

摘要

本論文試圖透過戰略三角政治研究途徑和克里姆林宮政治研究途徑，探討普欽時期的俄羅斯對美國政策。

蘇聯解體後，俄羅斯對外政策路線的走向，由葉里欽執政初期的一面倒向以美國為首的親西方之大西洋主義政策路線，轉向為葉里欽執政後期的拉攏中國抗衡美國的東西平衡對外政策路線；到了普欽執政時期，又重新定位為與美國進行戰略和解，進而進行戰略合作的全方位對外政策路線，以擺脫俄中戰略協作夥伴關係所導致的戰略羈絆之制約。本文試圖探討，驅動普欽時期此一俄羅斯對美國政策路線轉變的內外因素。

本論文認為，普欽執政期間，俄羅斯對美政策之形成，乃是在承襲葉里欽對外政策的遺緒，在普欽的強勢領導之下，俄羅斯之決策菁英，以俄羅斯的國家安全及國家利益為訴求，援引包括戰略三角互動、美國的政策與做為、俄羅斯經濟發展與政治生態互動等俄羅斯內外環境因素，作為其政策辯論的依據，透過克里姆林宮政治的互動形塑而成。

上述假設命題可以引申出下列邏輯相關的子命題：

一 普欽的對美政策，受到包括戰略三角互動與美國的政策與做為等俄羅斯外在環境因素之影響形塑而成。

1999年普欽上台前夕，科索佛戰爭及北約戰略新概念的提出，加深了俄羅斯的安全疑慮；而2001年4月，美中軍機擦撞事件，則加深了中美關係的裂痕；此一發展促使俄中戰略夥伴關係趨於密切。2001年6月中國主導「上海合作組織」的成立，以及7月俄中睦鄰友好合作條約的簽訂，就是此一發展邏輯的結果。然而，隨著中國在裏海地區爭霸戰中影響力的增長，有關中國威脅論的聲音，也在俄羅斯安全決策階層引起越來越多的迴響。而此一發展，則促使俄羅斯尋求與美國進行戰略和解，以防範中國之威脅。另一方面，蘇聯解體後，中國勢力快速崛起，美國不再視俄羅斯為其戰略對手，轉而防範中國之威脅。911事件之後，美國面臨反恐之戰以及分散油源之需求，小布希總統調整了對俄政策，讓普欽得以順利與美國進行戰略和解；從而，普欽得以擺脫俄中戰略協作夥伴關係所導致之戰略羈絆的制約。

二 普欽的對美政策，受到包括經濟發展考量與政治生態互動等俄羅斯內在環境因素之影響形塑而成。

面對俄羅斯國內的經濟窘境，普欽認為，唯有與美國進行戰略和解，才能儘快加入世界貿易組織、增加歐美的投資和援助、減輕外債負擔、從而促進經濟發展。另一方面，普欽的強勢領導地位以及務實的政治手腕，使得普欽得以操控國內政治生態的互動，主導俄羅斯國家安全概念的重新定位；從而，得以順利推動全方位對外政策路線，與美國進行戰略和解，藉以擺脫葉里欽後期所建立的俄中戰略協作夥伴關係所導致之戰略羈絆的制約。

關鍵詞：普欽、小布希、全方位對外政策、國家安全、戰略三角政治、俄美戰略關係、戰略和解、俄中戰略關係。

Abstract

The purpose of this study is aimed at exploring Russia's policy toward the United States under Vladimir Putin, 2000-2003. The strategic triangle politics approach and the Kremlin politics approach are applied in this study.

After the Soviet Union's collapse, Russia's line of foreign policy had been shifted from the one-sided pro-Western Atlanticism in the early stage of Boris Yel'tsin's administration toward the East-West balanced strategy, attempting to draw China on the same front against the United States, in the latter stage of Yel'tsin's regime. After Putin had come to power, Russia's line of foreign policy was reoriented as a comprehensive one, engaging in strategic reconciliation and strategic cooperation with the U.S. and, consequently, getting rid of the strategic entanglement resulted from the establishment of the partnership of strategic coordination between China and Russia. Against this background, this study attempts to investigate the internal and external factors that drive this shift in Russia's line of foreign policy under Putin.

The hypothesis of this study is as follows: Shadowed by Yel'tsin's legacy of foreign policy and forged under Putin's strong leadership, Russia's policy toward the United States under Putin has been shaped by the interaction of Kremlin politics, engaged by Russian decision-making elites, who appeal to Russia's national security and national interests in their policy debates, referring to Russia's external and internal factors, such as the interaction of strategic triangle politics, the US policies and conduct, Russia's economic developments, and domestic political ecological changes in Russia. This hypothesis can be further developed into the following logically consequential sub-propositions:

1. The formulation of Russia's policy toward the United States under Putin has been driven by Russia's external factors, such as the interaction of strategic triangle politics and the US policies and conduct.

In the spring of 1999, on the eve of Putin's coming to power, the breakout of War in Kosovo and the pronouncement of NATO's new Strategic Concept had created serious concerns for Russians about their national security. And in April 2001, the collision of US-Chinese military aircrafts above the South China Sea had deepened the Sino-US fissures. Consequently, the development of these events had pushed closer the Partnership of Russo-Chinese Strategic Coordination. As a result, the creation of Chinese-initiated Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in June 2001 and the conclusion of the *Treaty of Good-Neighborhood, Friendship and Cooperation* between China and Russia in the following month were only a logical outcome.

However, accompanying the growth of China's influence in the area of Caspian Sea, the voice of "China threat" has received more and more attention in the circle of Russia's national security decision-makers. These developments, in turn, had forced Russia to search for strategic reconciliation with the United States in order to prevent China from becoming a threat. On the other hand, with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the rapid rise of China's influence, the United States no longer treat Russia as a strategic rival; instead, they shift their efforts to prevent China from becoming a threat. In the wake of the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001, in order to meet the needs for engaging campaigns against terrorism and for deconcentrating the sources of petroleum, President Bush has readjusted US policy toward Russian. As a consequence, these shifts in US policy provide Putin with a golden opportunity to engage in strategic reconciliation with the United States and thus get rid of strategic entanglements derived from the establishment of partnership of strategic coordination with China.

2. The formulation of Russia's policy toward the United States under Putin has been driven by Russia's internal factors, such as the economic development and the political ecological changes in Russia.

In the face of Russia's economic predicament, in Putin's opinion, the only way to promote economic development is the strategic reconciliation with the United States, which will accelerate the process for Russia to obtain the access to the World Trade Organization (WTO) and in turn to gain the access to investments and financial assistance from the West and to lessen the burden of foreign loans. In addition, with his strong leadership and his pragmatic political skills, Putin has been able to maneuver the interaction of domestic political ecologies in favor of the reorientation of Russia's concept of national security. As a result, Putin has been able to forge a comprehensive line of foreign policy and, accordingly, to conduct strategic reconciliation with the United States. Consequently, he has been able to get rid of the strategic entanglements derived from the establishment of partnership of strategic Coordination with China in the latter stage of Yeltsin's regime.

Key words : Vladimir Putin, George Bush, Jr., comprehensive line of foreign policy, concept of national security, strategic triangle politics, Russo-US strategic relations, strategic reconciliation, Russo-Chinese strategic relations.