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主编 王浦劬

Understar
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理解国际冲突与合作理论与历史(第八版)

Joseph S. Nye, Jr. (约瑟夫·S·奈) [美]
David A. Welch (大卫·A·韦尔奇)

少 中国人民大学出版社

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Foreword

Joseph S. Nye has made important and original scholarly contributions to the study of common markets, international political economy, international institutions, American foreign policy, nuclear arms control, and international ethics. In the public media, he is best known for developing the concept of "soft power" and coining the term, which is now used by thousands of commentators who may not know who invented it.

Unusual for an educator, Professor Nye has excelled as much in public service as in scholarship. From 1977 to 1979, he served as Deputy to the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology and chaired the National Security Council Group on Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. To that post, he brought knowledge of cutting-edge work on interdependence and power in world politics as well as a keen understanding of the issues specific to nuclear proliferation. In 1994 and 1995, he served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, where he used his political science expertise to construct a new, institutionalized relationship between the United States and Japan, which helped to defuse the poisonous trade conflicts of that era. The fact that Professor Nye won top government honors after both periods of service suggests that political science—at least in the hands of a master—provides insight into the real world of policy. Anyone who has read his trenchant commentaries on current events in the pages of Foreign Affairs or elsewhere will surely agree.

Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation is a textbook on world politics, rather than a work of original scholarship, a policy memo, or an op-ed article. Sometimes original scholars sound pedantic when addressing central issues of world politics; often policy makers speak in code or platitudes. Not so Professor Nye. As any reader will see, the work in your hands is lucid, direct, and concise. Joseph Nye goes right to the point, making use of much literature but not displaying it in ways that distract the reader. Reading Professor Nye's writing on world politics is like watching Joe DiMaggio play center field or Yo-Yo Ma play the cello: He makes the difficult look easy.

The best way to evaluate these statements is to read the book. You will see clear definitions of concepts and arguments coupled with appropriate qualifications about the conditions under which they apply—both linked to discussions of actual events that demonstrate why the concepts and arguments are relevant to the world in which we live. In barely over 300 pages, Nye ranges widely, from the classical balance of power to the Cold War; from intervention to globalization and the information revolution. The treatment is brief, so there is much more to learn—I hope that rather than believing they "know it all" after reading this book, students will instead be inspired to think further about these issues and study them in depth. Fortunately,

Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation suggests ways in which students can carry on their explorations of the fascinating phenomena that constitute world politics.

Joe Nye and I have been friends for 40 years and coauthors almost as long, so you might be reluctant to take these words of praise as very meaningful. But it so happens that I have taught previous editions of this book to graduate students at the Woodrow Wilson School for Public and International Affairs of Princeton University. One might expect these students to regard what is chiefly an undergraduate text as beneath their dignity, even when they read many other readings, expressing a variety of points of view, along with Nye's chapters. Yet when I asked them, they uniformly said that the book was very useful to them and praised the clarity and conciseness of Professor Nye's prose. As one student wrote, "There hardly seems to be a wasted sentence in any chapter we read." I can attest that Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation works very well as a central, thematic text in a course whose readings also include much original scholarship and polemical policy debates.

In his foreword to the sixth edition, Professor Stanley Hoffmann described this as a "wise" book because Professor Nye "sees the many sides of an issue and the many arguments an event can provoke" and because of its "impeccable mix of humanity, common sense, prudence, and integrity." There is much to be learned from this book, not only about world politics but about how to think about it—calmly, rationally, and with an acute sense of how much it matters to the lives of billions of people around the world.

> ROBERT O. KEOHANE Professor of International Affairs Princeton University

Preface

In 2009, North Korea tested its second nuclear bomb. It had tested its first one in 2006. In his State of the Union address on January 29, 2002—just a few short months after al Qaeda's September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon (the infamous "9/11")—U.S. President George W. Bush had specifically named North Korea a member of the "axis of evil," one of a small handful of states that sponsored terrorism and were known to seek weapons of mass destruction. In his 2002 National Security Strategy, President Bush had argued that in the modern world, where terrorists and their state sponsors could wreak havoc and destruction on a global scale, it would be irresponsible to sit idly by and wait for threats to develop: the United States should and would act swiftly and decisively to "preempt" (he actually meant "prevent") such threats from arising. President Bush used this argument to justify waging war against another designated member of the axis of evil-Iraq-in 2003. Much to many people's surprise, Iraq turned out not to have an active nuclear weapons program after all. But the United States never attacked North Korea. Instead, it cooperated with other important regional countries in an effort to persuade North Korea not to go nuclear. Why did the United States choose conflict in one case, and cooperation in the other?

The fields of political science and international relations have been criticized in recent years for a growing gap between academic theory and the real world of politics and policy. Policy makers (and students) complain about jargon-laden texts that go on and on about theory yet seem to say more and more about less and less. Do political science and international relations have nothing to say that could help us explain apparent puzzles such as this?

In practice, theory is unavoidable. In order to achieve your objectives, you need at least a primitive sense of cause and effect, as well as a means to simplify and interpret reality. If I ask you to describe what happened to you in the last hour, you have to simplify or else you would reproduce 60 minutes of detail. And if I ask you to get something, you would need some idea of what actions would produce results. The question is not whether theory is relevant to practice, but which theories and how aware practical people are of the origins and limitations of the theories they inevitably use. Most practitioners seem to avoid direct contact with academic theory, and many academics disdain practice and write in a language aimed at other academics. Of the 25 most influential scholars recently listed by the magazine *Foreign Policy*, only four had held top-level policy positions: two in the U.S. government and two in the United Nations.

Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation is designed to bridge that gap. It grows out of an introductory course that I taught as part of the Harvard core curriculum for more than a decade, but it is also informed by five years of experience as

a policy maker at the assistant secretary level in three national security bureaucracies in Washington—the State Department, the Pentagon, and the National Intelligence Council. In that world, I discovered that theory and practice had much to contribute to each other. This book aims to introduce students to the complexities of international politics by giving them a good grounding in the traditional realist theory before turning to liberal and constructivist approaches that have become more prominent after the Cold War. I try to present difficult concepts in clear language with historical examples so students will gain a practical understanding of the basic vocabulary of international politics.

Twice in the first half of the twentieth century, the great powers engaged in devastating world wars that cost nearly 50 million lives. The second half of the century was wracked by a cold war, regional wars, and the threat of nuclear weapons. Why did those conflicts happen? Could they happen again in the twenty-first century? Or will rising economic and ecological interdependence, the growth of transnational and international institutions, and the spread of democratic values bring about a new world order? How will globalization and the information revolution influence international politics in this new century? No good teacher can honestly answer such questions with certainty, but we can provide our students with conceptual tools derived from the main approaches of realism, liberalism, and constructivism that will help them shape their own answers as the future unfolds. That is the purpose of this book.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

The seven previous editions of this book went by the title *Understanding* International Conflicts. The new title, Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation, reflects two important changes. The first is an attempt to highlight more clearly the fact that conflict and cooperation are in fact two sides of the same problem: namely, resolving disputes. In world politics, disputes can be over mundane things such as technical standards or intellectual property rights, or over emotionally-charged things such as territory. They can be over relatively simple problems such as protecting whales, or enormously complex problems such as balancing the interests of poor countries in economic development against the need to reduce worldwide greenhouse gas emissions. Policy makers, pundits, and professors tend to pay more attention to conflict than to cooperation, because conflict always has the potential to get out of hand. As a result, we often fail to notice that most disagreements in the world are actually handled peacefully. We also sometimes fail to notice that finding durable cooperative solutions to conflict can be just as hard as, or even harder than, avoiding wars. Throughout the text you will find abundant new material designed to bring the complex relationship between conflict and cooperation into clearer view.

The second important change is an attempt to highlight the fact that, in the twenty-first century, pressing problems are decreasingly international and increasingly global. Students of world politics used to be preoccupied with conflicts between sovereign states. This made sense in the first half of the twentieth century, when sovereign states fought two devastating world wars, and it also made sense during the Cold War, when the United States and the Soviet Union had the capacity to destroy each other many times over with roughly half an hour's warning. Interstate conflict is still an important problem, of course, but the set of challenges facing humanity has both broadened and deepened. Conflict within states is now more common than between states; yet at the same time, conflict within states almost always reverberates internationally. It has the potential to affect people virtually anywhere, thanks to the speed and intensity of modern communications, the proliferation of non-state actors, and the globalization of economic and other kinds of interests. It is getting harder to distinguish international problems from domestic ones, or local problems from regional or global ones.

The two new themes signaled by the change in title are complemented by a number of other important changes:

- A new Chapter 2 introduces and carefully discusses key concepts, tools, and approaches to the study of world politics. This chapter brings together, organizes, and supplements earlier editions' treatments (for example) of states, nations, nation-states, nationalism, actors, power, authority, international systems, international society, system stability, crisis stability, and the "national interest." It systematically explores the three main levels of analysis used in the study of conflict and cooperation, and addresses questions such as, What is a paradigm? What is a theory? What is a hypothesis? What are the dominant paradigms in the study of international relations today? How can we tell a productive paradigm from an unproductive one? The discussion of counterfactuals used in evaluating causal claims has been expanded to include the notion of "virtual history."
- Chapter 3 includes more extensive background material to help students understand the evolution of the international system from the Peace of Westphalia to the beginning of the twentieth century. It also includes an expanded discussion of the role of crisis instability in the outbreak of World War I.
- Chapter 5 includes a closer examination of the role of nuclear deterrence and crisis stability during the Cold War.
- A heavily revised Chapter 6 discusses post-Cold War conflict and cooperation in greater theoretical and empirical detail, and includes new sections on intrastate conflict and various potential flashpoints such as Iran, Kashmir, and the Korean peninsula (with new chronologies).
- Chapter 8's discussion of transnational actors is significantly revised and includes a new section on transnational terrorism and the 'War on Terror.'

In addition, the entire text, and lists of recommended readings, have been updated as appropriate. Finally, the glossary is significantly expanded and heavily revised as well.

One vitally important thing has not changed with this edition: namely, its emphasis on the interplay between theory and history as a way of seeking to explain world events. The book's subtitle remains unchanged from previous editions. You will notice, however, the addition of a second author: David Welch, my former

student, who is now a distinguished professor of political science at the University of Waterloo, in Canada, where he also holds the CIGI Chair of Global Security at the Balsillie School of International Affairs. David agreed to help me revise and update this eighth edition. I am grateful for the insight and clarity that he has brought to this joint endeavor, and I am sure that readers will feel likewise. Since the book draws extensively on my experiences in government, however, David felt that we should retain the first person singular from previous editions.

FEATURES

This text is an example of how to think about the complex and confusing domain of international politics. It should be read not for a complete factual account, but for the way it approaches the interplay of theory and history. It is the place to start. Neither theory nor history alone is sufficient. Historians who believe that understanding comes from simply recounting the facts fail to make explicit the hidden principles by which they select some facts rather than others. Equally mistaken are political scientists who become so isolated and entangled in a maze of abstract theory that they mistake their mental constructs for reality. Only by going back and forth between history and theory can we avoid such mistakes. This book is an example of such a dialogue between theory and history. It can provide the central thread for an introductory course or for individual readers to teach themselves the equivalent of such a course. It can also be used as a supplementary text in a course as an example of one approach to the subject. Each chapter includes study questions and selected readings to help guide both instructors and students. The book includes chronologies of the historical events that it discusses in detail.

Some texts ignore ethics, but normative theories of how we should act in international relations are as important as analytic theories. Issues of ethics are discussed throughout this book, but particularly in Chapters 1, 5, and 6. Similarly, many texts focus only on hard military and economic power. I expand this understanding of power by including discussion of soft power, a concept I developed to distinguish the power to attract and persuade from the power to coerce and bribe. Soft power is a dimension whose importance is growing in an information age and that is more necessary than ever in American foreign policy. This concept is introduced in Chapter 2 but is used throughout the book and developed at some length in the discussions of information, globalization, and governance in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. There I distinguish between the classic balance of power in the world of interstate conflict and the concepts and practices of "complex interdependence" that Robert Keohane and I developed.

RESOURCES

Pearson Longman is pleased to offer several resources to qualified adopters of Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation and their students that will make teaching and learning from this book even more effective and enjoyable.

For Instructors and Students

MyPoliSciKit for Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation. This premium online learning resource features multimedia and interactive activities to help students make connections between concepts and current events. The book-specific assessment, video case studies, role-playing simulations, mapping exercises, Financial Times newsfeeds, current events quizzes, and politics blog encourage comprehension and critical thinking. With GradeTracker™, instructors can easily follow students' work on the site and their progress on each activity. MyPoliSciKit is available at no additional charge when packaged with this book. To learn more, please visit www.mypoliscikit.com or contact your Pearson representative.

For Instructors

Test Bank. This assessment resource includes multiple-choice, true-false, and essay questions for each chapter in this text. Available exclusively at the Instructor Resource Center (IRC), an online hub that allows instructors to quickly download book-specific supplements. Please visit the IRC welcome page at www.pearsonhighered.com/irc to register for access.

Pearson MyTest. This powerful assessment generation program includes all of the items in the test bank. Questions and tests can be easily created, customized, and saved online and then printed, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility to manage assessments anytime and anywhere. To start using, please visit www.pearsonmytest.com.

For Students

Longman Atlas of World Issues (ISBN 0-321-22465-5). Introduced and selected by Robert J. Art of Brandeis University and excerpted from the acclaimed Penguin Atlas Series, the Longman Atlas of World Issues is designed to help students understand the geography and major issues facing the world today, such as terrorism, debt, and HIV/AIDS. These thematic, full-color maps examine forces shaping politics today at a global level. Explanatory information accompanies each map to help students better grasp the concepts being shown and how they affect our world today. Available at no additional charge when packaged with this book.

Research and Writing in International Relations (ISBN 0-321-27766-X). Written by Laura Roselle and Sharon Spray of Elon University, this brief and affordable guide provides the basic step-by-step process and essential resources that are needed to write political science papers that go beyond simple description and into more systematic and sophisticated inquiry. This text focuses on the key areas in which students need the most help: finding a topic, developing a question, reviewing literature, designing research, analyzing findings, and, last, actually writing the paper. Available at a discount when packaged with this book.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is based on a course I taught for many years at Harvard University, sometimes with my then-junior colleagues Stephan Haggard, Yuen Foong Khong, Michael Mandelbaum, and M. J. Peterson. I have learned from all of them, and, I am sure, unconsciously stolen a number of their ideas. The same is true of Stanley Hoffmann, who has taught me since graduate school days and has been a constant source of inspiration. I am grateful to him and to Robert Keohane, who has provided so many ideas as well as friendship. David Dressler, Charles Maier, and Ernest May helped by commenting on the manuscript. Over the years I have also learned greatly from my students. I want also to thank my head course assistants: Vin Auger, Peter Feaver, Meryl Kessler, Sean Lynn-Jones, Pam Metz, John Owen, Gideon Rose, and Gordon Silverstein.

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JOSEPH S. NYE, JR.

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