

冷战国际史研究

Cold War International History Studies

华东师范大学冷战国际史研究中心

15



西方学术界对沈志华英文新著的评论

全球冷战与中国“漫长的崛起”

中国对印度战俘的处理与中印交涉——基于中国外交部档案的考察

“中华民国”与联合国国际海洋法会议（1958—1971）

尼克松第一任期美国国务院的职权与地位

法国国家档案及法共档案介绍

罗马尼亚前驻华大使罗明访谈录

周恩来的泰国女儿——前泰国总理私人代表西林·帕他努泰访谈录

朝鲜战争中转入朝鲜人民军的中国朝鲜族参战军人采访录

冷战年代的西哈努克亲王——来自柬埔寨国家档案馆的影像资料



世界知识出版社

全国中文核心期刊

中文社会科学引文索引(CSSCI)来源期刊

冷战国际史研究 No. 15

Cold War International History Studies

华东师范大学冷战国际史研究中心

图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

冷战国际史研究. 15/李丹慧主编. —北京: 世界知识出版社, 2013. 9

ISBN 978 - 7 - 5012 - 4556 - 7

I. ①冷… II. ①李… III. ①冷战—国际关系史—研究 IV. ①D819

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2013) 第 233924 号

书 名 冷战国际史研究 No. 15
Lengzhan Guojishi Yanjiu No. 15

责任编辑 罗养毅
责任出版 刘 喆
责任校对 马莉娜
封面设计 嘉 维

出版发行 世界知识出版社
地址邮编 北京市东城区干面胡同 51 号 (100010)
网 址 www.wap1934.com
经 销 新华书店
印 刷 北京京晟纪元印刷有限公司
开本印张 787 × 1092 毫米 1/16 26³/₄印张
字 数 410 千字
版次印次 2013 年 10 月第一版 2013 年 10 月第一次印刷
标准书号 ISBN 978 - 7 - 5012 - 4556 - 7
定 价 38.00 元

版权所有 侵权必究

《冷战国际史研究》编委会

主 编 李丹慧 (Li Danhui)

委 员 (以姓氏拼音为序)

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 奥斯特曼 (Christian F. Ostermann) | 刘晓原 (Liu Xiaoyuan) |
| 白建才 (Bai Jiancai) | 罗伯茨 (Priscilla Roberts) |
| 伯 尔 (William Burr) | 马斯特尼 (Vojtech Mastny) |
| 蔡佳禾 (Cai Jiahe) | 毛里和子 (Mori Kazuko) |
| 陈 兼 (Chen Jian) | 牛 军 (Niu Jun) |
| 陈永发 (Chen, Yung-fa) | 牛大勇 (Niu Dayong) |
| 崔 丕 (Cui Pi) | 沈志华 (Shen Zhihua) |
| 戴超武 (Dai Chaowu) | 文安立 (Odd Arne Westad) |
| 盖杜克 (Ilia Gaiduk) | 夏亚峰 (Xia Yafeng) |
| 贡恰罗夫 (Sergey N. Goncharov) | 萧冬连 (Xiao Donglian) |
| 哈里森 (Hope Harrison) | 徐 蓝 (Xu Lan) |
| 韩 钢 (Han Gang) | 杨奎松 (Yang Kuisong) |
| 赫什伯格 (James Hershberg) | 于 群 (Yu Qun) |
| 黄正柏 (Huang Zhengbai) | 余伟民 (Yu Weimin) |
| 柯伟林 (William C. Kirby) | 翟 强 (Zhai Qiang) |
| 拉琴科 (Sergey Radchenko) | 张曙光 (Zhang Shuguang) |
| 莱弗勒 (Melvyn P. Leffler) | 章百家 (Zhang Baijia) |
| 李丹慧 (Li Danhui) | 祖波克 (Vladislav M. Zubok) |
| 李向前 (Li Xiangqian) | |

出版说明

《冷战国际史研究》No. 15 是由华东师范大学冷战国际史研究中心组织编写的，主要内容包括：西方学术界对沈志华英文新著的评论、专题研究、青年学者论坛、新书评介以及新近解密的中外档案选编、口述历史等。书中所选文章、所论话题、所选编的档案反映了中国学者冷战史研究的关注点，而这些内容也是读者感兴趣的。本书选刊外国学者文章，可视为一种学术交流，对我国读者了解有关冷战国际史的研究情况不无裨益。

出版此书的目的在于推动我国冷战史研究的深入，并进一步提高学术研究水平。本书中文章的观点只代表作者个人，仅供读者研究参考。

Cold War International History Studies

No. 15 (Summer 2013)

Contents

Introduction

Special Column for the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Korean War Armistice

Reviews of Shen Zhihua's New Book in English by Western Scholars

Research Articles

The Global Cold War and China's "Prolonged Rise" / Chen Jian

Abstract: Adopting a historical perspective, this essay relates the study of China's rise—or more accurately speaking, China's "prolonged rise"—to the study of the Chinese experience during the Cold War, regarding China's rise as a historical process much longer, larger, broader and more profound than the "reform and opening-up" itself. The process developed interactively with the change and transformation of the global Cold War. So far as its historical origins are concerned, the agenda of the "reform and opening" era, as well as the legitimacy narrative underpinning the agenda, was in a sense the product of China's "age of revolutions." It was the successes and failures, progresses and setbacks,

achievements and sufferings, and bright times and dark moments of China's revolutions in the 20th century that created the basic conditions of the coming of the reform and opening era while, at the same time, bequeathing to it all kinds of challenges and hurdles. Therefore, China's rise will have to be a paradoxical and prolonged process.

China's Disposition of Indian Prisoners of War and Related Negotiations with India: A Study Based on the Archives of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs / Dai Chaowu

Abstract: In the Sino-Indian border counteroffensive for self-defense, Chinese troops of border defense captured 3942 Indian military personnel. The Chinese military and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs made careful preparations and arrangements for handling these captured Indian troops. Rigorous plans and policies were adopted for the Tibetan and Xinjiang Military Districts to implement with specially established agencies. In the process of releasing and repatriating captured Indian troops, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs negotiated with its Indian counterpart. Top leaders of the Chinese government paid close attention to the matter, and various branches of the government coordinated well. At the time China was slowly recovering from its three-year ordeal, but the necessary provisions for the daily life of Indian prisoners of war were guaranteed. The Chinese side fully considered the Indian demands in the process to turning over the prisoners of war. It must be pointed out however that some aspects of the Chinese processing of Indian prisoners of war may be reconsidered. For instance, over issues like the "education" of Indian prisoners of war and the relations with the International Committee of the Red Cross and especially the Indian Committee of the Red Cross, the Chinese policy was not flexible enough, and 27 Indian military officers were organized for a tour in interior China. This article is based on declassified documents from the Archives of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It examines the making, execution, and effects of the Chinese policy systematically. It

investigates India's accusations of China's mistreatment of prisoners of war against historical facts and clarifies India's faulty accusations against China over a number of important issues.

Young Scholars' Forum

The Republic of China and the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, 1958 – 1971 / Kuan-jeu Chen

Abstract: After World War II, to avoid another total war, the world's governments established the United Nations for the sake of maintaining world peace. World peace had to be kept in accordance with internationally recognized legal codes. Therefore, the United Nations decided to set up an International Law Commission to compile international laws concerned. The effort however did not solve a long-term controversy—the régime of the territorial sea and the fishing zone. To solve the problem, the United Nations held two Conferences on the International Law of the Sea in 1958 and 1960. In the treacherous Cold War atmosphere, these conferences degenerated into one more battlefield between the U. S. and the Soviet Union. To serve its global strategy, the United States insisted on a "narrow territorial sea system" that would limit the régime of the territorial sea and the fishing zone to three miles. The original stand of the Republic of China was to support the principle of twelve miles. This contradiction with the U. S. proposition finally resulted in the Republic of China's taking an equivocal stance for maintain a balance between national interests and relations with Washington. That was, it supporting the U. S. stance on the régime of the territorial sea while reserving its opinion on the issue of fishery right. During these conferences the U. S. lobbied its allies but could not get many supporters. Furthermore, the U. S. proposition was opposed by the Soviet Bloc and some countries in Latin America. Consequently, although the great powers drafted some international law of the sea at these

conferences, they could not reach agreement on the most controversial parts—the régime of the territorial sea and the fishing zone. This study considers the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, the way in which the Republic of China participated in the international conferences for keeping balance between national interest and international alliance, and the aftermath of these international conferences on bilateral fishery negotiations in the years to come.

The Chinese-Indian Tibet Agreement of 1954 and China's India Policy in the Early 1950s / Liu Lei

Abstract: In 1954, China and India reached an agreement on Tibet. Although the Chinese government was able to abolish many of India's privileges in Tibet and also get the Indian government's recognition of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet for an equal inter-state relationship, the Chinese Communists' weak position in Tibet and reliance on India in certain aspects rendered India's concessions superficial. Actually India gained many benefits from the agreement and began to nip away territories from China's Tibet. In negotiations the Chinese government evaded the border issue and also made concessions to India. These were expedient at the time but would eventually cause deterioration of the Sino-Indian relationship.

Evaluation of the French Policy for Improving Relations with China in 1954 / Zhou Lei

Abstract: The Geneva Conference of 1954 made France realize that China would play a critical role in the international stage. This led France to restore its contact with China, and the relations between the two countries became improved significantly. Yet Under influence from Taipei and Washington, France did not make big strides over the issue of Taiwan. In analyzing the content and limitations of French policy for improving relations with Beijing, this paper evaluates the gains and losses of French diplomacy with China.

The Function and Power of the Department of State during Nixon's First Term / Zhang Jing

Abstract: In the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the power and prestige of the U. S. State Department declined in foreign policy making in comparison to an ascending “imperial presidency.” Institutionally, the National Security Council became the core platform for foreign policy making in a new national security system mainly designed mainly by Henry A. Kissinger. It was the only official channel through which the State and the Defense Departments could submit their policy suggestions to the president. With Kissinger’s assistance, President Nixon controlled the whole policy decision making process and conducted secret personal diplomacy often just involving himself and Kissinger. This paper considers the function and position of the State Department during Nixon’s first term as a case, contending that the foreign policy making process of the United States begins with the setup of the policy making system. The separation of power comes into being with the establishment of sub-organizations and the definition of their respective functions, and changes along with the bureaucratic struggles. This is a political struggle process among the President, President’s assistants and the heads of bureaucracies.

Book Reviews

**China of the World: Review of Professor Odd Arne Westad’s New Book:
Restless Empire : China and the World Since 1750 / Niu Jun**

Information about Archival Research

**A Survey of American Scholarly Studies of the United States Information
Agency / Deng Feng and Zhao Jike**

Abstract: American scholars have studied the United States Information Agency ever since it was established and have produced numerous works. The first group of researchers includes employees of the agency or scholars who were

associated with the agency. Their works tend to analyze the agency as a whole. Later works are more valuable in providing specific analyses and shedding lights on “information diplomacy” and “cultural diplomacy.” After the Cold War ended, given the role that the agency had played in cultural Cold War, a new wave of scholarly research started and explored the new position that the agency would occupy in new international environment. Especially, after the agency was dissolved, American scholars uncovered the powerful role the agency had played in American propaganda abroad and in public diplomacy. They urged the American government to restore the agency or set up an organization of similar functions. In this high-caliber literature on the agency, some problems and defects do exist for researchers to solve in the years to come.

Introduction to the French National Archives and the Archives of the French Communist Party / Gao Jiayi

“Unifying Summary on the International Symposium on “Atom in a Divided World: Early history of International Nuclear Organizations” / Zhan Xin

Oral History

Interview with Former Romanian Ambassador to China Romulus Ioan Budura (1) / Kong Hanbing

Zhou Enlai’s Daughter from Thailand: Interview with Sirin Patanutha, Former Personal Envoy of the Prime Minister of Thailand / Wu Xiaohan

Interview with Ethnic Korean Soldiers in China Who Joined the People’s Army of Korea during the Korean War: Interviews with Ethnic Korean Soldiers of the Longjing Municipality of the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture Who Fought in the Korean War (2) / Xu Longnan

Archives and Documents

**Prince Sihanouk in the Years of the Cold War — Images from the National
Archives of Cambodia / Li Danhui**

卷首语

今年是朝鲜战争停战六十周年纪念年，本刊配合发表一篇关于中国决策出兵朝鲜等问题的讨论评述文章：《西方学术界对沈志华英文新著的评论》。该文是不久前美国人文社会科学在线外交及国际关系史专栏组织的对新近在英国出版的沈志华《毛泽东、斯大林与朝鲜战争：1950年代共产党三方关系》（*Mao, Stalin and the Korean War: Trilateral Communist Relations in the 1950s*）一书的评述。曾任美国驻华大使、对美中关系调整有切身体验及研究的芮效俭（Stapleton Roy）先生，以及凯瑟琳·威瑟斯比（Kathryn Weathersby）等冷战国际史研究领域的知名学者，从不同的角度对苏联支持金日成发动对南方的战争、中国决定介入战争等斯大林和毛泽东的决策动机等问题进行了介绍和评议。作者沈志华对评议人的解读和意见做了回应；曾任美国驻中国大使馆政务参赞的译者苏礼文（Neil Silver）先生则谈了他翻译这部著作的初衷及感受。

“专题研究”栏的两篇论文：陈兼的《全球冷战与中国“漫长的崛起”》和戴超武的《中国对印度战俘的处理与中印交涉——基于中国外交部档案的考察》，都是重头文章。陈文将中国漫长崛起的进程与中国在冷战中的经历和经验结合起来进行考察，把改革开放的历史上溯至中国“革命时代”更为长久、宏大和广泛的背景中加以探讨。此前，中国已有学者论及1970年代前期中国经济领域出现的一些带有改革性质的试验，如对西方的大规模技术

设备引进的单边开放、社队企业的兴起，等等，这种对外经济引进和交流新局面的开拓，新型经济模式、产业结构的出现，实际为日后中国乡镇企业的发展，以及对外开放政策的实施准备了重要的思想和物质条件。^①但陈文将研究的视角投之于中国革命、毛泽东的“继续革命”的合法性，毛泽东应对中国革命所面临的合法性挑战的手段，以及邓小平应对毛泽东时代深刻的合法性危机的举措，毛邓在这一过程中的继承、联系和区别，其中的困境等更为深入的历史层面，通过条分缕细的评说，构建起了新的理论框架。由此提升了这个议题的思想理论关怀，具有重要的启迪价值。戴文则以中国外交部新解密档案文件为史料基础，深入细致地考察了1962年中印边境自卫反击作战后，中国对印度战俘的处理，以及中印之间就战俘问题进行交涉的情况。这是笔者目前为止读到的中国学者关于这一课题最为详尽、全面的考评文章，其开创性意义突显。

本辑“青年学者论坛”发表4篇文章，论题涉及中国参与国际海洋法会议，1950年代中印、中法关系，以及尼克松任期美国国务院的职权和地位等等，内容丰富，材料翔实。其中台湾学者陈冠任的《“中华民国”与联合国国际海洋法会议（1958—1971）》一文，尤值一读。中国作为大陆型国家，在关于海洋法、领海、渔业权等概念及实践方面，都大大滞后于海权相对发达的欧洲国家。不仅国人对这个问题了解较少，中国冷战史学界也鲜有文章实证性地考察和评论与此相关的史事史情。陈冠任的此篇文章，梳理了1949年中华人民共和国成立前的“中华民国”政府及其后的台湾国民党政权，参与联合国对海洋法的讨论的历史过程，及其对领海问题的认识和领海制立场的变化情况；研析了冷战背景下，面对围绕领海12海里制原则苏联坚持、美国反对的局面，与苏联立场相同的台湾当局陷入两难困境后的应对方略。

^① 参见陈东林：《70年代前期的中国第二次对外引进高潮》，《中共党史研究》1996年第2期；《20世纪50—70年代中国的对外经济引进》，《上海行政学院学报》2004年12月号；《中国改革开放前的三次经济引进》，《中国投资》2007年第10期；史云（陈东林）、李丹慧：《难以继续的“继续革命”：从批林到批邓（1972~1976）》，香港：香港中文大学出版社，2009年（第二版），第292—302页。

1971年10月，随着中华人民共和国在联合国合法席位的恢复及国民党政权的代表退出联合国，台湾当局从此不能再参与国际海洋法公约的制定等活动，新中国在联合国政治舞台上开始了反对美、苏，特别是苏联“推行海洋霸权主义”斗争的历史。鉴于目前南海等区域的争端不断升温，中国维护海洋权益斗争的逐渐展开，这篇文章实际具有一定的现实参考意义。

2012年，国际著名冷战史专家文安立（Odd Arne Westad）的新著《躁动的帝国：1750年以来的中国与世界》（*Restless Empire: China and the World Since 1750*）出版，北京大学牛军教授及时撰写文章予以推介，发表于本刊“书评·书介”栏目。而“档案研究信息”栏的两篇文章：《美国学术界对美国新闻署的研究综述》、《法国国家档案及法共档案介绍》，则为研究者开掘了重要的信息资源。

本辑“口述历史”栏的三篇文章都十分有意思。其一，《罗马尼亚前驻华大使罗明访谈录》是北京大学孔寒冰教授对罗明所进行的系列采访之一，其中包括罗明大使1950年代陪同罗中两国领导人格罗查和朱德互访、1960年代参与罗马尼亚领导人调解中苏矛盾，及其对毛泽东和毛泽东时代的看法等篇章。罗明大使的经历可谓丰富多彩，其所述内容不仅有趣，也有史料价值。其二，泰国华人学者吴小菡所做的《周恩来的泰国女儿——前泰国总理私人代表西林·帕他努泰访谈录》，叙述了万隆会议以来50年间西林本人及其家人所亲身经历的泰国和中国关系演变的历程，情节极富传奇色彩。西林的父亲汕·帕他努泰是前泰国总理披汶·颂堪的首席顾问，一生致力于泰中友好事业。1958年9月泰国发生军事政变，颂堪内阁倒台，帕他努泰被捕入狱。访谈录中披露的一条事关帕他努泰的材料，值得研究者注意和重视：1967年初，美国政府曾通过其驻泰国公使与刚被释放出狱的帕他努泰联络，欲借其赴北京探望儿女之机，向周恩来总理转达约翰逊总统的口信，表示美国想结束越战，希望从解决台湾问题入手同北京开始谈判，改善与大陆中国的关系，以期在撤出越南问题上换取中国的帮助。只是帕他努泰向文革动乱中的造反派转达此口信的结果是被驱逐出境，这个口信时隔四年后由基辛格传达给了周恩来。其三，徐龙男的《朝鲜战争中转入朝鲜人民军的中国朝鲜

族参战军人采访录：延边朝鲜族自治州延吉市朝鲜族参战军人采访录（二）》，继续披露朝鲜战争中的史事细节，以及战后涉及中朝关系问题的重要情节。

“档案文献”栏推出一篇重要文章：《冷战年代的西哈努克亲王——来自柬埔寨国家档案馆的影像资料》。今年3月，笔者和沈志华等人在柬埔寨王国国家档案馆搜集档案文件的同时，还下载了一些柬方摄影记者的图像作品。笔者选取十几帧西哈努克在与之关系比较特殊的中国、苏联、越南和朝鲜等四个国家中进行外交活动的留影予以发表，同时撰写了考察评说冷战年代西哈努克与社会主义阵营国家中、苏、越、朝关系的文章，以为这批历史影像资料的导读，引发读者去进一步回顾和反思那段复杂多变的友谊和斗争的历史细节。

李丹慧

全国中文核心期刊

中文社会科学引文索引(CSSCI)来源期刊

冷战国际史研究 No. 15

Cold War International History Studies

No. 15 (Summer 2013)

目 录

1 卷首语

朝鲜战争停战六十周年纪念专栏

- 1 西方学术界对沈志华英文新著的评论

专题研究

- 27 全球冷战与中国“漫长的崛起”/ 陈 兼
43 中国对印度战俘的处理与中印交涉(1962—1963)
——基于中国外交部档案的考察 / 戴超武

青年学者论坛

- 93 “中华民国”与联合国国际海洋法会议(1958—1971)/ 陈冠任
137 1954年中印西藏协定与建国初期中国对印度政策 / 刘 磊
163 1954年法国改善对华关系述评 / 周 磊
179 尼克松第一任期美国国务院的职权与地位 / 张 静