

摘 要

在 2002 年朝核危機引發後，中共居中折衝尊俎，舉辦「三方會談」及數輪「六方會談」，使朝核危機相關諸國得以齊聚北京協商處理朝核問題，揭開朝鮮半島歷史之新頁。中共雖非當事國，然涉入與影響之程度均較前次危機為深，其政策及角色皆有研究之必要。「新安全觀」提出迄今已近十年，做為中共國際關係的「理論」，直接指導其外交政策，其意涵著重於與冷戰思維的差異，以「互信、互利、平等、協作」及對「非傳統安全」的關照為其理論核心，在實踐上則以多邊安全合作為最要，而近歲於朝鮮半島發展之多邊安全合作正為「六方會談」。是故，本論文冀望能從「新安全觀」意涵在「六方會談」的實踐與挑戰，探析中共朝鮮半島政策之走向。主要的研究目的包括：(一) 詮釋中共「新安全觀」的動機與意涵；(二) 具體呈現中共與各國在朝核問題的立場及互動作為；(三) 評估「新安全觀」在「六方會談」中的實踐與挑戰，並分析其朝鮮半島政策取向。

「新安全觀」在「六方會談」中體現於以下幾項作為：(一) 穿梭籌辦歷輪會談；(二) 戮力於會談制度化；(三) 保障參與各方權益。然而，「新安全觀」同時也面臨許多挑戰，最值得關切者有冷戰時期所遺留下來的軍事同盟、朝核危機當事兩國的立場分歧、「中國威脅論」的陰影等。大體上，中共對於朝核問題的政策立場有三：(一) 朝鮮半島非核化；(二) 區域的和平與穩定；(三) 以外交談判解決。此外，還強調在解決朝核問題的同時，必須照顧到北韓的生存利益，而為因應諸多挑戰，中共的朝鮮半島政策可能將朝以下方向發展：(一) 擴大多邊安全合作；(二) 鞏固大國共同利益；(三) 強化南韓合作關係；(四) 引導北韓經濟改革。因此，就現階段政策取向而言，中共應會並用多邊與雙邊外交途徑，在朝鮮半島持續勸和促談，扮演多重建設性角色，而「新安全觀」若要被徹底落實，將取決於中共的國家利益能否持續與「新安全觀」所訴諸的理念相結合。

關鍵詞：中共、六方會談、北韓核武危機、朝鮮半島、新安全觀

Abstract

This study anticipates exploring the trend of the Korean Peninsula Policy of China by understanding the implementation and challenge of New Security Concept (NSC) in the Six-Party Talks. The main research goal includes: to interpret the motivation and meaning of NSC, to present China's position and behavior with other nations in terms of 2002 North Korea nuclear issue, and to evaluate the practice and challenge of NSC in Six-Party Talks. In the past rounds, NSC has been embodied in holding meetings, endeavoring to institutionalize, and ensuring the right and interest of all participants. Even so, NSC has been confronted some challenge in the meantime; embracing the military alliances remained from the cold war era, the gap between North Korea and United States, and so-called "China Threat."

Briefly speaking, China has three positions in 2002 North Korea Nuclear Crisis: Denuclearization, peace and stability, and solutions through the negotiation in Korean Peninsula. China also emphasizes that every decision dealing with the crisis should be given consideration to North Korea's interest. It is highly likely to blossom into what follows for the sake of replying these challenges: To extend multilateral corporation, to consolidate the common interest with other powers, to strengthen the relation with South Korea, and to guide North Korea to reform its economy. Therefore, China might use multilateral and bilateral approach simultaneously; continue to mediate and to play a multiple role in the constructive way. The further implementation of NSC depends on the extent of combining with China's national interest and the ideal of NSC.

Keyword: China, Korean Peninsula, New Security Concept, North Korea Nuclear Crisis, Six-Party Talks.