

王柏松◆著

国际政治

国际政治理论： 范式与流派

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS
THEORIES PARADIGM AND SCHOOL

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内容提要

本书对世界产生重大影响国际政治理论范式与流派进行了系统的梳理与研究,内容涉及自由主义、现实主义、英国学派、建构主义、马克思主义、规范理论、女性主义、后现代主义、历史社会学及中国传统国际政治文化等宏观理论和思想。比较全面、系统地展示了国际政治学科中多变复杂的学术场景与知识谱系。

本书适用于具有一定英语基础并渴望对国际政治理论流派有更多解析的读者学习与研究所用。

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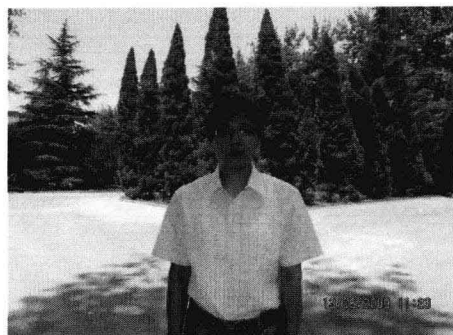
Abstract

This book has a systematic organization to the paradigms and schools of international politics theories that have had a great influence over the world, including the macroscopic theories and thoughts such as liberalism, realism, English school, constructivism, Marxism, normative theory, feminist theory, post-modernism, historical sociology and traditional Chinese international politics culture, etc. The book analyzes not only non-mainstream theories of international politics, but also gives priority to the research of knowledge system on contemporary mainstream theoretical schools of international politics.

This book will appeal to all beginners with proper English basis and fairly good knowledge basis of international politics, especially those who are seeking more articulation of the paradigms and schools in the field.

About the author

Wang Baisong, born in 1972, a native of Qian'an of Jilin, received his bachelor's and master's degree from the School of Politics and Law, Northeast Normal University in 1996 and in 2002. He has now been a student pursuing a doctor's degree in political science at Northeast Normal University. He currently



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To my wife and my daughter

Preface

This book has a systematic organization and analysis to the significant paradigms and schools of international politics theories, including the dominant Western international politics theories, traditional Chinese international politics culture and Marxist international politics theories with Chinese characteristics. What is the paradigm of international politics? Paradigm is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as a pattern, exemplar or example. Thomas Kuhn (1922 ~ 1996), a renowned American scientific philosopher, popularized the word paradigm itself from a term used in certain forms of linguistics. Paradigm is a key term in his creative book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962). Kuhn defines paradigm as “the entire constellation of beliefs, values, technologies, and so on shared by the members of a given community.” Nowadays Kuhn’s work has been extensively used in the post-positivist/positivist debate within international politics. In essence, a paradigm is a kind of theoretical system. The most influential theories of international politics have played a greater role in the research of international politics, because they can direct the course to academic exploration. In consequence, such international politics theories have played the part as paradigms.

Every paradigm, with its own theoretical tradition, is not isolated. Although every paradigm and school have different theoretical predisposition and even have disputed with each other, they are also interacting and overlapping. Any theoretical paradigm should be relative, because its explanation at a given conditions cannot possibly offer the exact conclusion like natural science. Thus, every theoretical paradigm should be used in the complex and volatile international realities, and in turn tends to be more perfect in the international realities.

What are the reasons for writing the book? Firstly, I have been greatly inspired by some authoritative Chinese works of international politics, such as *Western International Relations Theories* (Ni Shixiong and others), *An Introduction to International Politics* (Li Shaojun), *An Concise Course to International Politics* (Qin Zhilai), especially *An Introduction to International Relations Theories Schools* (Bai Yunzhen and Li Kaisheng) and other classical foreign writings. In my book, I have used their research discoveries for reference. However, I know, my new theoretical exploration cannot possibly reach their height. Secondly, I have been engaged in the bilingual education of international politics in Shandong University of Technology since 2002. For nearly ten years, I have been consulted and accumulated many valuable materials from domestic and foreign academic journals and foreign classical works relating to international politics. Thus, some valuable foreign materials of them have laid a solid foundation for my writing in English.

All the most important paradigms and schools of international politics are presented in the eight chapters that follow. There is no need to give a detailed account of each chapter here. But the brief introduction of new ideas in the book may be helpful.

1. The book analyzes the distinct paradigms and schools of international politics theories according to the similar framework in general. In addition, it gives priority to the research on theoretical paradigms and their tradition, and different theoretical branches in every school.

2. The background materials about great theorists of international politics are full and accurate, which, thus, will make readers know their developmental train of thoughts.

3. The book provides a systematic analysis on Marxist theory of international politics, especially Marxist development of international politics theories in China.

4. Traditional Chinese international politics culture is viewed as a chapter, which is seldom read in other books of international politics. Exactly speaking, traditional Chinese international politics culture, an indispensable part of international politics theories, has been widely accepted by Western scholars.

Many scholars, colleagues and friends have showed much concern and have

given some valuable suggestions about the book. I owe special thanks to Ms Wang Jianhong in the Beijing Normal University Press for offering the valuable publication information and advice to make the book be published as early as possible; I owe special thanks to Mr Ma Yue and Ms Yin Yamin in the Intellectual Property Publishing House for their devotion and support to make the book be published on schedule, which will become my life-long memories. Indeed, I would like to dedicate the book to my wife Zhang Yuebo for her sacrifices made and total devotion to our family; my daughter Wang Zhaoran, for being such a lovely and understanding child.

The English book on international politics should be a completely new attempt and no precedence can be followed, and, moreover, I have little learning, so the inadequacies of the book remain to be possible. Here, I beg colleagues and readers to render me your frank comments.

Wang Baisong

April 2012

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Chapter One

Liberalism

As a discipline on its own, international politics theories in the west sprung up in the early 1900s, which was formed under the stimulus of World War I and was widely tapped and developed in the postwar period. The theories of international politics in the west with schools standing in great numbers have been of a wide variety.

Liberalism is an important tradition of Western political science, international politics theories of liberalism based on it is also one of the most important schools with the characteristics of individualism, freedom, reason, equality, toleration, consent and constitutionalism. Andrew Moravcsik, who is a professor of Politics and director of the European Union Program at Princeton University, defines liberalism as ideational liberalism, commercial liberalism and republican liberalism. Robert Keohane distinguishes three categories of contemporary international liberalism: republican, commercial and regulatory. Mark W. Zacher and Richard Matthew add three further categories: military, cognitive and sociological liberalism.^① Some Chinese scholars divide liberalism into commercial, republican, institutional and sociological liberalism.^②

① James L. Richardson. *Contending Liberalisms in World Politics: Ideology and Power* [M]. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. , 2001, 71.

② Bai Yunzhen, Li Kaisheng. *An Introduction to School of International Relations Theories* [M]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Press, 2009, 42.

Main representative figures of liberalism

Institutional liberals	Commercial liberals	Republican liberals	Sociological liberals
John Locke, Jeremy Bentham, John Hobson, David Mitrany, Robert Keohane, Robert Axelrod, Kenneth Oye, Arthur A. Stein, Charles Lipson, Oran Young, etc.	Baron de Montesquieu, Adam Smith, John M. Keynes, John Hobson, Richard Cobden, John Bright, Norman Angell, Richard Rosecrance, etc.	Immanuel Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Michael Doyle, Bruce Russett, Francis Fukuyama, David Held, Antonio Franceschet, Daniele Archibugi, etc.	Karl Deutsch, Ernst B. Haas, Leon Lindberg, Joseph Nye, John Burton, James Rosenau, etc.

Source: Bai Yunzhen, Li Kaisheng, *An Introduction to School of International Relations Theories* [M]. Hangzhou: Zhejiang People's Press, 2009, 44.

Ideological Origins of International Politics Theories of Liberalism

International politics theories of liberalism can be dated back to Grotius' international law and international society and Locke's social contract theory, etc. Based on them, Locke, Kant, Rousseau and Bentham inherited and developed their theoretical tradition. These thinkers not only explored domestic politics, but considered the questions about war and peace.

Hugo Grotius' thought of international politics

Hugo Grotius (1583 ~ 1645), "the miracle of Holland", jurist, philosopher, Christian apologist, playwright and poet, founder of the modern natural law theory. Also a statesman and diplomat, Grotius has been called the "father of international law". Grotius showed exceptional wisdom from childhood. When he was eleven, he was a student in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Leiden, at the tender age of fifteen, he earned a law degree from the University of Orléans. That same year, he was chosen to accompany a Dutch diplomatic mission to the court of King Henry

IV of France in 1598. He entered the private practice of law in The Hague at the age of 16 and 8 years later was named state's attorney (advocate fiscal) of the Court of Holland. Afterwards, his life journey intermingled with success and failure many times. Grotius died on August 28, 1645. He is especially known for his major books on international law and practice, including *On the Freedom of the Seas* (1609), *Law of War and Peace* (1625), etc.



Grotius' *Law of War and Peace* embodies one of the most ideological origins about international politics theories of liberalism including theories of natural law and international law, just war and international society. Especially his principles of international law was approved and supported by all the countries of Europe. So everyone had a copy in European political and military circles, and this book was adopted as the textbook in universities.

Based on the theories of natural law in ancient Greece and Rome, Grotius expounded every aspect according to the pragmatic principle of natural law. He thought that natural law was common, applied to both the individual and the state equally, so it should be accepted by all the countries.

Grotius's primary contribution to international law is his suggestion that a rational system govern international relations. He began his analysis with natural law. Unlike brute creation, he reasoned, human nature is characterized by the desire for a peaceful and orderly society. From this basic observation, it is possible to comprehend the sources of the laws governing both individual behavior and the conduct of nations. Modern system of international law from natural law was the most outstanding in Grotius' theories. Grotius claimed that just as the desire for community necessitates certain laws and principles to hold society together for mutual benefit, so the community of nations is held together by certain natural principles. Thus it is appropriate that Hugo Grotius, the "father of international law", be recognized today as a "leading figure in international law".

Although war was considered as a "necessary evil", it needed to be regulated.

The “just war”, in the eyes of Grotius, was a war to obtain a right. He thought that the justice should not be in the definition of war, and the difference between them was necessary. “Justice is not included in the definition of war, because the very point to be decided is, whether any war be just, and what war may be so called. Therefore we must make a distinction between war itself, and the justice of it.”^① According to Grotius, the justice of war originated from natural law, the justifiable causes generally assigned for war are three: defense, indemnity and punishment. “It is evident that all kinds of war are not to be condemned. In the same manner, all history and the laws of manners of every people sufficiently inform us, that war is not condemned by the voluntary law of nations.”^② So, his main contribution lies in the fact that he put forth strict limitations on the resort to war. But Grotius stressed just wars should be in conformity with the principles of natural law and international law. Unfortunately, Grotius’ principles of just war were not accepted by many countries at the beginning, they were accepted and supported commonly after World War I. Grotius helped form a concept of international society. A very different legacy can be found in politics, where Grotius gave rise to a theory of statehood and the relations among states which have come to be known as, simply, “Grotian” [the labels are used by Wight (1991), among others]. It provides an account of the nature of the origins and identity conditions of states, conceiving of states as not existing in a pre-social or anti-social condition but rather in an international society governed by a system of norms that hold apart from a positive action by a legislature or legislator.^③ Also, Grotius assumed that equal states in law laid a foundation for international society, but non-state entities and even individuals included.

In a word, Grotius’ contributions to international politics theories are that he has ushered in the research tradition of liberal internationalism based on the concept of natural law. His thought of natural law and international law has had a great influence over future research of international politics theories of liberalism, especially over

① Hugo Grotius, *Law of War and Peace*. <http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/grotius/Law2.pdf>.

② Hugo Grotius. *Law of War and Peace*. <http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/grotius/Law2.pdf>.

③ Brief Introduction to Hugo Grotius. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/grotius/>.