Says It Seeks to 'Resolve' Taiwan Question, amid Comparisons to Ukraine," *The Washington Post*, March 5, 2022.

^{[3] 《}国防部:落实元首重要共识确保中美两军关系正常稳定发展》,新华网,2022年4月28日,http://www.news.cn/2022-04/28/c_1128606016.htm。

ABSTRACTS

- 01 An Analysis of the Impact of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on China-US Relations, by Zhao Minghao, Senior Research Fellow at the Center for American Studies, Fudan University and Guest Research Fellow at the Institute of International and Strategic Studies, Peking University. The Russia-Ukraine conflict is a violent outbreak of geopolitical contradictions on the Eurasian continent in the wake of the Cold War, constituting a major impact on the international order. The conflict reflects the new trend of strategic game between the US and Russia, which will also have a profound and complex impact on China-US relations. With the help of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US has elevated the so-called "China threat" with the strategy of "binding China and Russia", manipulated the value barrier of the global economy, and created an economic war system with sanctions as the core. The US will also tend to intensify its pressure on China in the field of global governance. The Russia-Ukraine conflict will not change the determination of the US to pursue its Indo-Pacific strategy. The US will use the conflict to speed up the building of alliance and partner systems, especially enhance the military offensive capabilities of Japan, Australia and other countries. Against the backdrop of Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US has further strengthened its military, economic, trade, scientific and technological ties with the Taiwan authorities, and tried to build an "international barrier" for Taiwan through the US-Japan alliance, the QUAD mechanism, and the US-EU joint action, thus making the trend of "strategic clarity" in its Taiwan policy become more obvious.
- 23 The Russia-US Relationship and Its Prospect in the Context of Russia-Ukraine Conflict, by Dr. Zhang Jian, Lecturer at the Department of Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs Management, China Foreign Affairs University. In the contemporary major-country relations and the international landscape, the relationship between Russia and the US has all along attracted much attention. For a long time, the structural contradictions in Russia-US relations have always been difficult to

-135-

An Analysis of the Impact of Russia-Ukraine Conflict on China-US Relations

By Zhao Minghao

At the end of February 2022, Russia launched a special military operation in Ukraine, and the Russia-Ukraine conflict that ensued has shaken the world. The outbreak of this conflict, with a profound historical origination and driven by the geopolitical and strategic game of major countries, has brought a significant impact on the Eurasian continent and the international order. Although China is not a party of the conflict, it will have a profound and complicated impact on China-US relations.

US Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin made it clear he wants Russia to be weakened. Russia's national strength will be undercut by the conflict. The formation of the Western anti-Russia alliance will cause Russia to suffer lasting strategic isolation. The deep goal of the US "maximum weakening" of Russia is to hit the China-Russia strategic partnership, and the US will focus more on suppressing China, its No. 1 rival. In addition, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine will lead to major changes in the military and security policies of many European countries. There could be a strategic division of labor between the US and Europe, with European countries taking on more responsibility for dealing with Russia and the US focusing on countering China. The US is likely to use its security offer to pressure European countries to follow US policy more closely on China.

Undoubtedly, under the dual impact of the Russia-Ukraine conflict and the continued COVID-19 pandemic, supply chain security has received

-140-

greater attention from all countries around the world, and value barrier has played a more prominent role in global economic relations. The US will take advantage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict to promote "club-style globalization", urge relevant countries to reduce their economic dependence on China, and accelerate the establishment of an "economic war" system against China. It is worth noting that the Russia-Ukraine conflict has put the UN system under unprecedented pressure, and the US is also trying to exclude Russia from the G20. A new round of global arms race is on, and it is becoming difficult to manage the risk of nuclear conflict. Efforts by China, the US and other major countries to build global governance rules around the weaponization of artificial intelligence (AI), space security and other issues will be bogged down.

Although the Russia-Ukraine conflict has affected the Biden administration's implementation of the Indo-Pacific strategy, it can hardly change the determination of the US to focus on the Indo-Pacific and suppress China. As Richard Fontaine, president of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS), puts it, the Russia-Ukraine conflict would be bad in the short term for America's pivot towards the Indo-Pacific, but good in the long run. The Biden administration seeks to forge a new architecture of alliance against China by deeply integrating US treaty allies and security partners in the region. The US will take advantage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict to further hype up the threat posed by the "quasi-alliance" between China and Russia, and encourage its allies and partners in the Asia-Pacific to step up military buildup and exert greater pressures as an alliance on China.

Since the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the US has shown its "determination" to accelerate the implementation of its Indo-Pacific strategy. The Biden administration has been engaged in a flurry of diplomatic activities in the Indo-Pacific direction, including holding a special US-ASEAN summit in early May. In the same month, President Biden also visited South Korea and Japan, and attended the second offline summit of the QUAD in Tokyo. In a strong reaction to the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Japan decided to increase military spending and seek stronger offensive military capabilities. The US-Japan alliance will be significantly strengthened. In addition, Japan, Australia, Britain and other countries are speeding up the construction of "quasi-alliance" relations, and Japan will play a bigger role in the US Asia-Pacific alliance

system. The new South Korean government of Yoon Seok-youl is also taking a hard line policy on China, and Seoul is likely to tilt further toward the United States. Moreover, the US is also pushing for greater involvement of the EU and NATO in the Indo-Pacific affairs to increase Washington's leverage over China.

More importantly, the Russia-Ukraine conflict will have a profound impact on the game between China and the US over the Taiwan question, and the US will have a stronger motivation to move toward "strategic clarity" in its Taiwan policy. US Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen has threatened to impose sanctions on Beijing similar to those imposed on Russia if China uses force against Taiwan. Members of the US Congress have also introduced a series of bills related to the "defense of Taiwan", and the Biden administration has shown political support for Taiwan by sending delegations to the island. The US has also stepped up efforts to strengthen its military ties with Taiwan, including boosting the island's "asymmetric warfare capabilities", providing special operations training for Taiwanese soldiers, and inviting Taiwan to various US-led military exercises.

In addition, the Biden administration has sought to elevate Taiwan's role in the US Indo-Pacific strategy. As Taiwan plays an important role in the digital economy and high-tech fields such as chip industry, the US hopes Taiwan will further deepen cooperation with Japan, South Korea, India and other countries. Over 200 members of the US Congress from both the Republican and the Democrat have called the Biden administration to include Taiwan in the "Indo-Pacific Economic Framework" promoted by the United States. Given the great flexibility of the "Indo-Pacific Economic Framework", the US may allow Taiwan authorities to participate in some multilateral cooperation, such as the digital economy. In terms of ideology, the US and Taiwan have tried to use mechanisms such as the Cooperation and Training Framework to play up conflict of values and enhance the awareness of the so-called "China threat" among countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

(The author is Senior Research Fellow at the Center for American Studies, Fudan University and Guest Research Fellow at the Institute of International Strategic Studies, Peking University. This article was received on May 11, 2022.)

-142-