



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书



国际政治案例史

CASE HISTORIES IN
INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

〔美〕 Kendall W. Stiles 编



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Case Histories in International Politics

FOURTH EDITION

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出版说明

引进和交流,是国际研究诸学科发展壮大所不可或缺的环节和纽带。没有引进和交流,学术就难以活跃,也不易创新。每一位从事世界政治与国际关系研究的学者、每一位学习世界政治与国际关系的学生,无不深感阅读外文原文文献的重要性,他们都深知,原文的报刊、教材和专著,是获取最新国际信息、最新理论论争、最新参考资料的必不可少的重要来源,而获得这样的原文文献的机会是不均等的,因此,他们极其渴望更为方便地直接接触到原文文献。而在目前不易直接在国内购买原版书籍的情况下,采取原版影印的方式引进国际上的优秀教材和专著是解决问题的一条捷径,如此就可以使国内普通读者方便地获得最有权威的原文读物,从而可以快速了解国外同行的教学和学术成果,为深入学习和研究、为开展有效的对外学术交流、也为国际关系诸学科在我国的创新和发展,打下更坚实的基础。

这套“世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书”,正是基于上述认识而组织出版的,并且得到了我国国际关系教学与科研领域最有权威的专家教授们的认可,他们分别来自于北京大学国际关系学院、复旦大学国际关系与公共事务学院、中国人民大学国际关系学院、外交学院、清华大学国际问题研究所、中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所、中共中央党校战略研究所等单位,作为本套丛书的学术顾问,他们愿意向我国该学科及相关领域的广大学者和学生共同推荐这套丛书。

本丛书第一批先行选入了一些经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,也包括美国大学中的一些知名国际关系学教员所编著的教材,内容主要在国际关系理论方面,也包括国际政治经济学和比较政治学方面的优秀教材。它们皆可称为原文中的精品,值得研读和收藏,不仅如此,由于它们本身在国外的大学课堂里都是应用较广的教材和读物,所以特别适合作为我国国际关系与世界政治专业大学教学中的参考读物,甚至可以直接作为以外文授课的课堂教材。在每本书的前面,我们都邀请国内比较权威的专家学者撰写了精彩的导论,以指导读者更好地阅读和使用这些文献。

根据读者的反映和我国建设中的国际关系学科的发展需要,我们决定在上述影印图书的基础上,开辟一个“学术精品系列”,以让我国国际关系专业的学者和学生有机会更方便地接触到那些堪称“精品中的精品”的学术书籍,比如摩根索的《国家间政治》、沃尔兹的《国际政治理论》和基欧汉的《权力与相互依赖》等等。这些作品大都已经有了中文译本,而且有的还不只一种中译本,它们的学术和学科地位是不言而喻的,在中国读者心目中也已有着持久深入的影响,正因如此,在这个新系列的每一种图书前面我们没有再烦请学术顾问们撰写导言。我们相信,如此有生命力的作品,当它们以新的面目出现在中国读者面前时,一定会引发新的阅读感受、新的理论遐思和新的战略决策思考。至少,

它们可以带给我们真正原汁原味的享受,让我们更加贴近当代的国际关系理论和国际关系理论家。

今后,我们会陆续推出更新、更好的原版教材和专著,希望广大读者提出宝贵意见和建议,尤其欢迎更多的专家学者向我们推荐适合引进的国外优秀教材和专著,以帮助我们完善这套丛书的出版,并最终形成一套完整的世界政治与国际关系及其相关学科适用的原文教学研究参考书系。

最后也要特别提醒读者,我们引进这套丛书,目的主要在于推动学术交流、促进学科发育、完善教学体系,而其作者的出发点和指导思想、基本观点和结论等,则完全属于由读者加以认识、比较、讨论甚至批评的内容,均不代表北京大学出版社。

导 读

阎学通

《国际政治案例史》是一本体例非常独特的国际政治学教材,在我所读过的国际政治学教材中还没有一本是这样编写的。本书作者肯德尔·斯泰尔斯(Kendall W. Stiles)选择典型的案例来解释国际政治中最常用的概念,并且结合这些概念与案例之间的矛盾提出了许多值得思考的问题。这本书对准备写论文的研究生来讲会有很大的帮助,学生们可以通过阅读此书发现他们所感兴趣并且有学术研究价值的问题。

本书每章的内部结构完全一致。每章以介绍所要讨论的概念开始,然后用历史事实解释这一概念,其中穿插一个相关历史人物表和一个重大历史事件编年表。依据每章所讨论的核心概念,作者在结论之后提出一个有争论的核心论题,并陈列出有关这一论题的两种完全对立的观点的论据,然后再提出由此衍生出来的一些问题。最后是作者提供的相关网站和参考书目。每个部分都突出了“问题”两个字,即突出所讨论的问题的答案是不完善的,有进一步研究的必要。

此书分为三部分:大国关系、边缘地区冲突、金钱与正义。从全书的观点看,斯泰尔斯的学术立场应属于自由主义学派而非现实主义学派,但是他还是将教材的主要部分集中于国家战略关系和国际冲突,而不是非国家行为体和国际合作。全书共计19章,其中第一部分的大国关系就占了10章,这一部分讨论的对象主要是美国、德国、中国、苏联。第二部分介绍的是有关中小国家的国际冲突或是大国与中小国家间的冲突。这一部分有6章,除了国家行为体外,还涉及了俄罗斯的车臣分离武装和穆斯林基地组织。第三部分是关于非国家行为体和国际合作的问题,但是这一部分只有3章。从本书结构也可以看出来,国家是国际政治最主要的行为体,大国是国际政治中最重要的角色,冲突是国际政治的本质。

在第一部分,作者以德国统一、分裂几次循环的历史为例,讨论了民族国家的性质与形成;用美国情报机构在2001年“9·11”恐怖主义事件后的报告摘选,介绍了情报在对外政策中的作用;将冷战时期的中苏美战略三角关系作为对象,分析了均势战略及均势本身对维持战略稳定的作用;选取1962年古巴导弹危机这一经典案例,讨论对外决策的理性假设的合理性,以及危机管理中的决策程序问题;依据美国国防开支的情况,评论了政府、国会专门委员会和军工企业的铁三角关系;以20世纪60年代越南战争时期美国反战运动为例,分析了公共舆论在国家对外重大决策中的作用;根据冷战后美国国内有关如何确定美国世界作用的争论,讨论了国家利益这一概念;通过介绍美国发动的1991年海湾战争和2003年发动的伊拉克战争,比较了两次战争的不同结果,分析了国家能力

和国家影响力的不同；就京都议定书问题，讨论了国际社会的集体物品问题以及大国领导在国际合作中的作用；以纽伦堡审判为例，讨论了国际法在维护国际秩序中的作用及其局限性。

在第二部分，作者以冷战前南非种族隔离制度为例，讨论了人权问题；用冷战后南斯拉夫的解体过程中的多场战争作为例证，分析无政府状态下人类集团之间的暴力关系；根据冷战后俄罗斯在车臣遇到的分离主义武装斗争，讨论了民族主义观念导致的不同文明之间的冲突问题；以“9·11”后穆斯林原教旨主义的发展为依据，探究了基地组织及其在全球范围扩展的原因；以20世纪70年代美国在以色列和巴勒斯坦之间进行斡旋的事件为依据，讨论了外交作为国际政治艺术的性质；最后通过分析美国对多米尼加(1965)、智利(1973)和索马里(1992—1993)进行武装干涉的事例，讨论了人道主义干涉的法理基础和效果。

在第三部分，作者以工业化以来出现的血汗工厂现象为例，讨论了全球化对人类正反两方面的影响；依据第二次世界大战以来的欧盟进程，分析了区域主义的历史发展趋势及未来国际行为体的变化；用《禁止地雷公约》的谈判进程作为案例，介绍了非政府组织在国际政治事务中的作用和影响。

本书提出来供讨论的问题基本上是有关未来趋势的问题，因此没有固定答案。以第一章为例，针对德国统一，作者提出的核心问题是，德国1990年统一之后是否可能成为一个威胁欧洲安全的沙文主义国家？认为可能的根据是德国统一后经济实力成为欧洲第一，德国利用这一点正在主导欧盟，出现的新纳粹现象不能得到有效控制，德国已经向巴尔干地区扩张势力。反对一方则认为德国仍倾向于和平解决国际争端，欧洲制度使融入这一制度的德国难以倾向单边主义，东德正在民主化。随之，作者提出五个衍生问题：(1)德国经济的主导地位是否使他国反感？(2)统一的德国是否会恢复沙文主义并对邻国提出要求？(3)强大的德国会忠于欧洲还是采取新的对外政策？(4)德国如何解决移民问题？(5)德国如何解决东德的不满和失业问题？这些问题都很值得人们思考，有助于激励学生自己去探索答案，而不是向权威索取答案。

该书提供的历史和人物表及历史事件编年表对于读者也有很大的帮助。这些表可使读者一目了然地了解历史事实的基本脉络，既便于记忆也便于查阅。

《国际政治案例史》作为教材，其优点是简单易读、启发思考、问题清楚，但是它也有一点缺陷，就是概念较少、系统性不强。这本书每章的知识不但缺乏有机的联系而且各章的排序也缺乏合理性。例如，第三章是实力均衡，第八章是能力与影响，两章不但不相联，而且次序也是颠倒过来更为合理。不过各章排序的缺陷也有可利用之处。读者在读完此书后如果能对书中的各章重新排序，这将是一个检验读书效果的好方法：理解了就能看出各章排序的不合理之处，而且相互讨论如何重新排序本身会有助于加深对这本书的理解。

Preface

I believe it is essential for students to have a basic understanding of some of the most fundamental concepts in the international relations literature. The chapters of this text present thumbnail definitions of two dozen essential concepts in the field. One could easily add another dozen or so, and there may be some who would take out a few. But the list is a good start. You will find short definitions of “state,” the “nation,” “power,” the “balance of power,” “public opinion,” “international law,” and so forth. Taken alone, these definitions will likely help you to understand more clearly some of the material you will find in other readings and your instructor’s lectures. They are the building blocks of the literature.

But since the concepts are derived from observing history, and since history becomes understandable through the concepts, I felt the best way to understand the ideas is to present an illustration in the form of a historical case study. The case studies are mostly stories of important events or problems in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Most of the events I selected took place after the end of the Second World War (1945), and several are quite recent. But in order to make sure the cases are significant and are likely to be meaningful for years to come, I have focused on material that has its roots in decades-old and even centuries-old antecedents. Thus, the case study on the situation in the former Yugoslavia begins with a description of the region in the Middle Ages. The chapter on sweatshops describes the dawn of the Industrial Revolution. The discussion of the “Great Debate” over the general direction of U.S. foreign policy harks back to previous “great debates” in the 1920s and 1930s.

It is easy to be overwhelmed by the pace of events and their importance. Each day seems to bring new announcements of impending war or heightened alert. It might even be tempting to simply refuse to deal with it all and retreat to a cocoon of ignorance. But the stakes are too high to settle for this. We owe it to ourselves to make some effort to understand what is happening, even if we may not always be able to predict it.

So—where do we start? To begin, we must reach some agreement on what it is we’re talking about. Simply observing world affairs is not enough, because there is so much noise and commotion. After all, how do we know whether a group of men in uniform carrying guns is an army, a militia, a terrorist group, or a gun club? And if that group of uniformed individuals begins walking toward another town, killing people in their path, are we

witnessing a revolution, a war, a terrorist incident, or a gang war? Most events in world affairs have little meaning in and of themselves. It is only after observers agree among themselves on the concepts they all will use to describe and categorize events that we can begin communicating with each other. Thus concepts and their definitions are fundamental to the study of world affairs.

Once we have begun to label world events, we can look at different events and make comparisons. If we have decided that a group of armed men attacking a village is an act of war because of certain mitigating circumstances, then we can look for other instances of armed attack to see how they differ and how they are the same. For example, are more troops involved in one incident? Are they better armed? Are they moving more swiftly and with greater efficiency? Is the number of victims higher? Are the troops more confident and cheerful? Can an observer determine what the goals of the armies are?

Once we can compare different events, we can begin the process of looking for patterns. In some cases, this can be done by simply taking a few examples and studying them in depth. One can also take a large number of cases and draft numerical or statistical summaries. By laying out these numbers or these cases, it might be possible to identify coincidences or sequences of events and/or conditions. For example, we may find that large numbers of troops go on the march immediately after a prolonged drought or famine. We may note that where the people vote to choose their leaders, few troops ever march. We may find that wars often occur in the same place for what appears to be the same purpose over time. And so forth.

Identifying coincidences and sequences of events is the beginning of many explanations. Theories are simply systematic forms of explanation linking various events and conditions in a logical way. We may begin with a general set of rules and principles ("humanity can learn from its mistakes," "the powerful force themselves on the weak," "freedom breeds peace" . . .) and from them derive our theories (wars will tend to diminish in number over time, powerful states tend to create empires, democracies will usually not fight each other . . .). Or we may simply observe patterns and begin to generalize—which is to say, develop general rules and theories that may apply to new situations. For example, some have noted that the city-states of the Greek peninsula in the days of Athens and Sparta bear interesting similarities to the Cold War era.^{1,2}

At some point, these broad generalizations will need to be put to the test, either with detailed case study work or with broader comparative stud-

¹Dingman, Robert V. "Theories of, and Approaches to, Alliance Politics" in Paul Gordon Lauren, ed. *Diplomacy: New Approaches in History, Theory, and Policy* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 245–266.

²Evangelista, Matthew. "Issue-Area and Foreign Policy Revisited." *International Organization* 43 #1 (Winter 1989): 147.

ies. This can be done by deriving “testable hypotheses” from the theories and then returning to the facts and events to see whether our predictions are correct. For example, a liberal thinker may believe firmly that democracies are inherently more peaceful for a variety of reasons (some ideological). From this, she may derive a simple hypothesis that states with democratic governments (defined, let’s say, as a state where the people vote for a national legislature in free and fair elections) will not go to war with each other. The next step would be to identify all the wars in history, or at least back to the Age of Enlightenment era, when modern democracy emerged, and then classify all the various types of governments of the warring parties. This done, it would be a rather simple thing to count how many democracies were at war with each other compared to non-democracies. It may be useful to conduct a statistical test to make sure that a low number can’t be explained by the fact that there are simply few democracies (if there are only two democracies and fifty nondemocracies, the fact that they didn’t go to war may be a fluke). Once all this is done, the findings will either support or negate the hypothesis, which in turn may cause us to have different opinions of the underlying theory.³

By the time you finish reading this, you will not only have been exposed to some of the key concepts in the discipline, which should help you understand both history and current events, but you will also have studied the two World Wars, the Cold War, the post-Cold War era, the process of colonialism and decolonization, economic expansion and environmental decay, and human rights. While I urge you to take a conventional course on the history of world civilization and the twentieth century, this text provides a useful overview.

What will you do with this material? To be frank, that is up to you. The material you read, however, is more than a mere compendium of information. It offers you the ingredients to create your own theories and begin to test hypotheses. You will see enough different events and developments that you will be able to begin developing your own generalizations. For example, by seriously considering the cases found in the first section of the text (Great Power Relations), you can begin to answer the following questions: What priorities drive the decisions of great powers to accumulate weapons and use them in war? Does democracy make powerful states less inclined to start wars? What prompts countries to enter into alliances and other agreements not to fight? These are all weighty issues on which the future of the planet may hinge. By comparing the behavior of the Soviet Union under Leonid Brezhnev to Soviet policies under Mikhail Gorbachev, one can begin to ask about the place of one individual in history. It might be interesting to compare Gorbachev to Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger or even Bill Clinton. Did these leaders act in particular ways that resembled each other,

³Maoz, Zeev and Bruce Russett. “Normative and Structural Causes of Democratic Peace, 1946–1986.” *American Political Science Review* 87 #3 (September 1993): 624–639.

and, if so, was it because of or in spite of their governments and societal structures?

By looking across the cases and combining concepts, you are in a position to get the most from this text. You will be engaged in the most fundamental activity of the profession. You may even develop new theories and generalizations that will allow you to better understand some new event that no one has yet foreseen.

Another purpose of this text is to show that there is never just one view of history. It has been said that history keeps repeating itself because no one was listening the first time. I tend to think history repeats itself precisely because people were listening very carefully. The problem is that each listener hears a different tune.

Consider the end of the First World War, for example. After 16 million casualties, a continent in ruin, and major powers devastated, citizens and leaders of the warring states reached many conclusions: Woodrow Wilson and other idealists reached the conclusion that this type of war should never be allowed to happen again. They concluded that it had been no one's fault, except perhaps the balance of power system itself. And so, they set out to eliminate the balance of power and replace it with collective security (see *The United Nations and the Use of Force*). They wrote treaties, created institutions, and promised to eliminate weapons.

Others came to the end of the war and concluded that it was all Germany's fault. Only by forcing the Kaiser to abdicate, demilitarizing the country, declaring whole regions off-limits to future troop deployments, and forcing it to pay for the cost of the war could justice be served and things made right. This attitude animated much of the drafting of the Versailles Treaty in 1919. Still others concluded that the lesson of World War I was that Germany should never be unprepared for war, and that it could trust no other European power. Add to that a feeling that secret cabals and foreign races were conspiring to destroy Germany, and we find the seeds of fascism.

Three very different conclusions—all based on precisely the same experience. Such a diversity of interpretations is not unusual in world affairs—rather it is typical. As we see in Case 8, Americans disagree on what should be the nation's overriding approach to international relations, mostly because they draw different interpretations of history based on different values. The same thing will likely happen in your reading of this text. I have tried to give readers a great deal of latitude to interpret the stories in their own way, but sometimes I find cannot help but offer my own slant. I do not doubt that many readers will disagree with my observations and conclusions. In fact, I hope this will be the case. One of the most dangerous tendencies in the telling of history is for those who write the textbooks to set themselves up as authorities, when in fact they are providing at best only one of many possible interpretations. I urge the reader to look up the materials listed in the bibliography and on the websites given at the end of each case. It is best to think of these cases as a "first cut" rather than the final word.

On a more practical level, I would like to give some suggestions to instructors who use this text. Students and instructors could use this text in several ways. One could organize the presentation of the cases based on the broad themes provided in the section headings (“Great Power Relations” and so forth). Alternatively, the cases could be presented chronologically as part of a world history course. I would suggest the following sequencing:

General 1900–2000: Cases 3, 7

Pre-1960: Cases 1, 2, 10

1960–1980: Cases 4, 6, 11, 15, 16

1980–2000: Cases 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19

It would also be possible to use this text in a course on comparative politics by focusing on particular regions. For example, the cases could be organized along the following lines (note that some cases cover more than one region):

U.S. Foreign Policy: Cases 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16, 19

European Affairs: Cases 1, 3, 10, 12, 13, 18

Western Asia: Cases 8, 14, 15

Other Developing Areas: Cases 3, 4, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19

It is also clear that certain issues and events can be understood by looking at particular groupings of chapters. For example, the problem of international terrorism is addressed not only in Case 14, but also in Cases 2, 5, 7, 8, 13 and 19. Likewise, the question of human rights is addressed not only in Case 14, but also features as an important topic in Cases 1, 7, 10, 12, 17, 18 and 19.

Finally, I hope that readers will find this text to be a useful reference work for purposes beyond the classroom, as many readers of the first edition have told me they have done. The background provided here to contemporary problems does not change, although naturally its interpretation does. As new problems emerge in new parts of the world, this background will give the reader an advantage in appreciating the sources of these problems.

New Materials

This fourth edition provides some important revisions to the third edition. And just as the third edition took into account the effects of the September 11th attacks on U.S. policy and interests, the current edition takes a look at the war in Iraq in historical context. To begin, this edition includes two new cases: Case 2 (the 9/11 Commission Report) and Case 13 (Russia and Chechnya). Both cases deal directly with the question of the war on global terrorism. The 9/11 Commission Report is destined to become a classic in policy analysis because of its methodical and unapologetic critique of pre-9/11 American preparedness. The excerpt makes clear that much could have been done to improve intelligence gathering and analysis. To be sure, the case is of far greater immediacy than the Pearl Harbor case found in the

third edition. The Russian government's policy in Chechnya has been framed as part of the war against terror, although evidence presented in the case challenges this premise. This also has more immediacy than the Kashmir case which appeared in the third edition.

Most of the cases have undergone significant revision in light of recent developments. The chapter on the Persian Gulf War has been transformed into a comparative case study since we can now juxtapose the 1990–91 intervention with the 2003 intervention. Insights from the Iraq War also inform Case 16 on U.S. intervention and Case 7 on the Great Debate over the future of U.S. foreign policy—with far greater attention to the so-called “neo-con” position. It is noted that the creation of the International Criminal Court changes the significance of the Nuremberg and Yugoslavia cases (10 and 12). Naturally, the case on Al Qaeda has been appropriately updated as well (14). Some cases have been dropped from this edition due to their declining relevance and the emergence of other cases that illustrate the concepts they were intended to exemplify. The cases on Third World Debt and U.S.-Japan trade relations fell in this category, although we might expect a chapter on U.S.-Chinese trade relations in a future edition. And the chapter on African decolonization was also dropped. Although there will no doubt be disappointment that a few cases were deleted, I believe the current collection better reflects the priorities of international relations scholarship as well as issues that have become especially relevant since the third edition appeared.

Thanks

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KEN STILES

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