

学流



和平共处 理论与现实格局的形成

刘从德 著

武汉出版社



和平共处

理论与现实格局的形成

刘从德 著

武汉出版社

(鄂)新登字 08 号

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

和平共处:理论与现实格局的形成/刘从德著. —武汉:武汉出版社,2000.11 ISBN 7-5430-2359-8

I. 和… II. 刘… III. 和平共处—研究 IV. D801

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字(2000)第 46112 号

书 名:和平共处——理论与现实格局的形成

著 作 责 任:刘从德

责 任 编 辑:郭廷军

封 面 设 计:吴 涛

出 版:武汉出版社

社 址:武汉市江汉区新华下路 103 号 邮 编:430015

电 话:(027)85606403 85600625

印 刷:湖北省孝感市印刷厂 经 销:新华书店

开 本:850×1168mm 1/32

印 张:6 字 数:114 千字 插 页:5

版 次:2001 年 3 月第 1 版 2001 年 3 月第 1 次印刷

印 数:0001—1500 册

ISBN 7-5430-2359-8/D·216

定 价:10.00 元

版权所有·翻印必究

如有质量问题,由承印厂负责调换。

内容提要

和平共处问题是科学社会主义和国际关系等学科的共同研究热区。对这一问题的探讨,既具有重大理论价值,又具有广泛的现实意义。从广义上而言,和平共处是指不同国家或地区之间不诉诸武力或不以武力相威胁,不相互干涉内政,不进行侵略和征服,在相互交往中表现为一种较为正常的关系;从狭义上而言,和平共处则是指两种根本对立的社会制度——社会主义制度和资本主义制度国家间一种非交战状态。和平共处问题之所以成为研究热点,取决于多种因素。一是社会主义制度国家的出现和壮大;二是社会主义国家首先出现于拥有地缘政治优势的欧亚大陆,而且连成一片;三是两种制度国家间的共处共存始终是其关系的主调。随着国际格局的变化和两种制度国家关系的演进,特别是由于苏联、东欧的剧变,对和平共处的研究再度升温,历史学家、国际政治学家、经济学家、社会学家等都不约而同地聚焦于此。本书立足于大量的历史材料和现实的研究动态,系统地对和平共处问题进行了全方位研究。它包括绪论和正文的五个部分。

绪论中介绍了本书研究的重要意义及其在几个重

要理论问题上具有的启迪作用,包括和平共处与国家利益、和平共处与均势理论等。

第一章从历史背景、和平共处思想的提出、实践及其重大意义三个方面,分析了列宁时期的和平共处思想与实践。列宁领导俄国工农群众取得社会主义革命胜利后,两种社会制度(以下简称为两制)间的激烈斗争为国际关系注入了新的内容,帝国主义各国联合起来,试图扼杀新生的苏维埃政权。面对恶劣的国际国内环境,列宁不仅在理论上论述了和平共处问题;而且还在实践中开创了同帝国主义强国和周边国家的政治经济关系的新模式。列宁的和平共处思想包括以下内容:(1)强调社会主义国家发展对外关系,特别是发展同资本主义国家关系的必要性;(2)利用矛盾争取动摇者,把和平共处的必要性和可能性变成现实;(3)在同资本主义国家和平共处过程中,要警惕资本主义国家的侵略和颠覆活动;(4)为了有利于实现和平共处,苏维埃国家应全力搞好国内经济建设,同资本主义国家展开经济竞赛;(5)积极发展对外经济关系,以此带动政治关系的缓和与改善。列宁正是在上述思想指导下开创了同各国的和平共处关系,对新生的苏维埃政权的巩固产生了重大作用;同时,列宁的这些思想,对于我们今天的社会主义建设仍有指导意义。

列宁去世后,两制共存的局面已经成为事实,社会主义政权得到了巩固,但是,西方列强一天也没有忘记要封锁、遏制、制裁,甚至灭亡社会主义国家。20世纪30年代出现两大战争策源地后,英、美、法等国采取了

纵虎为患的绥靖政策，意欲借法西斯之手对付苏联。苏、德战争爆发后，西方列强认为苏联最多只能坚持六个星期至两个月的时间。这一方面反映了他们对战局的错误判断，另一方面也反映了他们希望看到德国灭亡苏联的结局。然而，苏联军民最终遏制住了德国的进攻势头，改变了战争的格局。这一转变直接导致了苏、美、英战时同盟的建立。为了消灭共同的敌人，盟国间进行了军事合作。这种合作对两制共存产生了重大影响，一是西方列强承认了社会主义苏联的大国地位，使两制共存共处长期化；二是两制的合作为他们此后的共处确立了某些规范；三是意识形态上升到第一位，不信任和争吵成为主调。

第三章论述了二战后的两制共处关系，遏制与反遏制、缓和与对峙贯穿其中，意识形态争斗使两制国家展开了一场“冷战”。美国领导西方阵营制定了周详的遏制社会主义的计划，并从理论上进行了论证；苏联基于战后的格局地位，也进行了针锋相对的反遏制。二战后共处的主要趋势是形成了美苏争霸的局面，他们在对抗的基础上进行着有限的合作，各种规范逐步形成。同时，战后的多极化既是大国争霸的重要结果，也是制衡共处关系的重要因素。

第四章着重论述了中国的和平共处五项原则的提出、内容及其对国际关系进程的巨大贡献。起初，和平共处五项原则更多的是强调处理不同社会制度国家间的关系，首先是在解决同周边国家的领土边界问题时提出的。但是事实证明，它一经提出就成为了普遍的国际

关系准则,具有了广泛的国际意义,它同样适用于社会制度相同的国家间的关系。和平共处五项原则的提出与实践,揭示了正常化国际关系必须履行的最基本的行为准则,高度概括了国家间关系的实质。因此,它不仅是中国外交政策的理论基石,而且也为世界各国所广泛接受。本书在这一部分中还用了较多篇幅来论述邓小平在新的历史时期对和平共处理论的重大发展。主要包括关于世界两大主题的精辟概括、用和平方式解决国际冲突的思想、“一国两制”伟大构想的提出以及关于国际新秩序的主张等。

第五章分析了科技革命的勃兴对和平共处的影响。二战后的科技突破导致了两种国家不同的发展进程,资本主义矛盾的新变化和苏联、东欧社会主义国家在高新技术争夺中的衰败,使和平共处发生了重大转折。科技竞争已成为国家间关系的主要内容,政治上的共处共存和经济上的激烈竞争是和平共处总的发展态势,由此构建的是一种既对抗又合作的国际关系。各国在经济领域的矛盾与摩擦是当代国际斗争的主流,但是,经济利益争夺并非必然导致政治关系的日趋紧张,各国更倾向于在合作中获取最大的经济利益。国家较量的主战场是以科技实力为基石的综合国力的争夺。

Abstract

Peaceful coexistence is a subject on which scientific socialism, international relations and some other studies often focus. It is theoretically valuable and practically necessary to do some research on it. In a broad sense, peaceful coexistence means no war, no military threat, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, no aggression or conquest among different countries or regions, and they have normal relationships in their contacts. In a narrow sense, peaceful coexistence is a nonbelligerency between two conflicting social systems—socialism and capitalism. There are several reasons why researchers pay much attention to the study of peaceful coexistence: 1) Socialist countries have sprung up and become strong. 2) Socialist countries first appeared in Eurasia—where political advantages from geographical point of view are quite clear, and those countries were joined together. 3) Peaceful coexistence has always been the main affairs among the countries with two different social systems. With the improvement of the relationships among the countries with two conflicting systems, especially because of the drastic change in the Soviet Union, more and more historians, experts on international politics, economists and sociologists simultaneously focus on the study of peaceful coexistence. Based on a large amount of his-

torical materials and the correct research, the present dissertation, including an introduction and five chapters of the main body, does a comprehensive research on peaceful coexistence systematically.

The introduction centres on the importance of the research and its enlightening effect on some important theoretic problems, including the relationships between peaceful coexistence and state interest, peaceful coexistence and balance of power, etc.

Chapter one analyzes the theory of peaceful coexistence and its application during Lenin period from the aspect of historical background, the advancing of peaceful coexistence and its application as well as its importance. When Lenin led the Russian workers and peasants into the victory of socialism revolution, the sharp conflict between the two social systems added new things to the international relations. The imperialists were united and tried to strangle the new soviet government. In the face of the adverse national and international circumstances, Lenin not only expounded the problems concerning peaceful coexistence in theory, but also ushered in a new pattern of political and economic relationship dealing with the strong imperialist powers and the countries around the Soviet Union in practice. The theory of peaceful coexistence advanced by Lenin contained the following ideas: 1) It emphasized the necessity of socialist countries' developing diplomatic relations, especially with capitalist countries. 2) Taking advantage

of the conflicts among the capitalist countries and trying to win over the vacillating elements, turning the necessity and probability of peaceful coexistence into reality. 3) In the peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries, be on guard against their aggression and subversion. 4) In order to have good peaceful coexistence, the Soviet Union should go to great lengths to develop the national economic construction. 5) Developing improvement of the political relations. According to this theory, Lenin ushered in a peaceful coexistence with other countries and it was important to have reinforced the power of the new soviet government. Nowadays, Lenin's thought can also serve as guide to our socialism construction.

After Lenin's death, the coexistence of the two social systems came into being, and the socialist political power had been reinforced, but the western imperialists never stopped trying to blockade, contain, sanction or even eliminate the socialist countries. When two hotbeds of war appeared in the 1930s, Britain, the United States, France and some other countries took the policy of appeasement with the intention of allowing the fascists to eliminate the Soviet Union. When the Soviet-Germany War broke out, the western imperialists believed that the Soviet Union couldn't hold out more than six weeks or two months. This showed that on the one hand they were wrong in judging the war situation, and on the other hand they hoped to see that Germany could eliminate the Soviet Union. Nevertheless the Soviet army contained the attack

from the German troops and finally changed the war situation, which directly led to the formation of the Allies during the war. In order to wipe out the common enemy, the Allies undertook military cooperation, which had great effect on the coexistence of the two social systems. First, the western imperialists recognized the Soviet Union as a great nation, and make it possible for the two systems to coexist for a long time. Second, the cooperation of the two systems determined some standards for their later coexistence. Finally, ideology came to be the major point that they were concerned with, while mistrust and dispute became the main trend.

Chapter three expounds the coexistence of the two systems after World War II. Containment, anti-containment and détente ranged through the coexistence, and the struggle in ideological field led to a “Cold War” among the countries with two different systems. The United States, as a leader of the western camp, worked out a comprehensive plan to contain the socialism and demonstrated it in the theoretic point of view. The Soviet Union, according to its position, after the Second World War, waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the containment. The coexistence after World War II formed such a trend that the Soviet Union and the United States strived for hegemony. They only had some limited cooperation during the confrontation, and the various standards were gradually established. Meanwhile, postwar multipolarization was an important result of the struggle for hegemony among superpowers

and war also an essential factor balancing the coexistence.

Chapter four mainly expounds the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence advanced by China, its contents and great contributions to the international relations. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence originally emphasizes how to deal with the relations among the countries with different social systems, especially on how to settle the dispute on the territory bordered by several countries. But it has been proved that the Five Principles have become the widespread criterion for international relations as soon as they were advanced. The Five Principles also can be applied among the countries with the same social system. The advancing and application of the Five Principles reveal the most basic criterion that normal international relations should obey and exactly summarize the nature of the relations among the countries. Therefore, the Five Principles are not only the theoretic cornerstone for China's diplomatic policies but also are accepted by the countries all over the world. Moreover, this section expounds Deng Xiaoping's important contributions to the theory of the peaceful coexistence during the new historical epoch. They are mainly about his penetrating analysis on the two international theme, his thought of settling the international dispute by means of peaceful methods, his conception of "One Country Two Systems" and his proposals on the new international order.

Chapter Five analyzes the vigorous growth of the technological revolution and its influence on the peaceful coexistence.

The breakthrough of science and technology after World War II leads to different courses of development. The new change of the conflicts in capitalism and Soviet Union and Eastern Europe's defeat in the advanced technological competition has brought a great turn to the peaceful coexistence. Scientific and technological competitions have become the main contents of the relations among different countries, so political coexistence and intense economic competitions have become the main trend, and the international relations are contradictory as well as coexistent. The conflicts and clashes among countries mainly exist in economic field, but the struggle for economic benefits will not necessarily lead to an intense political international relation. All countries are more likely to get most of the economic benefits from coexistence, and their contest centres on the national power based on scientific and technological development.

目 录

绪论	(1)
第一章 一种策略:列宁的和平共处思想与实践	(10)
第一节 列宁提出和平共处思想的背景	(11)
第二节 列宁和平共处思想的提出与实践	(18)
第三节 列宁和平共处思想与实践的重大意义	(32)
第二章 结盟前后:特殊历史条件下的和平共处	(42)
第一节 苏联为和平共处而斗争	(43)
第二节 二战期间的结盟与争吵	(55)
第三章 美苏对抗:二战后的共处关系	(73)
第一节 遏制·缓和·再遏制:共处规范的变迁	(74)
第二节 共处的困境	(92)
第四章 五项原则:中国的巨大贡献	(102)
第一节 和平共处五项原则的提出及其基本内容	(103)
第二节 和平共处五项原则与独立自主	(114)
第三节 邓小平对和平共处理论的重大发展	

.....	(121)
第五章 科技发展:竞争共处的关键	(144)
第一节 新科技革命对两制共处关系的影响	(145)
第二节 竞争共处是国际关系的现实要求	(153)
参考文献	(170)
后 记	(179)

绪 论

随着苏联及东欧地区社会主义制度的剧变,不仅使众多的现实问题成了历史学家、政治学家研究的焦点,而且还使许多理论问题成了他们的研究热区,其中既包括对历史的总结研究,又包括对理论问题的再探索。关于两种根本对立的社会制度国家——资本主义制度国家与社会主义制度国家间关系中的和平共处研究,历来是西方学者十分关注的领域。不仅他们的统治者热衷于意识形态的争斗,而且他们的代言人也对此津津乐道。由于意识形态因素在国际关系中占据相当重要的地位,谁也不可能躲避现实的问题,而现实的变迁又引起了研究者们对理论新问题的不断探索。

近年来,随着改革开放的深入,国内的众多学者也发表了一些有关两制关系的著作和论文,其中对和平共处问题阐发了不少见解。但总的说来,都是从某些侧

* 此部分的主要内容,发表于《社会主义研究》1997年第4期。

面、不同角度进行了分析,如对两制关系史的著述、从国际关系的角度对国际关系史的某些问题的论述、对“和平演变”问题的探讨等等。迄今为止,全面研究和平共处问题的专门著述还未见到。

研究和平共处问题,既具有重大的理论价值,又具有广泛的现实意义。众所周知,只是在社会主义国家出现后,和平共处问题才成为了学者们的研究热区。尤其是社会主义制度在欧亚大陆的俄国和中国这两个大国确立,对整个世界的战略格局演变产生了根本影响,因此,和平共处问题还具有战略意义。第二次世界大战后,当世界“新的权力天平上只剩下美苏两国”^[1]时,世界战略态势表现为两种根本对立的社会制度国家间的对峙,是真正的“两极”。究竟是发动一场新的世界大战,还是和平共处,对政治家们和理论研究者而言都是严峻的现实问题。美、苏争霸格局,对于大国之间和两种制度对立的国家之间的关系模式产生了极大的影响力,和平共处的某些行为规范也是在这一时期逐步确立的。“冷战”体制下国家关系的一个主要后果,在于造成了国际关系一定程度的不正常化。如何处理不同制度国家间的关系,以及世界各国怎样进行正常的交往,都是战后所必须解决的问题。在这一点上,中国所提出的和平共处五项原则,对国际法的发展和国际关系的民主化进程作出了巨大贡献。特别是,随着新科学技术革命的深入,国际竞争的主战场已转向以科技竞争为主导的综合国力的较量,和平共处五项原则为各国所普遍接受。