

BIANHUAMOCE DE
GUOJI FENGYUN

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变化莫测的 国际风云



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序

国际关系是指国与国之间、世界各国之间的关系，其中也包括国际组织之间的关系。国际关系学博大精深，涵盖面广，既有国际关系理论，也有国际关系史，还有国际关系现状研究。国际关系学不仅要研究国家关系的历史发展进程及其演变规律，更重要的是要探讨和分析正在运行中的国际关系的政治经济格局、国际形势发展的态势和特点，预测国际关系发展变化的新动向、新态势。这次工作对国家的对外政策和外交实践是十分重要的。

陈京闽是热衷于国际关系学的青年精英。虽然他仍处于起步的阶段，但令人欣喜地看到，他已崭露头角。他大学毕业后，到英国攻读硕士。在此期间，他撰写了一些英文文章，主要涉及全球化、媒体、信息技术、反恐和公共外交等方面的内容。这些文章虽然篇幅相对较短，但却体现了这位海外赤子的学习心得和研究成果。

从英国回国后，陈京闽进入南京解放军国际关系学院攻读博士。这位勤奋的学子除认真研读其专业课程外，还密切关注国际形势的发展，尤其关注当今世界的热点问题，并孜孜不倦地写作。这一时期他的文章主要涉及朝核危机、伊朗核问题、日本核泄漏事件、利比亚政局动荡、埃及骚乱等问题。这些都是国际舞台上新发生的问题，也是世人关注的问题。陈京闽在思考这些问

题时，通过追溯其历史根源，结合近两年出现的一些新情况，提出了一些见解和看法。他在阐述个人观点的同时，也借鉴了国内外部分专家学者的看法，以求借此能够得到一个比较客观的综合性结论。他除关注热点问题外，对国际关系理论和历史事件也十分感兴趣，并为此学了有关这方面的文章。

陈京闽是一位进取心很强的年轻人，也是一位有心之人。他把近年来在国内外学的中英文文章汇总成册，出版这本《变化莫测的国际风云》。令人感到高兴的是，这本书出自青年英才之手。它既展示了这位年轻人的才华，也给读者以参考和启迪。

国际形势错综复杂，国际风云变化莫测。在国际关系学中，中国提出了和平与发展是当代世界的主题这一科学理论观点，也是对当代国际关系本质特征的认识。中国认为，和平、发展、合作的时代潮流没有变，但世界和平与发展面临诸多挑战。在当前形势下，需要加强对国际关系和重大国际问题的开拓性研究，这就需要进行这方面研究的人才。陈京闽是从事这项工作的后起之秀。我衷心祝贺《变化莫测的国际风云》一书出版问世，预祝陈京闽以自己的勤奋努力和聪明才智创造光辉的未来。



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Critically Exam and Assess the Impact of Globalisation on Diplomatic Practice

(2005年4月6日)

1. Introduction

When the world entered the 21st century, globalization has become the most noticeable feature and had strong impact on diplomatic practice of all countries. Better or worse, globalization is expanding over to four corners of the world and affecting national interests and people's life in many ways. Globalization is a double-edged sword for many countries: it could either accelerate a country's development or dampen it. Let's take China as an example. Although China has adopted cooperative diplomacy by pursuing cooperative security, win-win economic cooperation and simultaneously reducing international fears of China's fast-growing material power, the non-conventional threats such as terrorism and the spread of infectious disease present serious global challenges to China's security. Therefore, it is noticeable

that globalization has both positive and negative impacts on diplomatic practice of countries at present stage.

Since 1990s, globalization has become an ordinary glossary. A famous scholar, Richard Langhorne, defined it as: “Globalization is the latest stage in a long accumulation of technological advance which has given human beings the ability to conduct their affairs across the world without reference to nationality, government authority, time of day or physical environment”. Another definition by a well-known scholar, Hedley Bull, is: globalization “is a set of process leading to the integration of intermediate, factor, and product markets across geographical boundaries”. Although their definitions emphasize on different points, their views are basically the same – globalization comes to praxis is not occasional. It is the result of the accumulation and development of a series of interacting factors. It is also the result of the technology revolution. To summarize, the above definitions suggest that: firstly, globalization is behaving effectively as a process of economy; secondly, globalization is also a social process of configuration variances, class conformity and individual consciousness arousal pressed by outside pressure on a country; thirdly, globalization also behaves naturally as a process of politics. All in all, globalization has strong impact on a country’s political system, diplomacy, economy, culture and many other aspects.

2. The impact of globalization on diplomatic practice

With the expansion of globalization, the traditional concepts on diplomatic practice of most countries are undergoing changes. Most

countries have linked up their national interests with the globalization process by adjusting, improving, or reshaping their diplomatic practice in order to ensure national interests, to obtain the maximum of political and economic benefits.

With flexibility and pragmatism, China in recent years has taken the chance to promote its diplomacy from passive role to more active role, which has established a favorable position internationally and has achieved remarkably progress, particularly on its relations with other countries. In June 2004, Mr. Wen Jiabao, the Chinese Premier, made a speech on commemorating the 50th anniversary of the “Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence” – China’s principle in foreign policy, pointing out that China is ready to work with other countries based on the five common understanding: first, firmly upholding the principle of sovereign equality; second, respecting and maintaining the diversity of world’s civilizations; third, promoting common development of the world’s economies on the basis of equality and mutual benefit; fourth, maintaining peace and security through dialog and cooperation; fifth, giving full scope to the important role of the UN and other multilateral mechanisms.

China has put forward the principle of developing good neighboring relations by treating neighboring countries as partners. For example, the relations between China and India came across some twists and turns as a lot of people in India regarded China as a “thread”. In 1999, China reached the understanding with India that the two countries would not pose threat to each other. In 2003, the two countries issued the statement on the principle of China-India relations and encouraged

comprehensive cooperation. India for the first time formally recognized Tibet as an integral part of China. In China-Japan relations, the question of history remains one of the major obstacles as Japanese leaders continue to pay homage to “the Shrine”. In this regard, the foreign policy that China adopts is “taking history as a mirror and looking ahead to the future”. Russia is China’s largest neighbor. China shares many interests and holds similar positions as Russia in promoting world multi-polarization, upholding the leading role of the United Nation (UN) in international affairs, and establishing a fair and rational new international political and economic order. In 1996, China and Russia, on the basis of wide-ranging cooperation, established the strategic partnership of coordination. In 2001, the two countries signed the treaty for good-neighborly relations of friendship and cooperation. The development of China and Russia relations has changed the old mindset of state-to-state relationship during the Cold War era that two countries were either alliance or confrontation, and created a new type of relationship of non-alliance, non-confrontation, and non-targeting of a third country.

The relations between China and the European Union (EU) made noticeable achievements. China reached agreement with the EU on political dialogue in 1994 and established mechanism for annual meetings between the two leaders in 1998. The Chinese government issued the first policy document towards the EU on October 13, 2003. On the same day, the European Council also adopted new policy paper towards China – “Towards a Mature Partnership-Common Interests and Challenges for Europe and China”. In the same month, leaders of China and EU committed to building a comprehensive strategic

partnership. In 2003, China's attendance of a North-South conference sponsored by the Group of Eight (G8) summit, which had long been perceived as the great-power's club dominated by rich western countries, in France represented a breakthrough in China's global image.

On the issue of China's relationship with Africa, China has taken two major steps in recent years to establish the China-Africa Forum and carried out the strategy of "going out". In 2003, the *Addis Ababa Action Plan for China-Africa Forum* was issued, and a three-year general plan was drawn up to strengthen cooperation in political, economic and social development. Moreover, wide-ranging consensus was reached to build a long-term, stable and all-round partnership offering equality and mutual benefit. Under the guidance of the "going out" strategy, many competent Chinese enterprises take part in investment in Africa.

China has played a crucial role in the setting up of the "six-party talk" in order to mediate the nuclear issue of North Korea. A three-way talk and two rounds of six-party talks were held in Beijing. Traditionally, China has played a key role in maintaining peace and stability in the Korean Peninsular. China has taken active diplomacy and worked very hard with parties concerned to promote dialogues in order to reach consensus for a nuclear-free peninsular. By encouraging different parties taking coordinated steps and agreeing to the process of six-party talks, China has defused America's impulse to take unilateral action to settle the issue through military force.

It is said that, in order to influence foreign affairs, a country is either very powerful militarily or behaving in a very radical manner. However, countries pursuing these policies do not enjoy good reputation as their diplomatic practices are contrary to the trend of globalization. Such countries are not appealing to the world and have in fact been marginalized in the world to the extent that they could not even realize their own “radical national interests”. For example, on many issues such as the Arab-Israeli dispute, the dealing with America and challenges arising from globalization, Mr. Qadhafi, the Libyan leader, repeatedly tried to be radically different from others and not respecting the aspiration of the majority of Arab countries. Therefore, he was isolated in the Arab world for a long time. With regard to the national liberation issue, Mr. Qadhafi was fond of radical and adventurous acts. The West Berlin restaurant explosions in 1986 and the Lockerbie air crash in 1988 triggered military strikes and sanction by the United Nations. Arab countries did not openly praise Libya for “doing well”. The United States, Britain and some other countries “demonized” Mr. Qadhafi and defined Libya as a rogue state supporting terrorism. After drawing lessons from the bitter experience, he finally followed the historical trend. In 2002, Libya used its petrodollars to persuade the Abu Sayyev forces in the Philippines to free hostages of various countries, which was met with positive comments from the international community. In March 2003, Libya formally agreed to bear the civil liability of the Lockerbie air crash. In August, it agreed to pay the reparation of US\$2.7 billion to the families of victims. Libya also committed to join the international anti-terrorist coordination and announced the abandonment of weapons of mass destruction. It was reported Libyan efforts were greeted with

positive response. Britain submitted to the UN Security Council a draft resolution revoking sanctions against Libya, which had the support of the United States, Russia, etc. On April 27, 2004, for the first time in 15 years, Mr. Qadhafi was invited to officially visit Europe. He also indicated that Libya was “ready to take a positive attitude” toward the democratic reform of the Middle East region.

While traditional security issues remain to be tackled, non-traditional ones, such as terrorism, become increasingly serious. With rapid development of communication network of global information, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction could bring disasters to countries in a few minutes or even a few seconds. America is the sole superpower in the world today with mighty national strength surpassing by far that of other countries. It spent billions of dollars trying to set up the National Missile Defense (NMD) system to protect itself against attacks, yet the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington in 2001 greatly shocked the U.S. and the world as well as people’s perception about security in a very short time.

“Just as Joseph S. Nye said, the paradox of the US force theory is that the world’s politics have already changed, and even for the world’s most powerful country, it is impossible to realize its key goals merely through its own strength, just like that by the ancient Roman Empire”.

The 9/11 incident indicates that the security of an individual country is closely linked with the international, and even the global security. Many countries adopt new anti-terrorism foreign policies or establish security consultation dialogues to cope with the negative impact.

The U.S. particularly adjusted its national security strategy on a large scale which reflected in the changes of its international relations. Instead of guarding countries that were thought as potential strategic opponents, America believed that the most important goal of its global security strategy is the elimination of threats posed by global terrorism which attacks with non-conventional means or weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In “Bush’s Doctrine”, America created “axes of evil” and “pre-emptive” strategies. It linked counter-terrorism and the prevention of proliferation of WMD to the reformation of so-called “rogue states” and “failed states”. Under the doctrine, America launched wars against Afghanistan and Iraq respectively, redeploying the U.S. forces overseas and tightening the control of the Middle East and Asia. However, America made a very bad example in diplomatic practice in launching war against Iraq without obtaining authorization of resorting to force from the UN Security Council. Mr. Qian Qichen, the former Chinese Deputy Prime Minister, pointed out that

Hardly strange, then, that Bush and his administration still insist on arguing that their decision to go to war in Iraq and US policy on the issue were right.

...Washington has opened a Pandora’s box, intensifying various intermingled conflicts, such as ethnic and religious ones.

The Iraq War has made the United States even more unpopular in the international community than its war in Viet Nam. Bush did not even dare to meet the public on the streets when he visited Britain, the closest ally of the United States.”

When the US adjusted its foreign policy to strengthen relations with Russia, Russia responded actively with America's actions of opposing terrorism and made important compromise on the three major issues on anti-ballistic missile treaty, the reduction of strategic weapons and the eastward expansion to the three counties along the Baltic Sea, etc. The two countries declared the end of mutual hostility in May 2002. The improvement of the relations between the two big countries is welcomed by the rest of the world.

3.Globalization also has tremendous impact on economy, trade, legislation etc.

According to the World Bank report that some developing countries like China, India, Hungary and Mexico increased their integration into the economic globalization, took advantage of global markets, sharply increased the share of trade in their GDP and achieved higher growth in incomes, longer life expectancy and better schooling. For example, since 1978, China has adopted the policy of opening-up to the outside world and undertook a series of economic structural reforms. China's diplomacy has been designed to serve its development. It has over 140,000 enterprises with foreign investments, has set up economic and trade relations with 227 countries and regions. The pace of increase in foreign trade has been greater than that of world trade. China was the world's fifth biggest trader in 2002, with a trade volume of US\$620.8 billion. The inflow of international capital and technologies has fuelled China's economic engine and resulted in its entry into the World Trade Organization in 2001. China also managed to adapt the domestic law to international legislation and to establish social and market

economic structure in 1992. On November 30, 2004, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) formally recognized China as a full market economy.

However, some countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East and the former Soviet Union are left behind. Their ratio of trade to GDP either remained flat or declined. They are facing serious poverty, education and health problems. It is suggested that poor countries improve their investment climates and put in place better social protection to support poor people in adapting to and taking advantage of opportunities in a changing economic environment. Rich countries should open their markets to exports from developing countries and to slash their large agricultural subsidies, which undercut poor country exports.

4. The impact on the diplomatic practice of China and the United States

In the time of globalization, relations between major powers are featured with interdependence, competition, coordination, and peaceful coexistence. For some time after the Cold War, China-US relationship had a distinctive feature of duality. On one hand, “China threat” prevailed in the US administration, the military, the Congress and the public media. In 2000, Mr. George W. Bush claimed China was a strategic competitor of the United States in one of his presidential campaign speeches. It considered China’s development would affect America’s strategic interest. Therefore, America tried to “westernize” and “divide” China. The attempt by America to build a