



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书



# 冲突与合作：演进中的国际关系理论

## CONFLICT AND COOPERATION : EVOLVING THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

〔美〕 Marc A. Genest



北京大学出版社  
Peking University Press

# **Conflict and Cooperation**

Evolving Theories of International Relations

Marc A. Genest

*University of Rhode Island*

Peking University Press

Beijing

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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几本经典文献选读性质的国外优秀教材,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。

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,而其著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。

# 不断科学化的理论

阎学通

应北京大学出版社之托,为马克·吉纳斯特(Marc A. Genest)1996年版的《冲突与合作:演进中的国际关系理论》(以下简称《冲突与合作》)一书写导读。打开《冲突与合作》的目录,映入眼帘的第一位作者名是肯尼思·华尔兹(Kenneth N. Waltz),这使我回想起1987年在美国伯克利加州大学上华尔兹教授的国际关系理论的第一堂课的感受。虽然在去美国之前我已在国内读完了国际政治专业的硕士学位,但拿到华尔兹教授发给我们的教材目录时,我发现众多的作者名、书名和文章名都是我从来没见过的,一股陌生感笼罩了我。而十五年后的今天,在《冲突与合作》的目录中我发现许多学术大师的名字和经典著作名都是我十五年前在华尔兹教授的教材目录中所见到的,心中顿生学术厚重之感。看着这些熟悉的人名和著作名,我不由地思考了两个问题。

第一个问题是,为什么相隔十年之久而且经历了冷战结束这样重大的国际政治变化,吉纳斯特教授与华尔兹教授两人所使用的教材却有如此大的雷同。我的体会是,国际关系理论是以先辈学术大师们的成就为基础的,而大师们的政治总结或理论发明经历了历史的检验,表现出有效的解释力。因此,尽管现代国际关系理论层出不穷而且比早期的政治经验和理论解释更加具有科学性,但却不能全面否定前人的政治经验和哲学原理。国际关系理论和其它人类知识一样是有继承性的。《冲突与合作》选取的阅读材料在时间跨度上有千年之久,这使我们可以比较人类在不同时期对国家间关系的认识发生了哪些变化,又有哪些是持久不变的。前不久一位国际关系学博士发表了一篇文章,全面否定近八十年来国际关系理论取得的成果,称这些成果为“庸俗国际关系理论”<sup>①</sup>。我想他如果读了《冲突与合作》这本教材,也许就不会认为国际关系理论是庸俗的了。

第二个问题是,为什么我自己对大体相同的两份教材目录产生两种完全不同的感受。这两种感受其实来源于对国际关系理论的理解程度。当我对国际关系认识很肤浅时,并不知道这些学者和他们的著作对国际关系理论的发展有什么贡献,于是体会不到这些知识和发现的重大科学意义,因此只有陌生感。20世纪90年代中期,一个国际关系研究所的世界政治研究负责人对其属下讲,“国际关系理论没有用”。后来得知,此人这个结论源于他读不懂国际关系理论的英文原著。如果他能读懂《冲突与合作》,可能就不认为国际关系理论没有用了。今天我之所以看到《冲突与合作》的目录就肃然起敬,主要

<sup>①</sup> 王义桅:《在科学与艺术之间——质疑国际关系理论》,《世界经济与政治》,2002年第9期,第10页。

是系统学习了这些理论之后,我才体会到这些理论对于我们取得新的科研成果的重要作用。没有在伯克利加州大学的国际关系理论基础训练,我决写不出《中国国家利益分析》和《国际关系研究实用方法》这样的著作,对国际形势的预测也不会有今天的水平。

上面谈了如此之多,只不过是说明《冲突与合作》是一本好的国际关系理论教材,这本教材可以使读者正确理解什么是国际关系理论,可以为国际关系研究人员打下良好的理论基础。下面我就《冲突与合作》这本教材的特点进行总结,希望有助于读者使用这本教材。

《冲突与合作》是一本典型的国际关系专业研究生的教科书。这本书有一定的理论难度,即使译成中文,也不适于本科生的教学。对于研究生来讲,最好是先阅读每一章的简介和批判,对基本观点有了了解之后再读原著节选,这有助于对原著的理解。读了原著节选后,最好能重读一遍简介和批判,比较一下自己读原著的体会与简介有何区别。

《冲突与合作》的结构设计突出了国际关系理论不断科学化的特点。科学性的本质不是别的,就是方法。<sup>①</sup>《冲突与合作》不是从国际关系的古典理论或是历史渊源入手,而是从研究方法切入。该书第1章集中讨论了国际关系理论的分析层次,因为分析层次是国际关系专业自己发展起来的独特分析方法,也是国际关系理论在科学化方面的最重要成果。我自己的经验是先了解一点方法论的概念对于学习国际理论有很大的帮助,一是有助于理解各种国际关系理论的合理性和局限性,二是有助于识别这些理论的科学性程度。由于我国只有少数大专院校开设方法论课程,因此许多同学读书时往往跳过方法论的章节。因此我建议《冲突与合作》的读者,先读了第1章之后再选读自己喜欢的章节。

《冲突与合作》的第2—8章介绍的是主流国际关系理论,而第9和第10章则主要是介绍以批判为主的新理论思想。主流国际关系理论是那些有了一定体系和较为成熟的理论。读者可以从第2—8章中学到许多有持久影响力的理论观点。第9和第10章中的理论对传统理论进行了许多合理的批判,但自己还未建成新的理论体系。读者可以从这两章中得到很多批判性的启发,这有助于在传统理论的基础上发现新的研究方向。

《冲突与合作》每章中的原著节选总体上是按历史顺序排列的,这体现了国际关系理论的演进过程。想了解一种理论演进过程的读者可以按顺序阅读,而只想知道现有成果的读者则可从后向前读。《冲突与合作》中的原著节选还体现了国际关系理论不同流派之间的争论。因此读者面对观点相左的国际关系理论,应采取深化研究的态度,而不宜采取全盘否定的做法。了解不同理论的对立之处,是发展国际关系理论的基础,理解了理论上的争论焦点,才可能选择最有意义的理论问题进行研究。

对于节选哪一类文章为教材,学者们各有所爱。不过,我认为《冲突与合作》节选的文章也有所不足,如第8章的认识理论中没有节选该学派早期的学习理论(learning theory)文章,第9章的批判理论只选了女性主义而没有介绍建构主义。

《冲突与合作》没有介绍东方学者的理论研究成果,其原因可能是东方学者的理论研

① 参见阎学通、孙学峰:《国际关系研究实用方法》,人民出版社2001年版,第10—15页。

究成果不突出,或是没有译成英文。不过读者要防止依此就把国际关系理论理解为是西方的理论。科学的理论是全人类的。《孙子兵法》和克劳塞维茨的《战争论》是公认战争理论,军事家们普遍认为两者有很多原理相似并可相互补充。没有人认为这两部书中的理论具有阶级性、国籍性或是某一社会群体的性质。希望英文版的《冲突与合作》在我国国际关系教学中发挥出积极的作用。



# PREFACE

The end of the Cold War is undoubtedly one of the great transforming events of world history. Scholars are still grappling with how to explain the dramatic changes that have altered boundaries on world maps, marked the end of the ideological and geopolitical struggle between the Soviet Union and the United States, and fundamentally reshaped international politics—all without a major war. Taken together, these astonishing events have provided us with an important opportunity from which to step back and reexamine our study of world politics. Perhaps no other period in time so clearly epitomizes the title of (and need for) this book, *Conflict and Cooperation: Evolving Theories of International Relations*. Our past and present are full of vivid accounts of war and conflict. Yet we sometimes forget that our history has been equally characterized by cooperation between people and states. Just as these relationships evolve, so too must our theories about the world, how it operates, and our place within it.

The purpose of this book is to present and discuss classic offerings in international relations theory as well as contemporary selections that propose new ways of interpreting human behavior. This type of theorizing is part of a long-standing tradition in history—attempting to answer the question, “Why do people (and, hence, states) act the way they do?” In answering that question, theories of international relations provide frameworks that enable scholars and statesmen to describe, analyze, and predict the behavior of states. The ultimate purpose of such theories is to help formulate effective policies.

The difference between this book of readings and others that focus on international relations theory lies in both its organization and user friendliness. These two characteristics are actually linked. First, the organization is based on three traditional levels of analysis: system, state, and individual, and because many other main textbooks and curricula are structured according to levels of analysis, this reader serves as a *practical* complement. Also, this reader serves as an important *theoretical* complement because the levels serve as important conceptual tools that provide explanations and points of focus; thus, the structure of this book helps to simplify and organize our thinking about complex international phenomena.

The second difference between this book of readings and others is its user friendliness. Because the intent is to provide a survey of some important classical and contemporary contributions to international relations theories, the level of reading is somewhat sophisticated. But, rather than omitting challenging articles, a number of pedagogical tools have been provided to assist the student in the learning process.

First, the introduction to the book discusses the nature of international relations

theory, theory formulation, and the levels of analysis; this discussion sets the stage for the entire volume. Second, each of the three parts of the book opens with an overview of the given level of analysis and of the general characteristics of the theories falling within that level. Third, a box, which summarizes the core components of each theory, is placed at the beginning of each chapter. This box promotes quick understanding of, as well as comparisons among, theories. Fourth, each chapter contains a substantial introduction, which is central to the pedagogical emphasis of this book. These introductions discuss the development, characteristics, and strengths and weaknesses of each theory; in addition, they discuss the readings, their individual themes, and their contributions to the theories. Fifth, each reading is accompanied by a headnote that provides a brief description of the reading and a biography of the author. Sixth, two questions at the end of each reading may be used for class discussion or writing assignments. Last, key terms are noted in bold type throughout the chapter introductions and are listed, with their definitions, at the end of each chapter's introduction.

This reader is divided into three parts: system, state, and individual levels of analysis, and including the introductory chapter, it has 10 chapters and 45 readings. Part I covers the System Level of Analysis. Chapter 2 on Realist Theory presents classic as well as neoclassic realism, and includes, among others, such thinkers as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Morgenthau, and Waltz. Chapter 3 on Transnationalist Theory presents the institutional and economic branches of transnationalism. Such writers as Wilson, Russett, and Sutterlin show how international institutions and law have a vital role in affecting the behavior of states, and Nye, Keohane, and Reich discuss the growing influence of economic interdependence and nonstate actors in fostering cooperation and in guiding world economic policy. Chapter 4 on Class System Theory includes articles on Marxism, imperialism, dependency, and the roots and implications of the collapse of the former Soviet Union. Selections are from such writers as Marx, Wallerstein, and Halliday.

The State Level of Analysis is the subject of Part II. Chapter 5 on Political Cultural Theory first focuses on regimes and their influence in determining a country's domestic and foreign policy behavior; of note is Fukuyama's end of history thesis. The chapter then focuses on the civilizationists' arguments, as expressed by Huntington, which emphasize the impact of culture (e.g., ethnicity, race, religion, language, and traditions) in shaping the nature of a country and its policies. Chapter 6 on Decision-making Process Theory shifts to a discussion of how the nuts and bolts of state governance affect a country's behavior. The influence of bureaucracies and policymaking structures are discussed by such authors as Snyder, Sapin, Bruck, and Levy.

Part III on the Individual Level of Analysis is the final section of the book. Chapter 7 on Human Nature Theory includes classic works on the basic nature of mankind and on how this nature affects our relations with one another; selections are from Aristotle, Hobbes, and Freud. Chapter 8 on Cognitive Theory presents readings on the interaction between nature and nurture. Lasswell and Hermann discuss the effects of personality traits on foreign policy; Jervis analyzes the role of shared perceptions; and Lagon describes the post-Cold War change in shared beliefs among elite leadership groups. Chapter 9 on Feminist Theory in International Relations provides excerpts from pioneering efforts to reinterpret the nature of world politics; these

show how and to what effect feminist perspectives and women have been excluded from international affairs. In one article, Peterson and Runyan show the influence of masculinist interpretations on the study and conduct of global politics; in another article, Tickner argues that gender bias in international relations is reinforced, in part, by how the discipline is taught. Chapter 10 on Peace Studies Theory also offers a new approach to the study of international relations; it embraces sociological analysis, Gandhian nonviolence, and epistemology. Stephenson traces the evolution of peace studies and describes it as a distinct discipline, and Crews and Stein separately discuss the goals of peace studies and the varied approaches it employs.

It is vital in our changing environment to acquaint new students of international relations with contemporary approaches in world affairs. This collection of readings is one of the few comprehensive sources that offers selections on such important post-Cold War theories as political culture (regimist and civilizationist), feminism, and peace studies. With current shifts in international politics resulting from the breakdown of the Soviet Union and of the bipolar global environment of the Cold War, new theories of international affairs now have more opportunity to be considered in the academic and policymaking communities.

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# *Chapter 1*

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## INTRODUCTION

### WHAT IS INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY?

More than ever, our lives today are shaped by the world in which we live and the people, or groups of people, that surround us. We have formed boundaries, cultures, and communities that define what we call nations. The relationship of nations and their behavior toward one another, international relations, is what makes up our human history.

Scholars throughout that history have studied the human condition—assessing, evaluating, and even predicting patterns of behavior—using and developing various theories. A **theory** is a proposition, or set of propositions, that tries to analyze, explain or predict something. An **international relations theory**, then, is defined as a set of principles and guidelines used to analyze both world events and relations between states. International relations scholars often interchange various terms with theory, such as *paradigm*, *model*, *image*, or *perspective*. Whatever the words, the important thing to remember is that theories help to assess past and present conditions and, in turn, provide a reasonable basis for predicting future trends.

The development of international relations theory could be compared to a laboratory experiment. A scientist uses his knowledge of specific elements and their properties to predict how they might behave in various combinations and under specific conditions, as well as to produce a certain reaction or outcome. Theories about international relations are formed in a similar way. In this case, though, the laboratory is the international system as a whole, and we must speculate about the behavior of the states and individuals within it.

Theories of international relations can be grouped into two broad categories: explanatory theories and prescriptive theories. As the name implies, **explanatory theories** try to explain events and circumstances. They are based on description and evaluation of past events, conditions, and patterns of behavior. Scholars form a theory based on how nations have acted and interacted in the past in order to predict what their future behavior might be. For example, many theorists have studied past wars, trying to find certain patterns of behavior that might tell them why war is such a perennial problem in international relations. One popular international relations theory, realism, can be considered an explanatory theory.

Prescriptive theories, also referred to as normative theories, do not discount the value of historical experience but also incorporate moral principles and the setting



of goals. A **prescriptive theory** is a set of principles or guidelines that contain overt value judgements about how the world ought to be, rather than how the world actually is. Prescriptive theory often involves the development of standards or principles for the conduct of international relations. Based on both past and contemporary conditions and patterns, theories prescribe or suggest a particular course of action, policy, or doctrine. This prescription is designed to improve and enhance relations between states within the international system. Peace studies is an example of this category of prescriptive theories. Many theories, such as transnationalism and class system theory, actually cross over, incorporating both the explanatory method and prescription.

Finally, it is important to note that a theory may be correct, incorrect, or even partially correct. In the end, it is up to the individual student to decide for him- or herself which theory or theories provide the most accurate and useful guidelines for understanding the course of global politics.

### How Is International Relations Theory Formed?

We have discussed what international relations theory is, now let us address the question of how it is formed. In putting together different theories of international relations, social scientists and scholars of world affairs consider a number of factors. They are not simply looking at distinct, isolated events that have occurred over the course of history. They must also take into account the various elements that acted as the driving force of the crises.

These elements provide important clues in discovering how a crisis originated. The nature of the states and system when not in crisis can serve as a starting point for the investigation. That is, the specific details of a crisis lose their meaning if we do not know what led up to the event and what happened afterwards.

Scholars begin with what is called a hypothesis. For all intents and purposes, a **hypothesis** is essentially an educated guess or proposition about how or why something—an event or specific set of conditions—occurred. A hypothesis must, however, have a certain degree of probability; if one does not believe something to be possible, there is no point in determining its likelihood.

The hypothesis is then put to the test using certain methods. The methodology commonly employed in the development of international relations theory consists of several components, used either singly or in combination: analysis of historical events, conditions, or progressions; reasoned deduction based on the facts or evidence; and assessment of quantitative data.

By using these techniques, scholars and students of international relations come up with theories about the behavior and interaction of states. These theories might be explained through case studies. A **case study** uses a specific event, set of circumstances, or period of time to introduce and/or exemplify the key concepts of a given theory. A **concept** is an idea, thought or notion derived from the theory.

There can be no absolutes in theorizing about international relations, particularly given the vaguaries and random actions that can, and do, occur in human interaction. Unlike many stable, constant elements of a laboratory experiment—whether solids,