

# 地多经济与政治

WORLD ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

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"**半负面案例比较法**"与机制辨别 周亦奇 唐世平

亚太地区的制度制衡与竞争性多边主义 贺 凯





中国社会科学院世界经济与政治研究所

主办

2018 <sup>会第460期</sup>

# 世界经济与政治

(月 刊)

2018 年第 12 期(总第 460 期)

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### 1979 年创刊 2018 年 12 月 14 日出版

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#### **Abstracts**

The Major Power Competition and the U.S. Counterbalance Against the Belt and Road Initiative

Zhao Minghao (4)

[ Abstract ] In line with the "America First" doctrine, the Trump administration has put tackling major power competition rather than counter-terrorism as the top priority of American national security strategy. America pursues repressive retrenchment while framing competitive strategies toward other major powers. For American strategists, China has become their foremost, all-round and global competitor. The Trump administration seeks a whole-of-government strategy toward China, which centers on comprehensive competition with Beijing. Against this backdrop, American views on the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) become more negative, and there are deep-rooted concerns over geopolitical implications of the BRI. America intends to take multidimensional policy measures to counterbalance the BRI, especially the Digital Silk Road and dual-use infrastructure. The Trump administration has launched the Indo-Pacific Strategy, which serves as an overarching platform in tackling challenges brought by the BRI. In particular, the United States would take more competitive moves against China in Southeast Asia. Through investigating the U.S. counterbalance against the BRI, it may shed light on the trends of American comprehensive competitive strategy in dealing with a rising China. Competition differs from confrontation and the BRI is not necessarily a zero-sum game for America. China needs make prudent responses to the U.S. counterbalance against the BRI, and both sides should explore means to effectively manage their geopolitical competition.

[Key Words] major power competition, U.S. policy toward China, the Belt and Road Initiative, the Indo-Pacific Strategy

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# "Semi-Negative Case Comparison" and the Identification of Mechanism: Comparing the Different Fates of NATO and the Warsaw Pact Zhou Yiqi Tang Shiping (32)

[Abstract] Comparing a positive case against a negative case has become a standard method in social science research. However, this standard method is weak in identifying the mechanism. The standard method assumes that the differences in causal factors in the positive and negative cases determine whether the mechanism operates or not and in turn whether an outcome is reached or not. Unfortunately, the standard method cannot adequately establish the purported mechanism because many possible combinations of factors and mechanisms can prevent an outcome from being realized in the negative case. This article proposes an innovative case comparison method, namely, "semi-negative case comparison". We argue that "semi-negative case comparison" will allow us to establish mechanism(s) more confidently because it allows us to visualize the interaction of factors and mechanisms in driving outcomes. To demonstrate the power of this method, we apply this method to examine the very different fates of two Cold War alliances: NATO and the Warsaw Pact. During the Cold War, two competing superpowers both constituted their own alliance system, which shared a lot of similar initial conditions. Nevertheless, these two alliances eventually ended up with two opposite outcomes; the NATO evolved into a security community and the Warsaw Pact finally collapsed. With the help of "the semi negative case comparison, the article identifies the intra-alliance reconciliation as one of the key mechanisms to explain this question and the characteristics of domestic management system determine whether the mechanism of reconciliation can take effects or not. In the positive case of NATO, the reconciliation mechanism is facilitated due to its liberal, flexible and open domestic management system, while in the negative case of the Warsaw Pact, the same mechanism is inhibited due to its authoritarian, rigid and isolated domestic management system. By comparing the development trajectories of these two alliance systems, this paper demonstrates the power of "semi-negative case comparison" in social science research and also strongly proves that the reconciliation is important to the long-term stability and solidarity of an alliance system.

[Key Words] semi-negative case, comparative case studies, identification of mechanism, security alliance, reconciliation

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tute in Shanghai Institutes for International Studies; Tang Shiping, Fudan Distinguished Professor & Dr. Seaker Chan Chair Professor, School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University.

## Institutional Balancing and the Contested Multilateralism in Asia-Pacific He Kai (60)

[ Abstract ] Since the 2008 global financial crisis, multilateralism in the Asia Pacific has experienced a transformation from an ASEAN-led one to "contested multilateralism," which is operated by non-ASEAN major powers for institutional building and institutional reform in the region. Under high strategic uncertainty and high economic interdependence, "contested multilateralism" is a result of institutional coordination and competition among different political entities for regional order transformation and reconfiguration. In order to pursue a strategic advantage during power, interest, and institutional competitions, major powers in the region have adopted "institutional balancing" strategies to orient the potential order transition to the direction most beneficial for their own interests. During an order transition period, states can adopt four types of role conception; order defender, order reformer, kingmaker, and follower. These different role conceptions encourage them to choose different institutional balancing strategies, including inclusive institutional balancing, exclusive institutional balancing, and inter-institutional balancing. Although the overlapping institutions in the era of "contested multilateralism" may presently appear redundant and inefficient, they confine the intensified competitions among major Asia-Pacific powers within the framework of institutional balancing. An unintended consequence of this institutional balancing might be a peaceful order transformation in the future.

[Key Words] Asia-Pacific, contested multilateralism, institutional balancing, balance of role

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## Threat Diffusion and the U.S. Withdrawal from the Asymmetric Warfare Zuo Xiying (84)

[Abstract] Generally, a stronger power can win in asymmetric warfare. However, this · 158 ·

was not the case at all. As the most powerful country, the U.S. has often lost wars since World War II. Why did the U.S. withdraw from the asymmetric warfare? Scholars have developed some theories to explain this question. This article focuses on the U.S. political elites and analyses how they overstated the external threats and responded in warfare decision-making process. The author argues that the U.S. withdraws from the asymmetric warfare because the external threats diffuse when it plunges into the warfare. The battlefield reality make political elites reassess the threats and change the perceptions. Once the political elites overstate the threats, when political costs are rising, the threats will diffuse, and the decision-maker will change the policy. In this process, the political elites will find that the threats transform from external to internal and the primary concern in the U.S. national security will change from one threat to another threat, which will make political elites change their perceptions. The recalculation of political costs and benefits make the U.S. pull back from the asymmetric warfare. The findings can deep our knowledge of the asymmetric warfare and it will help us understand the decision-making process of the U.S. foreign policy.

[Key Words] threat diffusion, asymmetric warfare, political elite, Vietnam War, Afghanistan War

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# Increased Outer Hostility or Reduced Inner Capability? A Mediation Analysis on State's External Use of Force in Causing the Outbreak of Civil Conflict Yang Chenbo (110)

(Abstract) While researchers striving to uncover causes of civil conflict have produced fruitful insights, not many put structured efforts in investigating the intergovernmental political dynamics that go along with the outbreak of domestic strife. Underpinned by the conviction that interstate and intrastate conflicts in frequent cases are interlinked, this article discusses in what way(s) state's external use of force stimulates domestic conflict risks. In setting forth the mediating mechanism, it demonstrates two possible pathways: (a) the intensified hostility resulting from target state's militarized disputes with its counterpart makes the latter more determined to support the former's domestic dissents, which contributes to the upcoming rebellious event; and (b) the diversionary effect of target state's external use of force, which is often so resource-consuming that

its capability for securing domestic political order could be therefore diminished, brings up civil conflict odds. The empirical tests of the conflict-influenced states during 1946-2006 confirm that the neighboring state's rebel support may act as the mediator when previous interstate territorial disputes ever irritated civil conflict onset, whereas the evidence for the competence-reducing effect exerted by the target's foreign use of force for the same issue presents less consistent. To take extended notice of the mediating effect in between interstate militarized interactions and intrastate violence not only enables related formulation in conflict studies to proceed, but also implies effective peacemaking solution in the war-torn societies and regions.

[Key Words] empirical mediating analysis, civil conflict onset, rebel support, militarized territorial dispute

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## Liberalization or Protection: How Do States Respond to the Global Financial Crisis? Zheng Yu (134)

[Abstract] Since the 2008 global financial crisis, the international economic system has experienced a significant transformation. Developed countries have shifted from advocates of free trade to prolific users of protectionist measures whereas developing countries, particularly emerging market economies, have transformed from passive participants of the international market to active defenders of globalization. We argue that the divergent trends of trade policies between developed and developing countries can be partially attributed to their differing capacities to provide social protection domestically. On the one hand, developed countries' welfare system fall short of meeting the post-crisis surging demand for social protection, thus giving rise to protectionism. On the other hand, developing countries' welfare system is more flexible to address the rising demand of social protection, thus enabling them to pursue further trade liberalization. Our findings shed lights on the globalization debate and have policy implications on how China should balance economic openness and social protection.

[Key Words] economic crisis, globalization, protectionism, welfare state, embedded liberalism

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# 世界经济与政治

2018年第12期 (1979年创刊・月刊)

第四届(2016)中国出版政府奖期刊提名奖第三届(2013)中国出版政府奖期刊提名奖中国百强报刊(2017)中国百强报刊(2015)中国人文社会科学期刊评价报告项级期刊(2014)
CNKI中国最具国际影响力学术期刊中文核心期刊(国际政治类)中国人文社会科学核心期刊
RCCSE中国权威学术期刊中文社会科学引文索引来源期刊中国期刊全文数据库来源期刊

刊号: ISSN 1006-9550 CN 11-1343/F

邮发代号: 82-871

定价: 40.00元(国内)

25.00美元(国外)

国内外公开发行

万方数据

#### World Economics and Politics

No.12(2018) (Monthly, Began in 1979)

Compiler: Editorial Department of the Journal of World

Economics and Politics (5 Jianguomennei Dajie, Beijing)

Postal Code: 100732 Telephone: 85195784

E-mail: sjzbjb@cass.org.cn http://www.iwep.org.cn/

Editor-in-Chief: Zhang Yuyan

Publisher: World Economics Journal Publication Office

Printer: Longlin Printing Limited Company of Sanhe City

Distributor: Beijing Press Distribution Bureau

Subscriptions:

Domestic: Post Office

Overseas: China International Book Trading Corporation

(Box 399, Beijing 100044, China) Subscription Price: \$ 25.00 (overseas)

¥ 40.00 (domestic)

