


上海外国语学院
美国研究中心



国际关系概论

UNDERSTANDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AN INTRODUCTORY READER

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编者的话

《国际关系概论》是由上海外国语学院美国研究中心组织部分高等院校教师编写的国际关系基础读物。本书用英文撰写，适用于大专院校的英语、国际政治、国际新闻、对外经贸、国际法等专业的高年级的学生，可以作为国际关系课程的教材或参考读物。同时也可供上述各专业的教师，研究人员以及涉外工作者作为参考材料。

《国际关系概论》全书由三部分组成。第一、二两部分主要介绍西方流行的，有一定代表性的国际关系基础理论，包括世界变化与稳定的条件，了解世界事务须考虑的诸因素等。第三部分的各章节运用在前二部分中介绍过的理论，阐述了在多极制世界布局下各主要国家和地区的地理、人口、实力的现状以及对外政策的形成、演变和特点。需要特别指出的是，这些章节偏重于介绍西方学术界流行的对国际政治的看法和代表性的观点。中国有句古话，叫做“知己知彼，百战不殆”。了解西方对国际事务的看法，了解西方人思考，分析国际形势的方法以及实际制定对外政策的过程和依据，无疑会有助于深化我们对国际问题的研究。

为了便于读者使用本书，特作如下说明：

一、本书第一、二部分以介绍西方国际关系基础理论为主，目的是让读者对此有一客观的了解，考虑到大多数读者对这一方面的内容比较生疏，作者兼顾了部分概念的解释和说明。

二、第三部分各章分别阐述了当今世界各主要国家和地区的对外政策、安全利益和战略地位。每一章结尾处编有思考题，以

帮助读者加深理解该章节的内容。思考题既可用于课堂集体讨论，亦可用于个人思考。

三、世界局势瞬息变异，国际斗争错综复杂。从某种意义上来说，资料一旦落笔成文，印刷成书，便已落后于形势了。因此，读者在使用本书时，还须注意结合国际形势的新发展。

四、本书用英文撰写，这在国内尚属首次，是我们的一种尝试。在本书编写过程中，考虑到国内读者的实际情况，在语言上力求浅显易懂，各章节的篇幅也不是太长。为了方便读者，书后还编有综合性的参考书目（国外部分）和按字母顺序排列的术语表。

本书是中美学者合作、交流的成果。书中部分章节由曾在上海外国语学院美国研究中心执教《国际关系》课程的威尔逊博士（Melford Wilson, Jr.）撰写，其余各章均系在威尔逊博士指导下，由一批中青年教师写成。

本书主编为威尔逊（Melford Wilson, Jr.）（美国1985—1986年富布赖特教授）和吴巩展（上海外国语学院）。副主编纪锋（上海外国语学院）、佟光武（山东大学）。编者有张卫国（解放军国际关系学院）、方华（解放军国际关系学院）。

本书各章节的作者如下：威尔逊（第1—3章），纪锋（第四章），陈春田、张曼青（第五章），唐慧心（第六章），吴巩展（第七章），晨梅梅（第八章a），沈垠珠（第八章b），叶时（第九章），方华（第十章），杨蓉、陈春田（第十一章a），药薇（第十一章b），容新方，詹淑敏（第十二章），林秉德（第十三章），佟光武、张卫国（第十四章）。

本书承蒙上海外国语学院美国研究中心主任侯维瑞教授，常务副主任张岱云副教授以及目前在该中心执教的施特劳斯博士（W. Patrick Strauss）审校了全部稿件。

在本书编写过程中，我们得到了解放军国际关系学院、山东

大学、山西师范大学、扬州师范学院、河北大学等兄弟院校的大力支持，谨在此一并表示谢忱。

我们在编写过程中参阅了大量国内外有关书藉和期刊杂志，囿于篇幅，不便一一列出，谨此说明，并向作者致谢。

由于编著者大都是国际关系的初学者，水平有限，特此敬请从事国际关系研究的专家学者赐教。书中疏漏之处难免，我们真诚地希望读者在阅读、使用过程中给予批评、指正，以便再版时修正。

编 者

一九八七年八月

FOREWORD

The People's Republic of China wisely realized that if the four modernizations were to work to their fullest, the education system must be opened to the developments of the outside world. This meant that the citizens must learn foreign languages. Language education expanded, with foreign languages becoming very popular at middle schools, state universities and key universities.

China has been very successful in creating a large number of people who are bilingual. Often in the rush to master foreign languages, other aspects of a well-rounded program were neglected. Again the government has taken enlightened step of interjecting content courses into the language major's curriculum. Language majors throughout China are now taking content courses taught in the foreign language as part of the graduation requirements.

Some of the more popular courses taken by English majors have been those that deal with international affairs. This is fitting given the increasingly prominent role China plays in the world arena.

Finding a suitable textbook for such courses has perplexed both Chinese professors and foreign experts. International relations texts printed in China are very naturally written in Chinese. Western texts have the disadvantage of showing bias toward the nation where they are printed. They are too expensive to become widely used in Chinese colleges and universities. Finally, they are written for students whose native language is English.

To overcome these obstacles, this introductory international relations book is to provide college and university students in China with a high quality, readable English language textbook designed specifically to help Chinese students gain a better understanding of our world.

The book will provide senior English majors with a core text, written in English to be used in an international relations course or a course on current world events. It may be used as a guide for students studying English through current world newspapers and magazines. It will be of great value to students and teachers in international journalism, international trade and international business.

The preparation of this text has been a true international cooperative endeavor. First, thanks should go to the group of young professors from all over China who were studying international relations in the American Studies Center of Shanghai International Studies University. They are the ones who alerted me to the need for the book and several of them contributed chapters and case studies to the final product. Undertaking this project on top of their very heavy graduate course load is evidence of their deep commitment to improving the educational system in China.

This project could not have become a reality had it not been for the strong support and encouragement of the very fine administration at Shanghai International Studies University. Special thanks goes to Vice President Hou Weirui and Dean Wang Changrong. Both are creative and imaginative educators. Prof. Zhang Daiyun, executive Director, and Mr. Wu Gongzhan Director of Academic Affairs of the American Studies Center were very helpful in seeing this project through to its fruition. Messrs Wu Gongzhan and Ji Feng put in many hours proofreading. They also had the editorial and technical responsibilities for the project after my return to the United States. Both are hard working and brilliant young scholars who combine a deep love for China with a profound understanding of world affairs.

Without the support of the American Fulbright program I would not have had the wonderful opportunity to live, study, teach and write in China. My family joins me in thanking the administrators of this fine program for helping make this year in China such a success. Special thanks must also go to Winthrop College for allowing me to take the year off to go to China and for funding my stay in China for the month following the end of the Fulbright grant.

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CONTENTS

VOLUME ONE

I UNDERSTANDING OUR WORLD

1. A World of Change Melford Wilson, Jr. 1
2. Conditions of World Order Melford Wilson, Jr. 15

II FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING

3. Understanding Foreign Policy.....Melford Wilson, Jr. 31
4. Capability Analysis of Nation-States Ji Feng 49
5. Decisionmakers and Decision Making Process
..... Chen Chuntian, Zhang Manqing 75
6. Implementation of Decision..... Tang Huijin 92

VOLUME TWO

III A WORLD OF DIVERSITY

7. The United States of America..... Wu Gongzhan 117

8.	a.	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....	Chen Meimei	144
	b.	Eastern Europe.....	Shen Yinzhu	163
9.		Japan	Ye Shi	177
10.		Western Europe	Fang Hua	202
11.	a.	India	Yang Rong, Chen Chuntian	240
	b.	Southeast Asia	Yao Wei	255
12.		Middle East	Rong Xinfang, Zhan Shumin	271
13.		Africa	Lin Bingde	288
14.		Latin America	Tong Guangwu, Zhang Weiguo	310

APPENDIX I.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	339
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APPENDIX II.	GLOSSARY	343
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I

UNDERSTANDING OUR WORLD

1

A WORLD OF CHANGE

Melford Wilson, Jr.

The leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union announced in separate statements on the same day what seemed to be similar plans for reducing by one half the number of strategic nuclear weapons. Did this represent a breakthrough in the arms race? Unfortunately, it did not.

In 1965, a picture of Mao Zedong swimming in the Yangtze River appeared in newspapers all over the world. The Chinese got very excited. Some were very happy, others were very upset, while the rest of the world was confused. What did it mean?

When conflict broke out between Ethiopia and Somalia, Israel and Libya initially supported the same side. But how could this be? Israel and Libya are bitter enemies.

Iran and Iraq, both Islamic nations, have fought one of the longest and most costly wars in modern history. What objective can be worth the human suffering and destruction this war has caused? How can we explain that it has taken place in an area where the Unit-

ed States, the Soviet Union, Japan and many West European powers have major interests ? Why are all of these nations seemingly powerless to end or even influence the outcome of this conflict ?

The key to understanding international relations simply is not knowing what is happening in our world. We must try to perceive why nations behave as they do. Unfortunately, this is not an easy task. Nor is there a simple, memorizable formula.

The knowledge of history is, of course, an important part of understanding the present. History can teach us many lessons, but our current world is changing very rapidly and there is very little precedent for many of these bewildering changes. Although history is important, a knowledge of history by itself will not build understanding. We also have to know what is happening in our world today. Current knowledge, after all, soon becomes history. This book will provide you with some history and some description of today's world, but the student will have to rely on the newspaper and news reports to make sure that he or she is up to date.

History and current events provide the foundation for building understanding, but even when combined, they are not enough. The major emphasis of this book is to give the reader analytical tools with which to examine the behavior of states. These tools will then be used to analyze the foreign policy of a selected group of major states as well as some of the areas where turmoil seems to be most prevalent.

One of the dangers of any book on foreign policy or international relations is that the focus tends to be on conflict areas rather than on areas where there is peace and harmony. Virtually all nations claim to want peace but we live in a world of conflict. Or do we ? Perhaps conflict draws our attention more than the absence of conflict. The newspaper headlines read "Cyclist in Shanghai Hit by Bus." It

does not say "Four Million Cyclists Arrive Safely at Work Today." There are about 170 nations in the world; most of these have some relations with one another. Over 27,000 of these relationships can be considered peaceful and relatively harmonious. Only one thousand can be considered hostile and fewer than one hundred can be classified as hostile to the point of open conflict, or even the likely occurrence of open conflict.

We pay more attention to conflict because they are unusual, because we feel many are unnatural and unnecessary, and also because we fear them. In building our understanding of international relations, we must place equal stress on conflict, conflict resolution, conflict prevention, and harmony.

WORLD OF DIVERSITY

This is a fascinating and frustrating time to study international relations. The same conditions that make it fascinating are also the ones that make it frustrating. One of these conditions is the enormous difference and diversity existing among the world's people.

Until recently, most nations and peoples of the world only had contact with a few other nations. These nations were usually their neighbors and understanding these neighbors was not a difficult task, since neighboring nations usually were very much alike.

Today, nations are in contact with all the other nations of the world. The world is populated by many different races, religions, and cultures. Some are very wealthy, some very poor. They have different ideological systems. They have varied historic backgrounds. Some people can trace their histories and cultures back for thousands of years, while others have little knowledge of even their recent past.

They live in different geographic climates and different political climates. Our world is a very diverse place. The different ways other people live, think, and behave are naturally very fascinating.

But since we are so different, we view the world differently. The very diversity of the world makes understanding very problematic. Trying to understand others, we may think "If I were a Frenchman and were faced with this problem, I would solve it in this way." But we often make mistakes because we are not French and we do not think like a Frenchman. We assume that other nations and peoples view the world as we do. We call this condition ethnocentrism and we live in a highly ethnocentric world.

Even in this ethnocentric world, we recognize that other people view the world differently, but we have a hard time understanding why their views are different and we think others should view the world the same way we do. It is a common trait of most nations and peoples to think that their world views are correct and superior. When others view the world differently, we think they have made a mistake or they do not understand.

If our world is to live in peace, we must strive to understand that people are different. One world view is not necessarily right and one wrong, but just different. The key word is "different." One way is not necessarily superior.

This understanding of difference does not mean that we must accept everything any other nation, people or national leader says or does. It is quite natural to disagree with and disapprove of the actions of others. Understanding does not mean blind acceptance. Better understanding, however, does mean limiting conflicts and disputes which clearly create danger, rather than having danger created due to misunderstanding.

Communication is often faulty or distorted even among the members of the same family. Misunderstandings frequently occur. Since our world is composed of so many different people, the possibilities for misunderstanding are thus even greater.

Each nation tries to communicate its views and policies so that the world will understand, appreciate, and support its position. Nations constantly fail on these attempts. But often misunderstandings occur because of the complex nature of communications. Each message has many listeners; some friendly, some not; some inside the nation, some outside; some nations near, and some nations on the other side of the world. Messages which are designed to be delivered to one audience are often misunderstood by other audiences which might be listening. Misunderstanding can be the cause of unnecessary conflicts.

The diversity of the world's peoples makes the world an interesting subject to study, but the same diversity makes the task of national leaders trying to communicate their policies very difficult.

NATION-STATE

The primary unit in our world political system is the nation-state. Nation-state is a technical term used in political science and international relations books. Often you will read "nation," "state" or even "country" as the popular terms referring to nation-states. The People's Republic of China is a nation-state as is Japan, Chile, Egypt, etc. Over one hundred and sixty nation-states belong to the United Nations and there are perhaps ten others which do not. An absolute figure is hard to establish because there is some disagreement whether or not some divided states should be counted as one or two

and whether some groups of people are really large enough to be considered a nation-state. Thus, there are approximately one hundred and seventy nation-states in the world.

The nation-state is a sovereign unit. Sovereignty means that its government has the ultimate law-giving power over its own people and territories. In its charter, the United Nations recognizes the sovereign equality of all states. Under International Law, the government of each of these states has the right to make and administer the laws that regulate its actions internally as well as formulate its own foreign policy.

The term, "nation-state," is a modern term made up of two older political concepts, "nation" and "state." A nation is a group of people who share a sense of identity. The loyalty to that identity is often called nationalism. This loyalty can go beyond a simple identification to a love and devotion to the nation which is called patriotism. Obviously, all three of these terms are closely linked.

There are many features which the people of a nation may have in common which help form the basis for their sense of common identity and loyalty. A common language has been one of the major unifying concepts. People considered themselves Italian long before the city-states of Italy were unified. Their language was the major source of unity. In China, a common written language has historically been a major unifier even though there were many different spoken languages. Common language clearly provides people with a strong bond. But there are many national units that do not speak a common language. The Swiss have long considered themselves a unique national unit, even though they have no common language. Today, many of the newly independent nations of the third world are developing a sense of nationalism without a common language.

A common cultural background is another important component of a feeling of nationalism. India and Japan are examples of two national groups that rely very heavily on a feeling of uniqueness of culture as the foundation of their nationalistic experience.

A common historic experience is a third important component of nationalism. The African nations of Ghana and Mali are good examples of this concept. In the eleventh century, Ghana was the title of the ruler who ruled a large part of West Africa. In the thirteenth century, Mali was the name for the kingdom that included the current state of Mali. These common historic experiences are at the roots of the nationalist movements in the two modern nations that bear these names. In more recent times, the conflict against the British helped unite the North American colonies into what is now known as the United States. The struggle for independence provided a common historic experience in much of Africa, Asia and South America and is thus an important component of nationalism.

Some nationalistic units are formed by natural geographic barriers such as mountain ranges, rivers and oceans. The people of the Scandinavian states consider themselves very different from Europeans even though the distance across the water is very small. Likewise, the insularity of Japan and Great Britain has sharpened the sense of nationalism of their respective people.

Both historically and currently, religion has shaped nationalistic lines. Catholicism and various Protestant denominational loyalties have been important to the sense of nationalism as it developed in Europe. Differences in views of what role religion would take in government were one of the principal causes underneath the rise of nationalism in Pakistan and helped bring about its separation from India. However, religion alone was not enough to keep East and

West Pakistan united. Nationalism in Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) developed around the linguistic, cultural, and historic differences between the two halves and led to the establishment of a separate nation. Racial and tribal uniqueness can also generate a feeling that a group of people are unique. On the other hand, we find many nations of the world which include within their statehood people of quite different races and tribes.

We can conclude by saying that most nationalistic feeling is based on a sense of common identity. Common identity in each nation rests on some combination of the above discussed bonds, but does not necessarily depend on any single one of these.

STATE

While the nation refers to the human dimension, the state refers more to the governmental and physical dimensions. The state represents the boundaries of the land which a nation-state occupies and its system of government and laws. In legal terms, the state is the sovereign unit. It is, therefore, the supreme law-giving and enforcing body or authority.

In the international system, the states are the primary political units. We know where the jurisdiction of one state ends and that of another begins. This system of states we call the international system and it is the external actions and interactions of these states that constitute the study of international relations.

The state is an independent unit. Its prime directive is to preserve itself from outside forces as well as to see that the welfare of its people is looked after. In theory, its only responsibility is to the people within its borders. In practice, most states find that the

well-being of its citizens may, in part, depend on the presence of a stable international system of which it is a part.

States do look out for their own citizens, but most view the needs of their people in broader, long-range terms, rather than narrow, short-range terms. One state may want to possess the oil fields of another state, since this aggrandizement would increase the wealth of the state. However, it does not take this aggressive action even though its army is strong enough. There may be many reasons for such restraint. First, the cost in human lives during conquest may be judged to be too great. Second, other more powerful states may use this action as an excuse to attack and seize valuable resources belonging to the aggressor state. In short, almost every state has a vested interest in a peaceful world where relations with other states are fairly predictable and harmonious.

Historically, the idea of a nation and state was not always linked. Foreign rulers, emperors, kings and colonial powers all created complex states and ruled people who represented very different nationalities. The people owed their allegiance to the ruler, not to a state. Allegiance was assured by force not by loyalty or a sense of nationalism. Also, many national units were slow to develop into states. The sense of being French, Italian, and German predates the establishment of these modern states.

In today's world, we find some similar conditions. State boundaries were created by former colonial powers. They do not follow natural nationalistic or geographic limits. Boundaries may divide people into several states who share loyalties or may include people whose loyalty is to a tribe or ethnic group, not to the state. Many of today's conflicts have these divisive inconsistencies at the root of their problems.