

國際安全研究

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Abstracts

4 Shared Security: Chinese Perspectives on Non-traditional Security

Yu Xiaofeng

【Abstract】 When mankind is faced with a growing number of “common threats”, “a common crisis awareness” has emerged within global community. People begin to recognize the very nature of non-traditional security threats and their impact on the global village, and demand responses in the form of “shared security.” Based on traditional security theories and contributions in the field of peace studies, a constructivist “transitional form” of Western theories has taken shape. The formation of various “independent forms” of non-traditional security theories have subsequently been created, and they all share a common value orientation of “constructed security”. The key to achieving “shared security” is how to deal with “heterogenous” phenomena in international society. China’s security ideal and diplomatic style has been unique compared with the Western world. Chinese concepts, such as “Bao He Tai He”(great harmony are preserved in union), “Wan Guo Xian Ning”(the myriad states all enjoy repose), “He Er Bu Tong”(harmony but not sameness) and “Tian Xia Da Tong”(unity of the world), all embodies rich intellectual resources and the core values for “shared security”. Recently, Chinese scholars have contributed to the growing discourse on “shared security” such as the “New Tian-Xia Doctrine”, “Common security of human being”, “Common security of multi-actors”, and the “Deepening of global governance”. Finally, the author proposes a rethinking of China’s diplomatic practices and argues that “shared security” is not only theoretically valid for non-traditional security but also feasible in practice.

【Key Words】 Non-traditional security, shared security, Chinese perspectives, peace cooperationism

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35 Reconceptualizing State Responsibilities: Human Security Protection, Conflicts and Governance

He Changchui and Xuan Li

【Abstract】 Different from traditional national security perspective, human security is an essential component of non-traditional security. Human security is influenced by multi-dimensional factors. Human security will be threatened if one or more of these dimensional factors get twisted. Such threats, once accumulated to a certain level, may trigger a conflict. While some factors may have a low correlation with the conflict, some other factors may have a multiplying effect in triggering the conflict. Further, the conflict may be triggered by a single factor; it may also be triggered by multiple factors. Poor governance may lead to escalation of conflicts. Deep understanding of the triggering effect and correlation with conflicts is essential to address the root causes of conflicts and manage conflicts effectively. Concepts of human security, state responsibility of protection and neo-interventionism have been

developed in succession. Though the people-centered security framework draws global attention, it should be recognized that there is no international consensus on an optimal type of governance. However, according to the Charter of the United Nations, the primary responsibilities of human security protection should be rested in the government of the state. The principle of sovereignty remains the fundamental principle of international relations, which should be the guiding principle when addressing human security issues.

【Key Words】 national security, human security, state responsibility of protection, neo-interventionism, global governance

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63 Human Development and Human Dignity: Rethinking the Concept of Human Security

CUI Shunji

【Abstract】 The emergence of human security concept has led to a serious reconsideration of the concept and the provision of security. However, some false ideas have also emerged along many debates. One of these is to take the ‘freedom from fear’ and the ‘freedom from want’, the two crucial elements of human security, in a dichotomous way, and treat the former as a Western concept and the latter as an Eastern. In this discourse, “freedom from fear” seems to be the only important element of human security. Based on such an understanding, many global challenges, such as extreme poverty and hunger, can well be out of human security considerations. Against this backdrop, this article attempts to reconsider the concept of human security by examining related concepts such as security, development, direct violence and structural violence, and to demonstrate human that security is neither Western nor Eastern concept; rather, it is based on basic human values, human needs, and human dignity, and hence it is a universally valid and morally persuasive comprehensive concept. Such a comprehensive understanding requires that human security governance needs to move beyond seeking short-term negative security and achieve positive security through early prevention, long-term construction, and capacity building.

【Key Words】 human security, human dignity, freedom from fear and want, structural violence, positive security

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78 Capitalism and the Emergent World Order

Barry Buzan George Lawson

【Abstract】 The two centuries old hegemony of the West is coming to an end. The “revolutions of modernity” that fuelled the rise of the West are now accessible to all states. As a result, the power gap that developed during the nineteenth century and which served as the foundation for a core-periphery international order is closing. The result is a shift from a world of “centred globalism” to one of “decentred globalism”. At the same time as power is becoming more diffuse, the degree of ideological difference among the leading powers is shrinking. Indeed, because all great powers in the contemporary world are in some form capitalist, the ideological bandwidth of the

emerging international order is narrower than it has been for a century. The question is whether this relative ideological homogeneity will generate geoeconomic or geopolitical competition among the four main modes of capitalist governance: liberal democratic, social democratic, competitive authoritarian and state bureaucratic. This article assesses the strengths and weaknesses of these four modes of capitalist governance, and probes the main contours of inter-capitalist competition. Will the political differences between democratic and authoritarian capitalists override their shared interests or be mediated by them? Will there be conflicting capitalisms along the lines of the early part of the twentieth century? or will the contemporary world see the development of some kind of concert of capitalist powers? A world of politically differentiated capitalisms is likely to be with us for some time. As such, a central task facing policy makers is to ensure that geoeconomic competition takes place without generating geopolitical conflict.

【Key Words】decentred globalism; the modes of capitalist governance; world Order; geo-economic Competition; geopolitical Conflict.

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101 Constructing and Conceptualizing “Interdependent Hegemony” in an Era of the Rise of the “Second World” and BRICS

Li Xing and Oscar Garcia Agustin

【Abstract】The paper aims to provide a framework of understanding the global impact of the rise of the Second World (emerging powers, such as BRICS) brought about by globalization and the transformation of international relations and international political economy. It takes the point of departure from one of Gramsci's key conceptual categories and analytical apparatus, e.g. hegemony, to explore to which extent the upsurge of the emerging powers has reshaped the terrain and parameters of social, economic and political relations both at national and global levels, and has exerted pressure on the exiting international order in terms of both opportunities and constraints. It examines the dialectical nexus between the role of the emerging powers as a counter-hegemonic, socio-economic and socio-political force and as a new alternative hegemonic order. Based on an analytical approach which combines neo-Gramscian hegemony theories with the critical post-hegemony theories, it concludes that in an era of global capitalism it is impossible for the emerging powers to establish an alternative independent hegemony; rather, the world will witness a new era of “interdependent hegemony”, with both the First World and the Second World intertwined in a constant process of shaping and reshaping the international order in the nexus of national interest, regional orientation, common political agenda, political alliance and potential conflicts.

【Key Words】interdependent hegemony, the Second World, BRICS, Gramsci, hegemony theories, emerging form of hegemony

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118 A Concert of Great Powers and Trans-regional Security Governance

Wang Lei and Zheng Xianwu

【Abstract】A concert of great powers is a multilateral security regime through

which the major great powers manage international issues at diplomatic conferences. Based on sources of members and scope of governance, the concert of great powers can be divided into concert of regional great powers, concert of multi-regional great powers and concert of global great powers. In the post Cold War times, with changes from both system level and unit level, concert of multi-regional great powers enjoys a renaissance. Under such new historical conditions, the concert of multi-regional great powers retains the common rules and norms of a concert: consistency, legitimacy, accountability, inclusiveness and self-restraint. Meanwhile, it also embodies prominent characteristics and unique functions of the times: first, the outcomes of a concert are accepted by the UN Security Council, and the concert of multi-regional great powers and collective security tend to integrate in practice; second, regional organizations has joined the process of a concert and played a constructive role, as ASEAN on the Cambodia settlement agreements and EU on the Iranian nuclear issue. Given the multilateral features led by great powers, the concert of multi-regional great powers has profound impacts on the global security governance system, regional security and the US status as the sole superpower in the world. As an emerging power, China should attach great importance to the concert of multi-regional great powers because it provides optional routes for East Asian security by contributing to the peaceful coexistence between the “rising powers” and the “maintaining powers” as well as the provision of international public goods.

【Key Words】 the concert of multi-regional great powers, security governance, UN Security Council, effectiveness evaluation

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136 The Disastrous Consequences of Bio-unpreparedness on National Security

CHAI Weidong

【Abstract】 The development of science and technology expands the concept and contents of national security. Technological progress also enriches the means of threats to national interests; furthermore, the abuse of science and technology can also do harm to society. The past half a century witnessed a dramatic progress in biological technology, which had profound influence on microorganisms, animals and plants, ecological environment, medicine, agriculture, food safety, chemical and biological warfare, biological terrorism, human health and population security. No other technology covers such a wide range of realms as biotechnology does. Bio-unpreparedness refers to the status of a country which is not sufficiently aware of, poorly equipped or prepared against biological threats. China is in a state of bio-unpreparedness and of bio-defenseless, and China has adopted excessive opening-up policies of drugs, vaccines, water supply, food and seeds due to inadequate perception of biotechnology. Given the multidisciplinary and civilian-military nature of biotechnology, it requires an approach that is cross governmental departments, cross terms of governmental administrations, and being multinational in scope. Therefore, China should be fully aware of and prepared for the challenges in the development and application of biotechnology, and be alert of the possibility that this technology might be used on purpose to jeopardize national security.

【Key Words】 genetically modified organisms, vaccine, glyphosate, bio-unpreparedness, bio-security, bio-threat

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