



世界政治与国际关系原版影印丛书
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〔美〕詹姆斯·多尔蒂、小罗伯特·普法尔茨格拉夫

争论中的国际关系理论 (第5版)

CONTENDING THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS:

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY (5TH EDITION)

James E. Dougherty

Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.



北京大学出版社
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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、最新理论争论、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。

Preface

This new, fifth edition of *Contending Theories of International Relations* coincides with the beginning of its fourth decade of use by teachers and students in international relations courses at hundreds of universities and colleges in the United States and many abroad. With the emergence of new literature and the continuing development of the field, we have revised the text throughout and updated the notes for the beginning of the third millennium. At the same time, we have endeavored to preserve the basic elements of the approach that guided us in the first four editions:

1. An *interdisciplinary method* that draws insights from traditional, behavioral-scientific, and postbehavioral fields, as well as normative theory, and that includes the various great debates of international relations
2. An *effort to show* how later theorists have built upon the work of their predecessors; how the newer theories can be integrated or compared with the older ones; and how the more recent approaches, instead of being looked upon as totally novel and unprecedented, may sometimes be viewed as subtler or more complex recombinations of reaction against traditional theories
3. An *impartial, objective presentation and analysis* of contending theories and theorists, along with the views of their critics where appropriate
4. The *ample citation of scholarly sources* on which our discussions and analyses are founded

The insights of earlier writers may become outdated, as they do in all intellectual fields, but they do not become irrelevant to a full understanding of how international relations has developed. So far as we are aware, this is the only text which enables students to survey not only the classical and modern

historical period in international relations theory, but also the contemporary literature, the volume of which is expanding at an exponential rate. Extensive endnotes are included both to deepen and broaden our coverage of theories and to provide handy bibliographic sources. For this fifth edition, large numbers of new source references have been added to those retained from the previous edition. It is to be hoped that undergraduate students preparing term papers, as well as graduate students and others working on more advanced research topics, will benefit from this bibliographical information.

We wish to call attention at the outset to several major changes in chapter organization in this edition. All four chapters dealing with the causes of war and the theories of deterrence have now been placed in consecutive order. What was previously Chapter 6, "Theories of Imperialism and the Economic Causes of International Conflict," has been completely rewritten as a new Chapter 9, "International Political Economy." In this new chapter Realism, Liberalism, Marxism, and their "Neo-forms" are treated at length in the context of modern economic history from the mercantilist period of the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries to the globalization of the early twenty-first century. Another major change pertains to the earlier Chapter 12, "Game Theory, Gaming, Simulation and Bargaining." In order to permit the incorporation of new theories, we decided to eliminate that chapter, and to insert only those basic elements of game theory, gaming, and bargaining most germane to international relations theory into Chapter 11, "Decision-Making Theories."

This fifth edition has been substantially revised to reflect not only the paradigmatic debate sparked by the transformed global system and the end of the Cold War, but also the large number of newer writings on neorealist, structural-realist, and neoclassical realist theories, democratic peace theory, and other neoliberal theory; the continuing discussion about why the Cold War ended as it did; the long peace, or why the Cold War did not result in war between the United States and the Soviet Union; structural and institutionalist theories; theories about the causes of anarchy and the conditions for cooperation and political integration; the debate about structure-agent relationships within and among the levels of analysis; deterrence in the early twenty-first century; postmodernist-postbehavioralist theory; the causes of war; geography and war; constructivist approaches; and recent developments in theories of decision making, crisis, and crisis management. We have continued to update these theories. This fifth edition also contains new materials on feminist theory, terrorism, transnational ethnic conflict, identity and nationalism, and theories about alliance and coalition behavior.

Wherever possible, we have endeavored to show relationships among the various theories of international relations. We have also addressed issues related to the nature of theory itself. These issues include the ongoing consideration of how theory is developed, the epistemological basis for knowledge, and the issue of rationality in the decisions of individuals and the foreign policies of governments. Encompassed in this discussion is the debate about the extent to which theory in the social sciences, and international relations in particular,

can or cannot be separated from normative considerations. It also addresses the problems of theory construction, including those posed by the phenomenon of non-linearity, or the extent to which there are chaotic, unpredictable, non-linear dynamics and processes that establish inherent boundaries or limits to theory.

As amply demonstrated in the burgeoning literature of international-relations theory, the field is always changing in its substantive and methodological dimensions. Yet we remain convinced that in international relations, as in the social sciences generally, theory can be understood best when it is linked to and builds on the enduring insights of the past. At the same time, as we move into a new century, changes in the international system seem to be outpacing the ability of our theories either to explain change or to anticipate change, based on an adequate understanding of the phenomena that are the necessary object of theoretical development and analysis. Therefore, we need to ask what endures from the past to form a basis on which to develop future international-relations theory. We confront a debate about the extent to which, in a fragmenting structure that includes failed states and the emergence of numerous actors other than states, anarchy at the international level differs appreciably from other levels of analysis. Yet at the same time there exists at least a certain minimum, often fragile order, greater in some societies than in others. The theoretical discussion of such issues is addressed in the chapters that follow.

The authors embarked on this project more than 30 years ago. While codirecting the graduate seminar in international-relations theories at the University of Pennsylvania, and during subsequent decades of graduate and undergraduate classes, we became aware that students felt overwhelmed by the great variety of theories in the field. It was our purpose, then, as it is now, to come to their assistance—not by propagating a single favorite theory, but by surveying the great panoply of the literature available, and trying to assess the various theories as objectively as we could, setting forth the theoretical points of intersection or overlap, of convergence or divergence. We know full well that this field is so vast and complex that the achievement of a single, unified, parsimonious yet powerful explanation of international phenomena may always prove to be elusive. Yet today more than ever, theory is a fascinating and important area for study, reflection, and research. The expanding literature of international-relations theory, together with the rapidity and extent of change in the global system, increases the need for a comprehensive survey of the many older and newer theories.

In earlier editions we noted many persons who profoundly deserved thanks for their contributions to our intellectual development and to this work. That debt remains, for this present edition, like contemporary theory itself, is built on all that has gone before. We wish especially to acknowledge our gratitude to colleagues at St. Joseph's University (especially Professors David H. Burton, Elwyn F. Chase, Jr., and Frank X. Gerrity), as well as those at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, and the

Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. Over the course of decades, our colleagues have contributed much to our understanding of international relations. We express thanks to the many students who have posed, and continue to ask, challenging questions about theories of international relations. Both of us have benefited immeasurably from discussions with other scholars as well as policymakers in the United States and abroad, whose perspectives furnish an indispensable basis for assessing the relationship between theory and practice in the world as it exists, in contrast to the world as we might wish it to be.

We would be remiss not to single out those who rendered valuable comments for this edition and, in particular, the reviewers commissioned by Addison Wesley Longman, who provided useful critiques that were used to the fullest extent possible in the preparation of this edition: Blaine David Benedict, Houghton College; Anthony Bichel, Sam Houston State University; M. Kent Bolton, California State University, San Marcos; Bernard-Thompson Ikegwuoha, Western Washington University; David Penna, Gallaudet University; James Rodes, Luther College; Philip A. Schrodtt, University of Kansas; Michael Wallack, Memorial University of Newfoundland. We are particularly grateful to Professor Richard H. Shultz, Jr., of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, for materials related to the discussion of low-intensity conflict in Chapter 7. We express our thanks to colleagues at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, especially Dr. Jacquelyn K. Davis, Executive Vice President, and Dr. Charles M. Perry, Vice President and Director of Studies, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, for valuable insights into the linkage between theory and policy.

Polly Jordan, of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, furnished indispensable help in preparing the manuscript for publication, keeping track of numerous and sometimes confusing revisions, and bringing to our attention unintelligible sentences, as well as inputting changes to the drafts. We also acknowledge the assistance of Roberta Breen, Freda Kilgallen, and Daniele Riggio of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy; Aleksander Micic of the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University; and Maggie Forster Schmitz and Diana Lane of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis. To all who assisted in the production of this fifth edition, we express our gratitude. May this edition contribute to an understanding of theories of international relations for an emerging generation of scholars, students, and policymakers in the challenging, complex, and heterogeneous world of the early twenty-first century.

James E. Dougherty
Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr.

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Chapter 1

Theoretical Approaches to International Relations

INTRODUCTION

The pace of global change has quickened dramatically since 1989, when the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, together with profound political transformation in Central-Eastern Europe, signaled the collapse of the Soviet empire and of the Soviet Union itself. For four decades prior to 1989, the overarching concern of Western governments, and many theorists of international relations, had been to deter nuclear war and any conventional conflict that could escalate to the nuclear level. After 1989, the substantial reduction of military forces in Europe, the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the unification of Germany, and the devolution of Gorbachev's Soviet Union to Yeltsin's Commonwealth of Independent States ushered in an abrupt discontinuity in what had been a familiar world scene—frightening at times, but an environment to which we had become accustomed, and one which had seemed immune to drastic alteration.

Throughout the Cold War period, the international system retained a seemingly recognizable shape, despite swings between deep freezes and warming *détentes*. Analysts developed coherent theories and engaged in sometimes esoteric debates about realism versus idealism, mutual deterrence and balanced arms control, stability and instability, national interests and international security; about the theory and practice of crisis management, regional integration, and the viability of alliances under strain; and so forth. Most, but not all, analysts in the field shared a common conceptual paradigm and professional vocabulary that enabled them to carry on a meaningful discussion or argument about such things as power, strategy, and foreign-policy decision making under conditions of bipolarity or multipolarity. There were many disagreements, but they fitted into the comprehensive framework based on the international system of a bipolar world.

In the early twenty-first century, we are in the midst of a fundamental paradigm shift in our thinking about the future of world politics. The importance of paradigmatic change lies in the fact that the paradigm provides the essential basis for theory. The paradigm furnishes a comprehensive framework for the