## 摘要

駐韓美軍之去留問題及其對朝鮮半島安全之影響向為東北亞各國所關注, 本文試從中國外交之觀點,討論中國對駐韓美軍議題之論述,以及相關國家對此 一問題及區域情勢之立場。

在探討朝鮮半島安全環境之變遷方面,本文試從安全角度將朝鮮半島區域情勢之發展概分為穩定及不穩定兩大類,穩定情勢包括冷戰時期的南北韓信心建立措施、美國在東北亞之圍堵政策以及冷戰後東北亞多極結構相互制衡、南北韓邁向和解、南韓「陽光政策」以及美國維持與日本及南韓聯盟等。不穩定情勢方面,冷戰時期朝鮮半島為美蘇冷戰對抗之交界處,南北韓各自集結重兵於北緯38度線交界處,區域情勢緊張;至冷戰後朝鮮半島仍維持南北韓對峙格局,南北韓小規模衝突不斷,90年代起北韓發展核武導致兩次北韓核武危機,為區域安全及穩定增添變數。

為瞭解駐韓美軍之歷史背景,本文亦討論五十多年來美國在朝鮮半島駐軍政策之演變。1950年韓戰爆發,美國以聯合國旗幟出兵朝鮮半島,1953年美韓共同防禦條約賦予駐韓美軍之法律地位,美軍從此駐紮朝鮮半島至今,扮演嚇阻北韓南侵及維護朝鮮半島權力平衡之角色。半個多世紀以來,美國已陸續從朝鮮半島撤出地面部隊,並將軍事指揮權逐步移交南韓。綜觀影響駐韓美軍去留之因素,以朝鮮半島情勢變遷為最主要因素,另在2001年9月11日美國遭受恐怖攻擊之後,美國為調整戰力參與全球反恐戰爭,亦與南韓達成調整駐韓美軍之計畫,同意分批撤出約一萬四千多名地面部隊。此外,中國、日本、俄羅期、南韓等國之立場,亦對駐韓美軍之去留產生影響。

中國對駐韓美軍之立場與態度,為本文擬探討之重點。自1950年代以來,從歷屆中國領導人發表之言論來看,中國主張任何國家軍隊必須自朝鮮半島撤退,以維持區域和平。中國對駐韓美軍的評價隨時代有所調整,從過去強調駐韓美軍之朝鮮半島和平統一的障礙,至現階段肯定駐韓美軍對東北亞和平與穩定之貢獻,論述的方式略有調整,不過在支持駐韓美軍撤離的立場則尚未改變。冷戰後中國在朝鮮半島的影響力逐漸提升,首先在1992年與南韓建立外交關係,雙方維持長期、穩定、睦鄰友好之關係,1994年以來參與處理北韓核武危機,1997年起參與四方會談建立朝鮮半島和平機制,並推促2000年兩韓成功舉行首次領導人高峰會。足見冷戰後中國積極參與朝鮮半島事務,並尋求與美國在朝鮮半島建立安全合作關係,以促進區域安全,維護中國利益。

## Summary

The issue of American Troops in Korea and its influence on the security of Korea Peninsula have been paid close attention to by various countries of Northeast Asia. This text tries to find out China's point of view, discussing the argumentation to the topic of American Troops in Korea and the positions of relevant countries.

In the process of probing into the changes of security environment of Korea Peninsula, this text divides the development of the regional situation of Korea Peninsula generally into stable and unstable classes from the security angle. The stable situation in the Cold War era includes the North and South Korea confidence building measures, American containment and engagement policy, as well as the check and balance in the multi-polar structure of Northeast Asia in the post Cold War era, north and south Korea marches toward and conciliation, "the sunshine policy" of South Korea and US alliance with Japan and South Korean etc.. In the meanwhile, the unstable situation in the Cold War era includes the confrontation of America and Soviet Union in Korea Peninsula, North and South Korea concentrating the massive forces in line of 38 degrees of the north latitude, etc.. The regional situation was tense. The pattern of North and South Korea confrontation keeps going in the post Cold War era. Korea's small-scale conflict of north and south is constant. The development of nuclear weapons of North Korea has caused two nuclear crises since the 1990s, adding parameters to security and stability of the area.

In order to find out about the historical background of American Troops in Korea, this text also discusses that the U.S. has changed the policy of its troops in Korea Peninsula over the past 50 years. Since the broke out of Korean War in 1950, U.S.A. dispatched troops to Korea Peninsula with the flag of the United Nations. American South Korea mutual defense treaty signed in 1953 provided with legal status of American troops stationed in Korea. American Troops so far stationed Korea Peninsula from then on have been acting as deterrence to the potential invasion from North Korea, thus keeping the balance of power of Korea Peninsula. Over half a century and more, the US has already withdrawn the ground troops from Korea Peninsula successively and transferred command right to South Korea progressively. Take a broad view of the factors influencing American Troops stationed in Korea to go or stay, situation changes of Korea Peninsula are regarded as main factors. In addition, after attacked by terrorist on 11 September 2001, the U.S. has adjusted fighting capacity to participate in the global anti-terrorism war. In 2004, the US and South Korea reached the plan of adjusting American Troops in South Korea. In addition, China, Japan, South Korea S. and Russia also exerted influence on the issue

of US troops in Korea.

The focal point planned to probe into for this text is China's position and attitude toward US force in Korea. Looking from the speech that all previous Chinese leaders published from 1950s, China had insisted that any foreign military must withdraw from Korea Peninsula to maintain the regional peace. The opinion of China on American Army stationed in Korea is adjusted with era to some extent, from emphasizing the obstacle of the peaceful reunification of Korea Peninsula in the past, to recently affirming the contribution to the Northeast Asian peace and stability. By the present stage, the way to expound the fact is slightly adjusted, but the position of supporting the US force's withdraw has not been changed yet.

The influence of China over Korea Peninsula improves gradually in the Post-Cold War era. After establishing diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1992, both sides kept the long-term, steady and good-neighborly relations. China's participation in dealing with North Korea nuclear crisis since 1994, participation in Four Party Talks since 1997 to set up the peaceful mechanism in Korea Peninsula, and urging two Koreas to succeed in holding the initial leader's summit in 2000 all increased and showed China's influence over Korean Peninsula. Meanwhile China also seeks cooperation with the U.S. in Korea Peninsula, in order to promote the area security and safeguard China's benefit.